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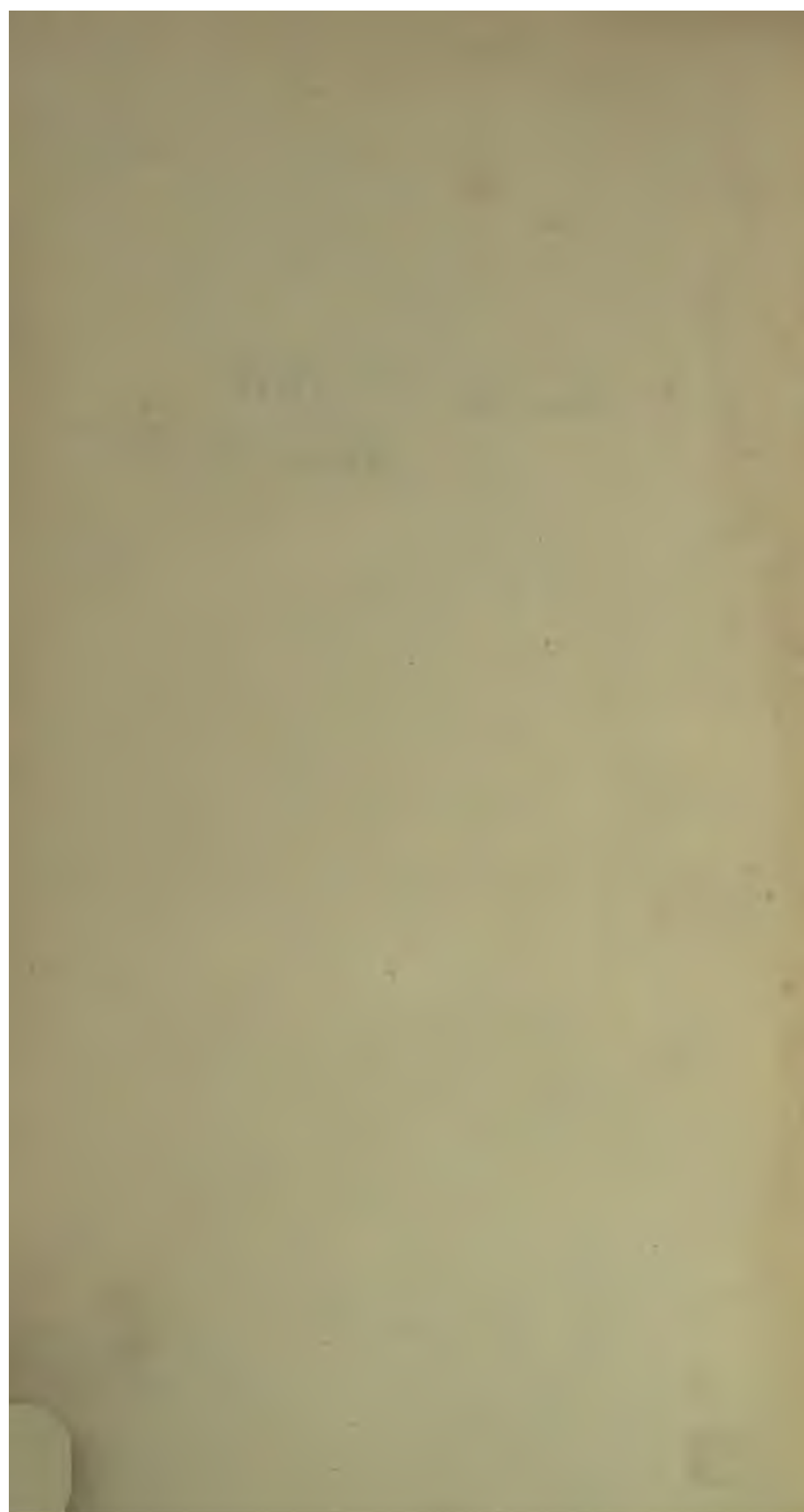




Saml. C. Bartlett  
June 13. 1853

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THE  
ECCLESIASTICAL HISTORY  
OF  
NEW ENGLAND;

COMPRISING NOT ONLY  
RELIGIOUS, BUT ALSO MORAL,  
AND OTHER RELATIONS.

BY  
JOSEPH B. FELT.

"Learn from the events already taken place, for that is the best learning."

CYRUS IN XENOPHON.

"But whether New England may live any where or no, it must live in our history."

COTTON MATHER.

VOL. I.

BOSTON:  
PUBLISHED BY THE  
CONGREGATIONAL LIBRARY ASSOCIATION,  
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1855.

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## REPORT OF A COMMITTEE

### ON THE CHARACTER OF THIS WORK.

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HAVING been appointed by the Congregational Library Association to examine this first volume of Mr. Felt's *ECCLIASTICAL HISTORY OF NEW ENGLAND*, we take pleasure in certifying that, in our judgment, it every where discloses a thoroughness of research and an accuracy of statement, in regard to matters of fact, which the early history of New England has never before had, and will never again need. No other writer on the subject, among the living or the dead, has devoted the time, or enjoyed the facilities, which have been afforded to the author of this work. Twenty years of investigation among the best libraries in this country, and a visit to those of England, together with the overhauling of an incredible mass of old manuscripts in the archives of Massachusetts, and elsewhere — undertaken *con amore*, and pursued with ever-freshening zeal — leaves small hope of original acquisition to those who may glean after him. This store of facts is rendered easy of access by the method of arrangement and the completeness of the Index.

With an introductory glance at the Reformation in Europe, and a fuller sketch of its progress in England, (where the roots and germs of our Puritan Congregationalism are to be sought for,) the history proceeds in the form of *Annals*. The course of events in Massachusetts, as being the most important of the New England plantations, takes the central channel of the stream, while the transactions of each of the others flow in collateral but separate currents. Hereby is preserved a general unity in the ecclesiastical history of all New England, and at the same time an individual history of each colony is easily connected in one continuous line, if the reader is pleased thus to connect them.

As the title page indicates, the author has felt at liberty to tread upon ground not strictly ecclesiastical whenever secular events were found to have a determining influence upon the condition of the church, and *vice versa*. Indeed, it is impossible to write either the civil or ecclesiastical history of New England, without involving the other. Moved to their high purpose of founding colonies on these shores by religious considerations, as all the first settlers in New England were, their civil and social institutions would, of necessity, take a form corresponding with the mould in which their religious organizations were cast; and as each church was a democracy in itself, the state government could hardly be other. A *Republic* was inevitable. It came, not from Greece or Rome, but grew up spontaneously from that system of church polity which they had deduced from the Bible; and was in practical operation, so far as colonial dependence would allow, a hundred and fifty years before the name itself was announced to the world. No one who overlooks this fact can write a correct history of our government; and no point is made clearer than this in the book before us.

The gathering of the first churches in New England, and the settlement of their pastors, are given in minute, but not unnecessary detail. From these

circumstantial sketches the attentive reader will better learn the genius of our ecclesiastical polity than from any platform or learned treatise that has been subsequently put forth. This attempt to lay bare the first footprints of New England Congregationalism will win for the author the thanks of many earnest minds, long exercised with care to regain "the old paths," and "walk therein."

In this connection we cannot forbear to notice as an important feature of the History, the brief genealogical notices of all the prominent divines, and many of the magistrates, who were actors in the great drama then opening upon these shores. None but a practised genealogist could have done this, and no other can appreciate the labor of doing it. But all can understand the value of the service thus rendered. Since all Christendom has been seized with a desire to learn whatever may be known of our Pilgrim Fathers, and to pay their long-deferred tribute of admiration to the wisdom of their counsels and the grandeur of their designs; since it is manifestly a decree of Providence that theirs are among

—— "the few, the immortal names  
That were not born to die;"

every link in the chain of existence that connects them with earth has an ever-growing importance. And yet the obscurity in which many of them lived and died, "to fortune and to fame unknown," renders it a difficult task to supply the information which the author of this volume has so copiously supplied.

JOHN A. ALBRO,  
JOSEPH S. CLARK,  
NATHAN MUNROE.

Boston, April, 1855.

Of various gentlemen who have kindly assisted the author of this work with valuable books are the following: Charles Dean, Samuel G. Drake; Thaddeus W. Harris, Charles Folsom, and Samuel F. Haven, Librarians of Harvard College, Boston Athenæum, and the American Antiquarian Society; Sewall Harding, William Jenks, D. D., James Savage, LL. D., and J. Wingate Thornton, LL. B.

The author is much indebted to the Massachusetts Historical Society, Rhode Island Historical Society, through Dr. Usher Parsons, for the use of books and MSS., and to publications of kindred societies in New Hampshire, Maine, and New York.

His thanks are due to officers of the state departments in Massachusetts, Rhode Island, and Connecticut, for a like favor; and also to officers having charge of Maine MSS. at Alfred, and of New Haven Colony MSS. in the city of New Haven.

He would make a similar acknowledgment for the use of MSS. to J. Carter Brown, of Providence, Rhode Island, to John Belknap and David Pulsifer, of Boston, Alonzo H. Quint, of West Roxbury, and to the officers of the British Museum, and of the Queen's State Paper Office in London.

The new style, as to years before 1752, is, and will be, used in this work.

Various dates of legislative orders are given, as found on records of the General Courts, who, for a considerable period, dated their transactions from the first day of their sessions, many of which dates must have been later than they seem to be.

# ECCLESIASTICAL HISTORY

OF

## NEW ENGLAND.

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### INTRODUCTION.

THE human race are instruments, as well as free agents, in the hands of their Creator, to help carry out his perfect plan, relative to this world, which he has made, and to the moral universe which he has established. To the perception of mankind, clouds and darkness rest upon his purposes, while these, in his view, are surrounded with light inexpressible.

Having made trial among Europeans, as to the various parts they would act in reference to the kingdom of his Son, he excites among them a spirit of inquiry and resolution for the discovery of new countries and a western route to the East Indies. Thus setting men in motion to accomplish so important an object, he enables them to reach America. Here, as we have cause to believe, he has ever intended to exercise the attributes of his perfection for the triumph of Protestant Christianity, and thus greatly contribute to the temporal and spiritual liberty of the whole earth.

As preparatory to this desirable and momentous end, he has controlled agencies and events, from one period to another, like an infinite Being, with whom a thousand years are as one day. After conducting navigators to various portions of our continent, near and afar off, he selected New England for colonists who had suffered for the principles of the gospel; commendably, though imperfectly, exhibited them in all their relations of life;

and were so fitted to lay foundations of church and state, which through the divine blessing, were to confer immense and lasting benefit on their own community, nation, and world.

After the discovery of our continent and the development of its vast resources for wealth to the European potentates, they were desirous to have a share in its territories. Whoever of them endeavored to accomplish this wish, distinctly avowed that a great aim, with them, was the conversion of the natives to the Christian faith, as well as the continuance of it among their own emigrants. Hence, wherever colonies were planted, there such an object was professed and sought by them, according to the spirit cherished and inculcated among their prevalent denominations. As their temporary and permanent settlements were caused by a purpose to carry out principles, either for or against the reformation, it seems desirable that a sketch of so important an event, in its general incidents, and also of patents and purposes of planting colonies in America, should be given, before we enter on the main object in view.

# ECCLESIASTICAL HISTORY.

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## CHAPTER I.

Protestant Reformation. — Luther. — Henry VIII., Defender of the Faith. — Bible the paramount test of doctrine. — Abbot of Ferne, martyr. — Sweden reformed. — The word Protestant begins to be used. — Tyndal's Testament. — Augsburg Confession. — Smalkaldic League. — Calvin flees. — Parliament forbid tribute to the pope. — Transubstantiation. — Henry VIII. excommunicated; made head of the English church. — Persecution in France. — Anabaptists destroyed. — Calvin's Institutes. — Denmark adopts the reformation. — Friars and nuns suppressed in England. — Whip with six strings. — Scotland. — Wishart, martyr. — Six articles repealed. — Rogers and Hooper, Puritans. — Liberty of Conscience. — Persecution of Mary. — Whittingham and others escape to Frankfort. — Rogers, martyr. — Whittingham and others called Puritans. — Toleration. — Elizabeth succeeds Mary. — Exiles return. — Court of High Commission. — Congregation of the Lord. — Knox. — Huguenots. — Presbyterianism. — Persecution in the Low Countries and France. — Elizabeth assists the Huguenots. — Thirty-nine articles adopted. — Nonconformists. — Holy League. — Massacre of Huguenots. — Opposition to the Holy League. — Catholic League. — Union of the Seven Provinces. — Freedom of Conscience. — Brownists. — Papal Assassins. — Armada. — Persecution. — Separatists. — Doctrinal Puritans. — Ainsworth. — Edict of Nantes. — James I. — Gunpowder Treason. — Toleration in Hungary. — Presbyterianism of Scotland. — Robinson's people escape to Holland. — Evangelical Union. — United Provinces obtain a truce. — New Version of the Bible. — Puritan publications. — Arians burned. — The position of James I. as to his subjects. — Congregational church in London. — Sabbath Games. — War between Papists and Protestants. — Synod of Dort. — Jesuits. — Archbishop Laud. — Church and State Puritans. — The pope's patent of America. — Conversion of the aborigines. — Voyages of Cabots, Varrazano, Cartier, and Roche. — Protestant colonies at Brazil, Florida, and Pariba. — Newfoundland. — Patents to Gilbert and Raleigh. — Patent to Monts. — Acadie. — North and South Virginia. — Manhattan. — Guiana. — Missionary spirit. — Bermuda. — Dislodgment of the French at Acadie, and the Dutch at Manhattan. — Raleigh's commission.

WALDUS in the twelfth, Wickliffe in the fourteenth, and Huss in the fifteenth centuries, complained of Romanism, as grievously infringing on the natural and moral rights of man, as hav-

ing a garnished and pompous exterior, but inwardly presenting little less than the ghastly images of hypocrisy and corruption. There can be little doubt but that they had strong reason for so grave a charge.

Such are the deteriorating effects of human nature, while unchecked, on the best professions and institutions, that no religious denomination has long existed in connection with the state, and acquired extensive political influence, who have not degenerated from their primeval purity. After protracted repose amid temporal prosperity, they need, like still waters, the agitations of scrutiny and argument, lest they become entirely tainted, and send out moral pestilence and spiritual death.

The weapons of the reformers just mentioned so struck on the shield of papacy as to penetrate its vitals, and leave there a wound, from which it never wholly recovered. To the result of their prayers, precepts, and labors, the remark, by a biographer of Wickliffe, is justly applicable: "This germ of reformation broke forth into complete expansion when the season for that change was fully come."

There were several auxiliaries, which sustained the efforts of such pioneers, and advanced the cause to which they consecrated their time, talents, and life. The schism which divided the Romish church, in the latter part of the fourteenth and the beginning of the fifteenth centuries; the Councils of Constance and Basle, who assumed the authority of electing and deposing popes, and so giving a shock to the idea of their supremacy; contentions between the rival and vicious pontiffs Alexander VI. and Julius II., in connection with the profligate example set by large numbers of the clergy, did much to lessen veneration for the chair of St. Peter, and to diminish confidence in its infallibility and dread of its anathemas. In addition to these allies of truth, the invention of printing and revival of letters, and the issue of the Complutensian Bible ~~from the press at Antwerp~~, excited a spirit of investigation, which rejected the position, that "ignorance is the mother of devotion," uncovered the deformity of superstitious impositions, and removed them from the course of pure religion and scriptural salvation. With the premises so prepared, Luther held a vantage ground superior to that of his predecessors.

1517. Aroused by the affront offered to reason, conscience, and revelation, by the sale of indulgences for the commission of sin, as allowed by Leo X., he contends more efficiently than his forerunners, though not more worthily, against the assumptions of the Vatican. Pertinently is the ghost of Bonner represented as expressing the sentiment of those who strove with him to sustain the tottering pillars of Papal power, —

“ Ah, fatal age, which gave mankind  
A Luther and a Faustus ! ”

The zealous and dauntless reformer here named is not left to contend single handed. He has an able coadjutor in Zuingle, who, in 1519, preaches the unadulterated gospel in Switzerland.

**1521.** Cited by Charles, the emperor, to appear before the Diet at Worms, Luther goes thither, though contrary to the earnest entreaties of his friends. Conscious that the cause he pleads is righteous, and protected by a passport from his sovereign, he is suffered to depart. His patron, the Elector of Saxony, grants him a secret refuge. In a few days, the diet discover what they would have done to him had he ventured into their presence unsecured by the imperial pledge, by an order which they issue for his apprehension as soon as the period of his safe conduct expires. Still, he propagates his principles at the peril of his life.

**1522.** While the leaven of the new doctrine was spreading in Europe, Henry VIII., of England, had taken up his pen against Luther. A prominent reason why this monarch assumed such an attitude was because the object of his strictures had ridiculed the absurdities of Thomas Aquinas, one of his favorite authors. For the service of the king on this occasion, his holiness bestows on him and his royal successors, forever, the title of Defenders of the Faith. This honor, as subsequently applied to Henry and others on the English throne, meant a very different thing from what the pope intended.

**1523.** Still, neither the smiles nor frowns of the pontiff prevent the progress of what he denounced as heresy. The senate of Zurich break the ties which had bound their consciences to the canon law, and declare that the oracles of inspiration shall be preached fully and truly. For acting on this rule, two Augustan friars are consumed at the stake at Brussels. The Abbot of Ferne, condemned on a similar charge, dies in 1525, the first martyr for it in Scotland. But material fire, so cruelly applied, cannot counteract the ardor of enlightened piety.

**1527.** Gustavus welcomes the reformation into Sweden. The next year, like renovating influence has freecourse in Berne and Constance, and, the year after, in Basle.

**1529.** Alarmed by these and kindred events, the Diet at Spire confirm the edict of Worms against Luther, as a contumacious heretic. But their decision fails to meet with universal and passive reception. It is protested against by several princes and deputies from free cities in Germany. Hence the



[1530.]

persons who take such a stand, receive the name of Protestants. This term has been ever since applied to Christians who have withdrawn from communion with the Papal see.

1530. To aid in dispelling the clouds which yet lowered over the church, William Tyndale publishes, at Antwerp, an English translation of the New Testament. For the same purpose, an assembly of Protestants adopt a system of doctrines, drawn up by Melanchthon, and since called the Augsburg Confession, from the place where they sat.

Aware that force would be employed to drive them from the profession of their creed, several German powers form a league for mutual defence, at Smalkald. To secure their aid in resisting the Turks, Charles V. grants them, in 1532, liberty of conscience till the convocation of a general council.

Another powerful helper to the reformation appears, in the year last mentioned, in the person of Calvin. He flees from Paris to Basle, for the furtherance of his design.

1533. The cause of Protestantism, so strengthened, begins to have less discouragement from the authorities of England. The Parliament vote that their bishops shall pay no more money to his holiness. A principal occasion of this change is a rupture between Clement and Henry VIII. The latter is thus instrumental more for the gratification of a guilty passion than for the spiritual welfare of his realm.

1534. While the dawn of light is so discerned in our mother country, an act is passed by Parliament that none of their nation shall appeal to Rome. It appears more clearly in Geneva, which is soon to be a resting-place for champions of religious liberty.

As a sign how heavily the ignorance of past ages still hung upon England, two men are burned to death in London for denying transubstantiation.

While so revolting a scene is chargeable upon his administration, Henry is excommunicated by a decree from St. Peter. His Parliament, by way of retaliation, abolish their allegiance to Clement, and vest their own sovereign with ecclesiastical supremacy. Thus an event is produced in our fatherland which forms a memorable era in its constitution, and opens an avenue to the promotion of its temporal and spiritual interests. But the work, aided by a monarch for iniquitous purposes, and cumbered with the lack of experience in religious freedom, is very deficiently done. He alternately suffers the Protestants of his kingdom to be consumed for denying several Papal doctrines, and the Catholics to endure the same punishment for maintaining the authority of the pontiff. Nor is France free from the same deprecated cruelty. The

1536.]

fires of persecution are kindled on many of her inhabitants, who defend the reformation. While bigotry thus displays the disposition of a Moloch, fanaticism seriously obstructs the progress of truth. A sect of Anabaptists—far less worthy than the denomination of a like name in our day—had rebelled, and established themselves in Munster. There, confiding in supernatural deliverance,—though the subverters of regular government, and the slaves of gross licentiousness,—they are mostly destroyed by troops from their vicinity.

1536. While the folly of some retard the enterprise for correcting the accumulated errors of the church, the wisdom of others imparts to it a healthful impulse. Of the latter, Calvin publishes his Institutes at Basle, and soon unites his labors with those of Farel and Viret in Geneva. The next year, influenced by such exertions, Christian establishes the principles which they promote in Denmark and Norway. The year after, in England, the same leaven operates, so that all orders of friars and nuns are suppressed there.

1539. The kindred spirits who sympathized with these signs of the time, and who had their lot in England, are greatly discouraged and grieved that Parliament enact several laws, commonly called "The Bloody Statute, or Whip with Six Strings."

These are as follow: "1. The natural body of Christ is present in the eucharist under the forms, but without the substance, of bread and wine. 2. Communion in both kinds is not necessary. 3. Priests may not marry. 4. Vows of chastity are to be kept. 5. Private masses should be retained. 6. Auricular confession is expedient and necessary." Opposition to the first of these articles is death, and to the rest, punishment for felony. Thus, while the king and his government set their faces against Romanism in its points of authority, they impose some of its most objectionable tenets upon the kingdom. This policy, already stained with the blood of the innocent, is repulsive to the feelings of his conscientious subjects, whether Catholics or Protestants. Sooner than pay it the homage royally required, many of these agonize and expire at the stake.

1542. The Earl of Arran, regent of Scotland, and an attentive observer of authority so abused, introduces the reformed creed into this kingdom. But swayed more by temporal motives than pure principle, he recants the following year, and persecutes such as refuse to imitate his own vacillation. Among the objects of his displeasure is the noted George Wishart, who dies, three years after, a martyr to his pious constancy.

1546. Though the friends of reform are sustained by conscious rectitude, yet they have much to retard their progress. Among their serious impediments is the compact of the German

[1547.]

emperor with Paul III., to extirpate their principles from his dominions. For this reason, the princes of the Smalkaldic league prepare for defence. But intrigue and defection disappoint them in expected success.

1547. While such changes occur on the continent, the King of England is summoned to his last account. With him persecution sleeps for a time, and hope dawns more brightly on the supporters of religious freedom. He is succeeded by his son, Edward, a mere lad. Well for the kingdom that this regal minor is blessed with judicious counsellors. Among the first steps towards quenching the fires of Smithfield is an act of Parliament to abolish the six articles. These being removed, the English liturgy is so far corrected and amended, in 1548, as to resemble nearly what it is in our day.

1550. Among the supporters of so hopeful a movement are Messrs. John Rogers and John Hooper. These defenders of the faith unite their counsels and efforts with others to have the long-accustomed dress of the clergy and ancient rites of worship laid aside, as inconsistent with gospel simplicity. Thus they may be properly honored as the first leaders of the English Puritans.

1552. While Papacy is thus on the wane in our mother country, it is no less so elsewhere. Maurice, who had brought defeat on the Protestant powers of Germany, now aids them to obtain terms of peace with Charles, at Passau, which allow that none be molested for their religion.

1553. Still fluctuation betides the reformation in England. Called to an early grave, Edward leaves the advocates of his administration to weep for his departure, and still more for the violence with which his sister, Mary, speedily and perseveringly counteracts the influences of his reign. Educated in the belief that Protestantism should be eradicated from the earth, even at the expense of life to its adherents, she proceeds, the next year, with a strong hand, to clear her kingdom of its forms and doctrines.

1554. Perceiving that they must either give up their creed or their life, if they continued in her territory, William Whittingham and others escape to Frankfort. Here they form an independent church, and dispense with the litany and other ceremonies.

For carrying out her purpose, Queen Mary invites Cardinal Pole from Rome. This dignitary exhorts Parliament to change their policy. More solicitous to obey their queen than the dictates of revelation, they immediately consent, and authorize a furious persecution. The first victim of so blind and cruel a zeal was, in 1555, the worthy John Rogers. While the work

1558.]

of malevolence is thus destroying the servants of Christ at home, schism is dividing their fellow-laborers abroad. The church, under Mr. Whittingham, at Frankfort, is separated on the question of using the litany. He and his friends who negative this innovation, and seek for purer forms, are denominated Puritans. They depart, some for Basle and others for Geneva, where they organize two more churches. They who remain still continue their worship, and subsequently become reconciled with their seceding brethren. Several other independent churches are formed on the continent by refugees from the abused power of Mary.

While intolerance is carried to a great extreme in England, a less bigoted disposition is manifested in Germany. The Diet of Augsburg decide, as the peace at Passau did, that neither Catholics nor Protestants shall be molested for their belief. Their language is, "No attempt shall be made towards terminating religious differences, except by persuasion and conference; the supreme power in every state may establish what form of doctrine and worship it shall deem proper, but shall permit those who refuse to conform to remove their effects." Thus an advance, unusual for the period, is made towards freedom of conscience. It shows that, amid the conflicts of adverse judgments and interests, rational views as to the rights of faith were then cherished and exemplified.

1558. Having won so fair and open a field for its influences, the reformation gains by the loss which Papacy experiences in the decease of Mary. The effect of her policy, as exhibited in spiritual concerns, on the minds of most in her kingdom, is to give them an utter abhorrence of her religion. Her excessive misdirection of power is succeeded with a reaction of proportioned benefit.

1559. Elizabeth, her successor, had prepared for a change in the worship of her kingdom. Ecclesiastical supremacy is conferred on her by act of Parliament. Informed of the course which she was likely to pursue, the exiles of her people gladly revisit their homes. Her subjects consist of three classes, who wish for different administrations of government in the church. One desire that Romanism may be continued; another, that independency be adopted; and a third, that the liturgy of Edward VI. may be restored. She mainly favors the views of the last, without much regard for the two other denominations. A clause in the act for empowering Elizabeth as head of the church, gives rise to the Court of High Commission, which proves a scourge to dissenters of every grade, age, and condition.

Though difficulty is thus experienced in the realm of Elizabeth, a greater is felt in Scotland. Here the Guises of France

use their influence to strengthen the pontifical power. A result of this is, that the Protestants form a compact for mutual protection in their rights, and call themselves "The Congregation of the Lord." They are greatly encouraged to preserve their union by John Knox, lately returned from Geneva. Threatened with Papal subjection, they resort to arms.

1560. As the authors of their calamity had obtained a bull from Rome declaring the birth of Elizabeth illegitimate, so as to effect her dethronement, she readily lends an ear to their supplications for help.

The same influence which is exerted to put down the Protestants in Scotland is applied for a like purpose in France. These, being called Huguenots, obtain, through Admiral de Coligny, one of their principal leaders, a suspension of edicts against them as heretics.

The policy so propitious for this denomination hearkens to proposals for peace with their brethren in Scotland. A favorable treaty is made by Francis and Mary with Elizabeth in their behalf. The Scots, thus successful, prohibit the Romish rites of worship on the severest terms. They require, for the first offence of this sort, forfeiture of goods; for the second, banishment; and for the third, death. In this manner they furnish the oft-repeated example of one sect visiting upon another the very penalties of which they themselves had loudly complained.

As the best mode, in their judgment, of securing the religious privileges of their nation, they adopt the Presbyterian form and doctrines, professed by the English church of Geneva, and recommended by John Knox.

1561. The reformation, so advanced in Scotland, meets with the unrelenting opposition of Philip II. He visits its advocates in Spain and the Low Countries with barbarous executions. He even extends the application of his edicts against heresy to his American dominions.

1562. In turning from the deeds of a sovereign whose whole energies were employed to extirpate the opponents of Papacy, we come to a scene more congenial with the sympathies of humanity. The French assembly at St. Germain's, the Protestant clergy having held their first synod there in 1559, allow Protestants in the peaceable indulgence and expression of their creed, and in unmolested worship without the walls of cities. But the promise of harmony here given is soon broken. The attendants of the Duke of Guise massacre sixty of the Huguenots, who had met at Vassy for public devotion. The immediate consequence is civil war in France.

The fears of unmerciful subjection, entertained by the Huguenots, are much enhanced by a strong accession to the forces of

1563.]

their adversaries, sent from the King of Spain. In such an extremity they look to England for help. Nor do they look in vain. They are speedily succored by troops from that quarter.

1563. Elizabeth, having thus given a seasonable proof of active benevolence as well as of political sagacity, summons a convocation of her clergy. This body prepare and accept the Thirty-nine Articles. While these were under debate, the question of throwing out the ceremonies was taken in the lower house, and rejected only by one majority, and this too by means of proxies. Here is an indication that the influences of the Puritans and of the Episcopalians were nearly balanced. Because many of the former denomination decline to approve the liturgy and rites, so confirmed, they are called Nonconformists. While the queen is deeply interested in these affairs, she does not lose sight of her allies in France. Before, however, she is ready to comply with their stipulations on her behalf, they are induced to lay down their arms, on the pledge of religious toleration. They are put off from their guard in this manner, so that they may become the more easy victims of merciless treachery.

1565. In accordance with the purpose just intimated, a compact, named the Holy League, is made at Bayonne, between the courts of France and Spain, for the destruction of the Protestants in the former kingdom and in the Low Countries, and for extinction of the reformed principles in all Europe. Mary, Queen of the Scots, is drawn into this conspiracy, which proves a chief cause of her downfall.

1567. With such devices for its overthrow on the continent, the Protestant cause in England is not entirely without clouds in its prospect. Clergymen who stood for greater simplicity in the rites of the church, had been suspended and deprived of their parishes, fined and imprisoned.

1571. Parliament draw the cords of compliance with the thirty-nine articles still more closely. The bishops are even less lenient than they. The hard measure, which the latter mete to the dissenters, only widens the breach between them.

While the cry of the oppressed goes up from the land of our fathers, a still louder lamentation ascends from those of like faith in the dominions of Philip II. The Duke of Alva, as the commissioner of his will, puts multitudes of reformed Flemings to most excruciating deaths.

1572. In keeping with the long-concerted plan, so awfully developed, seventy thousand Huguenots, with the fullest assurances of safety from the crown, are massacred in the kingdom of France.

From such deprecated exhibitions of "man's erring judg-

[1578.]

ment," we turn to the less revolting events of England. While division exists on some points, there is a general and hearty accordance of the nation in condemning the atrocious conduct of France and Spain towards their Protestant subjects. Elizabeth renews her alliance with the German princes, who, equally with herself, are alarmed at the manifest policy of the Catholic powers. Such protectors of the reformation are greatly encouraged by the firm resistance of the Protestants in France and the Low Countries.

1576. Though the Huguenots retain their liberties by force of arms, yet the Catholics are zealous for their ruin. To the former, once more driven to defend their rights with the sword, Henry III. grants a peace, which as much favors them as it displeases their opponents.

1577. In this unsettled state of the theological parties, the Duke of Guise lays the foundation of the Catholic League, which aims at the utter excision of the reformed faith. Of such a compact Philip of Spain declares himself the protector. But his power soon receives a serious shock. Holland and Zealand, weary with his bloody yoke, throw it off, and, under the Prince of Orange, commence their national existence. Having had various experience of victory and defeat, they are much distressed, and solicit the assistance of Queen Elizabeth. After some delay, she, the next year, consents to make a common cause with them against the Catholic League. However, thus encouraged, they suffer their harmony to be disturbed, and their energies to be weakened, by selfish dissensions.

To avoid the evils of such a condition, the Prince of Orange prudently and patriotically persuades them to form, in 1579, the celebrated union of the Seven Provinces at Utrecht.

Thus they enter into a confederation, which long remained as closely joined, and harmoniously strong, as the bundle of arrows prefigured, which they adopted for the arms and emblem of their republic. Among the articles of their union was one on the subject of religion. By it Holland and Zealand were at liberty to act their pleasure, while the rest of the provinces agree that the edict published by Archduke Matthias, for freedom of conscience to all, shall be their rule.

1580. As a chief promoter of this combination for civil and religious freedom, Elizabeth has evidence that many of her own subjects cherish views which differ from hers in various respects. Robert Brown breaks from Episcopacy, and openly censures its primitive edicts. With reference to all such as thus refuse to comply with the canon law, Parliament enact, in 1581, that each of them shall pay twenty pounds a month who refuse to attend on common prayer. The followers of

Brown form a society, and, from their connection with him, are called Brownists. He writes on the reformation, and denounces the church of England as no church. Thus he commences those extravagances which, from his subsequent course, appear to be more the effusions of passion than of principle. His congregation are speedily dispersed by the civil power, and, with him, in 1583, retire to Middleburgh, in Zealand. Two of his people, who remained behind, are put to death for circulating his publications against the litany.

While exertions are so made to suppress this denomination, some of the principal supporters of Protestantism are made the marks of Papal retaliation.

William Parry, an Englishman, is incited and granted a plenary indulgence, in 1584, by the pontiff himself, to murder Queen Elizabeth. But the conspiracy fails, and the intended instrument of it soon falls a victim to his infatuated purpose. Not so is it with another pillar of the reformation. The Prince of Orange, with a price set on his head by Philip II., is assassinated for leading the United Provinces to civil and religious freedom. With such appalling demonstrations, that the Catholic powers still felt themselves at liberty to practice the blackest deeds for the promotion of their faith, Elizabeth pushes her purpose to protect the reformation of these provinces.

1588. She despatches an army to relieve and preserve them from the hard bondage of Spain. So perilous is this step considered, that the King of Sweden remarks of it, "She has now taken the diadem from her head, and placed it upon the point of the sword."

1588. To punish England for such resistance to Papacy, and bring them back to the authority of St. Peter, the Armada of Spain sails, with numerous instruments of torture for obstinate heretics. But, however styled Invincible, this fleet is destroyed.

1589. While the champions of Romanism are thus disappointed, they perceive with pain that Henry III., of France, unites with the Huguenots to subdue his other Catholic subjects.

The doctors of the Sorbonne, zealous in favor of the pontiff, excite rebellion against Henry by the declaration that the people are released from their oath of allegiance to him. Thus situated, no wonder that the poniard of an assassin is ready to despatch him. James Clement, a Dominican friar, murders him when on the point of taking Paris from the insurgents. The successor of this king is Henry IV., who is forced to abandon the siege of the metropolis. The power of the Catholic League is so brought to bear on him as to threaten the ruin



of himself and his Protestant followers. In this extremity, he applies for and receives money and troops from England. Such aid prevents his downfall.

1592. However gratifying to the friends of religion such beneficence must have been, yet they still have cause to regret that liberty of conscience is imperfectly understood and practiced by the English government. The Puritans continue their efforts for unmolested worship. A congregation of Brownists is formed in London under the care of Francis Johnson as pastor, and John Greenwood as teacher. But soon the civil arm is upon them. Many of them are beat, and imprisoned. Some of them perish under the severity of such treatment. John Greenwood and Henry Barrow, confined in London since 1586, are put to death, in 1593, for their publications against the hierarchy, and John Penry for having in his study a manuscript on the same topic. The last, in a letter, dated a few weeks before his execution, and directed to those of like faith in London, expressed himself as follows: "Seeing banishment, with loss of goods, is likely to betide you all, prepare yourselves for this hard entreaty, and rejoice that you are made worthy, for Christ's cause, to suffer and bear all things. I would wish you earnestly to write, yea, to send, if you may, to comfort the brethren in the west and north counties, that they faint not in these troubles, and that also you may have of their advice, and they of yours, what to do in these desolate times. Yea, I wish you and them to be together, if you may, whithersoever you shall be banished, and to this purpose, to bethink you beforehand where to be; yea, to send some who may be meet to prepare you some resting-place."

Francis Johnson (the leader of a society who worshiped in a house occupying the spot now of No. 80 King William Street, on the bank of the Thames, opposite Southwark) and others are banished. Thus spared, they go to Amsterdam, and there worship according to their own form. In this repulsive manner it is that Elizabeth sustains the almost inquisitorial powers of the Court of High Commission and the arbitrary decrees of the Star Chamber. How much purer and brighter would have been the glory of her reign, had greater mercy ruled her councils!

Still, however hard the hand of royal prerogative bears on the Brownists, they rise in number and influence. The more zealous Puritans leave the national church, and worship with them in private houses. Such as depart in this manner are termed Separatists. At the same time, the greater number of the Puritans decline to secede, and their writers censure those who thus go out from them.

1595. Among the changes which disturb the peace of the Episcopal church is that relative to its doctrines. Some give them the gloss of Arminius, and others that of Calvin. Hence the latter begin to be called Doctrinal Puritans.

While the troubled waters of controversy are so kept in agitation, the Separatists, who went to Amsterdam, are far from slumbering over their cause. Henry Ainsworth (successor of Mr. Johnson) and John Canne publish, the following year, their confession of faith, and the reasons for their secession from Episcopacy. This work is extensively read in England, and gains many proselytes. The second of these three, being a prisoner in London, wrote against Arthur Hildersham, not yet an advocate for separation from the national church.

We turn, and look to the King of France. He extends, in 1598, the olive branch to the two great theological parties of his realm, Protestants and Catholics. As he had made his peace with the pope, the former denomination, who had proved themselves his fast friends, fear lest he may be induced to forsake them. Nor do they keep their apprehensions from his ear. He kindly hearkens to their plea. He passes the edict of Nantes, which secures to them full civil and religious privileges. By his lenient measures, he weakens the Catholic League, in application to his Protestant subjects.

From so promising an appearance of spiritual good, we revisit the shores of England. We notice the Puritans on the ascension of James I., in 1603, to the throne of Great Britain. As he had encouraged Presbyterianism in Scotland, they have reason to expect greater privileges from him than they received from his predecessor. But to their sorrow they perceive that with the enlargement of his sway he lessens his toleration. His motto to them, while suing for relief from the hard exactions of the canonical law, is often expressed in the words, "No bishop, no king." Though he does not chastise them with scorpions, yet he fails to remove from them the whips prepared by former legislation.

Henry Jacob, previously settled at Chariton, in Kent, and having been convinced by arguments of Johnson, publishes in 1604, *On the Necessity of reforming the Churches in England*.

In passing from this kingdom to the continent, we meet with a publication, now issued, which shows that the people under Mr. Ainsworth, at Amsterdam, do not like to be charged with holding the ultra notions of rigid Separatists.

1606. The hand of English authority is yet misdirected. It compels more than two hundred and seventy of its Puritan clergymen, of the Established church, to forsake their livings,

[1606.]

and subject themselves and families to want and affliction. Accused of denying the royal supremacy, and other delinquencies, these ministers are vindicated by Mr. Bradshaw, in a book entitled *English Puritanism*. Many of them are forced to seek an asylum in Holland.

Nor are the Papists unmolested. With the requisitions of the canon law, severely applied to them, they are greatly dissatisfied. To so high a pitch of resentment do the feelings of some among them rise, that they conspire to blow up the Parliament. This plot is discovered, November 5, which occasions the appointment of an annual thanksgiving.

Still, the king discovers more favor to the Catholics than to the Puritans. This and other similar indications subject him to the suspicions of the latter denomination, that he is, at heart, a greater friend of the Romish see than of the Protestant reformation.

At the close of this year, the free exercise of religion is granted in Hungary.

1606. James, regardless of his former pledges to the people of Scotland, begins to substitute Episcopacy for their beloved Presbyterianism.

Dissenters in the north of England are called to endure sufferings for the principles they profess. The next year they begin their escape to Holland.

As an intelligent and able defender of Congregational principles, Henry Jacob publishes, in 1609, his treatise, *On Toleration*. Such friends of the reformation are glad that an Evangelical Union is formed in Germany to counterbalance the Catholic League, and that the United Provinces obtain a truce, for twelve years, of the Spanish court.

While Jacob gives, in 1610, to the public his work, *On the Divine Beginning and Institution of Christ's True Visible or Ministerial Church*, Ames and Robinson defend separation from Episcopacy.

The subsequent year, for the furtherance of the same great cause, to which they were devoting their energies, the new version of the Bible into our language is completed.

1612. While the cause of the Separatists is tolerated and advanced in the Provinces, the fires of persecution are not quenched in England. Here Bartholomew Legate and Edward Wightman are burned to death, on the charge of Arianism.

To the grief of many good people, the king, in 1613, has tilting and other royal entertainments on the Sabbath, and, in the evening, a masquerade of lords and ladies, in honor of the marriage of Princess Elizabeth to the Prince Palatine.

1616.]

The ruler, who so presumes to trample on the day of God, is charged, the next year, by the Parliament, with admitting Papists to his council, dealing severely with many excellent Protestant ministers, and with several overtures he had made for the marriage of the late Prince Henry and the present Prince Charles with daughters of Papal princes. They complain that, by such a course, he greatly discouraged the cause of the reformation, and promoted that of Papacy. Perceiving that the Parliament meant to deal with some of his bishops for their offensive speeches, he abruptly dissolves them. He imprisons several of their members, who were active against his proceedings.

1616. Mr. Jacob, who had conversed much with the English divines in Holland, unites with his friends, and founds a Congregational church at Southwark, in London. For this step, he had the approbation of Hildersham, who was concealed to escape imprisonment.

It was at the close of a day for fasting and prayer that each member confessed his faith in Christ, and they all "joined hands and solemnly covenanted with each other, in the presence of Almighty God, to walk together in all God's ways and ordinances, according as he had already revealed, or should make them known to them. Mr. Jacob was then chosen pastor of this witnessing church by the suffrage of the brotherhood, and others were appointed to the office of deacons, with imposition of hands." They publish a declaration of their principles the same year, with a petition to James I. In the latter document they say, "To meet for worship in the *public* places, with peace and protection, would be, in this world, the greatest blessing which our hearts desire, or which could come to us. But we dare not expect, neither do we ask, so great a favor at your majesty's hand; only that, in *private*, we might serve God with clear and quiet consciences, according to the effect of our forementioned 'confession,' we, in all lowliness, crave but your *toleration*."

Opposed to such proceedings, the king, at a session of judges in the Star Chamber, exhorts them to encourage the clergy to act against the Papists and Puritans, saying, "God and the king will reward your zeal."

1617. He sits in the High Commission Court at St. Andrews to try fifty-six ministers, who protested against a bill for giving him power over the kirk. He has three of them deprived of their livings. To arrest the progress of Puritanism, and prevent objections from the Papists, against the strictness of the reformed religion, James issues an order, in 1618, that the Puritans and "Precisians" of Lancashire either con-

form or quit the country, and that, in opposition to their precept and practice, "dancing, archery, leaping, vaulting, May games, Whitsun ales, morrice dances, setting up May poles," and other recreations, after worship, on the Sabbath, be allowed.

While the English king is thus developing his principles of action, the Emperor of Germany sends an army against Bohemia. This arose from opposition of the Provinces to the exertions of the Papal Archbishop of Prague to destroy the reformed churches among the Bohemians. It was the beginning of a religious war, for thirty years, between the Papists and Protestants, in Bohemia and Germany.

Another conflict, no less involving the passions of severity, now occasions the synod of Dort to consider the five points of discussion between Calvinists and Arminians. The next year this synod declares against the doctrines of the last denomination. Several of the German states proscribe the Jesuits, and confederate for their own preservation.

European events, from this date, bearing upon New England, especially those of our mother country, will be noticed under Massachusetts, as they may be presented.

We now turn from ecclesiastical concerns of Europe, and particularly those of our fatherland, which had a subsequent influence on New England, to notice charters or patents, and primitive colonies of other parts of America, in their religious purposes and implied results.

1493. This year, immediately succeeding the one in which Columbus discovered America,\* and shortly before his second voyage hither, Pope Alexander VI., who, like his pontifical brethren, was never bowed down by an excess of modesty, bestowed all this portion of the globe on the Kings of Castile, "*ad fidem Catholicam reducere*," or for bringing its population to the Catholic faith. The royal instructions to that adventurous and worthy navigator set forth, that the principal object of his expedition was the evangelization of the heathen. For this purpose, he took with him the celebrated Las Casas and eleven ecclesiastics. The Papal authority, so exercised, was intended to keep every portion of the western hemisphere under its perpetual sway. It will be remembered, in relation to this

\* The preface to Hackluyt's third volume refers to Plato's two dialogues, of *Timæus* and *Critias*, concerning land beyond the Straits of Gibraltar, which had been discovered, and was of greater extent than Asia and Africa; so to Aristotle and Diodorus Siculus on the same subject. Hackluyt takes from Powell's *History of Wales* the account that Madoc, in 1170, discovered and settled some part of our continent.

fact, that the reformation under Luther had not taken place, and did not commence till 1517.

1497. John Cabot is employed by Henry VII., of England, to discover a north-west passage to India. In this impracticable enterprise he reaches Newfoundland.\* While endeavoring to compass his main object, he coasted down to 38°, and some say, 25° north latitude. He thus gives a claim to the English crown for the territory, which it subsequently enforced, and so provided a refuge for our ancestors.

1524. John Verrazano, in the service of Francis I., King of the French, coasts along our country, from 28° to 50° north latitude. This survey was afterwards made, by that nation, the basis of a claim to our soil, and became an occasion of fear to our primitive inhabitants.

1540. As an event to have an effect on the policy of our countrymen, Francis I., jealous of progressive Protestantism, commissions James Cartier, who discovered the Bay of St. Lawrence six years before, to settle Canada. A chief object of such an enterprise was "*induire les autres peuple de ceux pays à croire en notre sainte foi*," or induce the people of those countries to a belief in our holy faith. Francis la Roche accompanies, in 1542, a colony to this part of the continent.

1555. We notice the colony of French Protestants now settled at Brazil, chiefly through the influence of Admiral Coligny. The continuance and termination of this enterprise afterwards came, as a matter of course, into the considerations of our colonists, when counting the cost of emigration to our shores. The next year, the church of Geneva send fourteen missionaries to spread the Christian faith among and about the former settlers.

Villagagnon, the chief director of these afflicted colonists, returns, in 1557, to Papacy, and they, from necessity of circumstances, are generally compelled to embark for France. The most of those who remained were slain, the following year, by the Portuguese, who counted them as heretics.

1562. The same devoted admiral continues his efforts to secure a refuge for his persecuted countrymen. He promotes a settlement of them on Port Royal River, in Florida, which fails, and those of them who are left get back to Europe. He sends another body of settlers thither, in 1564, of whom nine hundred, great and small, are massacred, the next year, by a Spanish expedition under Melendez. This commander had an inscription put over the Frenchmen whom he caused to be hung—"I do not thus as to Frenchmen, but as to Lutherans." Gour-

\* The Discoveries in the West, by Conway Robinson, says, Cabot discovered America in 1498.

ges, a countryman of these sufferers, fits out three ships, in 1568, and puts their slaughterers, by way of retaliation, to death. He had a label placed over Spaniards whom he ordered to be hung,—"I do not this as to Spaniards, nor as to mariners, but as to traitors, robbers, and murderers."

1572. A company of English settle at Pariba, Brazil. In the fifth year of their continuance here, they are exterminated by the governor of St. Sebastian.

1578. In the fleet under Frobisher,\* arriving at the straits which bear his name, and which he had previously discovered, was a highly-respectable clergyman, named Wollfall. This person came on the voyage as a missionary for the spiritual good of the men with him, and the conversion of the Indians. When they had reached the harbor, "they highly praised God, and, all together upon their knees, gave him due, humble, and hearty thanks. Master Wollfall celebrated a communion on the land, at the partaking whereof were the captain and many other gentlemen and soldiers, mariners, and miners."

According to Hackluyt, Queen Elizabeth empowers Sir Humphrey Gilbert to settle America, so far as unclaimed by other Christian powers, and to govern here, in conformity with the laws of her kingdom, "so as they be not against true Christian faith or religion now professed in the church of England."

1583. So privileged, Sir Humphrey, finding thirty-six sail of fishing vessels, which belonged to various nations, at Newfoundland, takes possession of the soil in her majesty's name. He orders that public worship there shall be according to that in the church of England. He has the arms of his nation set up near the position, where the ceremony, on this occasion, took place. With regard to the religious purpose of this voyage, Thomas Aldworth, merchant and mayor of Bristol, writes to Sir Francis Walsingham, "I presently conferred with my friends whom I knew most affectionate to this godly enterprise."

Sir George Peckam, largely concerned in this undertaking, and who wrote an able article on the trade of the country, remarked, "The use of traffic, be it never so profitable, ought not to be preferred before the planting of Christian faith."

1584. The power, conferred on Gilbert, deceased, to settle and govern portions of this continent, are transferred by Elizabeth, to his half brother, Sir Walter Raleigh, on the same conditions.

1585. Among several tracts, published in England, to encourage settlements here for spiritual purposes, is one by Mr. Hackluyt, said to be father of the noted cosmographer. It holds forth inducements for a voyage to North Virginia, the first of which is "to plant the Christian religion."

\* Wilberforce's History of the Episcopal Church in America.

1589. Raleigh assigns his patents, including North and South Virginia, to a company of London, among whom was Rev. Richard Hackluyt, referred to in the preceding paragraph.

1603, November 8. As an occasion of consequences with which our pilgrim fathers were anxiously concerned, Henry of France grants letters patent to Sieur de Monts, as lieutenant general of Acadie, from 40° to 46° north, subsequently styled Nova Scotia. An important clause of this document is "*instruire les peuples, qui habitent en cette contrée, au Christianisme, et en la créance et profession de notre foi et religion,*" or "to instruct the people, who dwell in that country, in Christianity, and in the belief and profession of our faith and religion."

1606, April 10. As a matter of great subsequent importance to this and other portions of British America, James I., considering that Raleigh, now confined in the Tower, had forfeited his patent, charters a company of London and elsewhere, and another of Bristol, Plymouth, and other places. The former of these associations are thus intrusted with the charge of South Virginia, and the latter with that of North Virginia, both divisions from 34° to 45° north latitude. Each of them afterwards claim a monopoly of trade within their own boundaries, which produces jealousies and controversies between them, without any adequate benefit. The prominent purpose for which the king so privileges them is the "propagating of Christian religion to such people as yet live in darkness and miserable ignorance of the true knowledge and worship of God."

November 20. For the regulation of settlements, which the two bodies may cause to be made in their respective jurisdictions, royal "orders and instructions" are issued. Among these is one which requires that religious worship shall be conducted as in the church of England. This shows that his majesty meant to allow, as was consistent with his predilections, no more liberty abroad than he did at home, and that hierarchy and monarchy of the stricter kind should go hand in hand to his American dominions. He appoints a council to exercise a general supervision of the colonies.

1607. The colony planted, through the influence of Raleigh, at Roanoke, Virginia, 1585, and another small one, who took possession there, in 1587, having continued but a short time, the first permanent settlement is now made by emigrants brought over by Christopher Newport, at James River. This was done by them on the 13th of May, though they landed at Cape Henry on the 26th of April. They were accompanied by a clergyman, Robert Hunt, who, as the account of Rev. William Simmons says, met with much opposition, which "had even then overthrown the business, had he not met with the



[1608.

water of patience, and his godly exhortations (but chiefly by his true, devoted examples) quenched those flames of envy and dissension."

Of a discourse, contained in Purchase, for encouraging the Virginia colony, we have the subsequent passage: "Religion inviteth us there to seek the kingdom of God first, and all other things shall be ministered to us, and added as advantage to the bargain. Seek the kingdom of God, and see an earthly kingdom in recompense, as the earnest, and the heavenly kingdom for our full payment. Of glorifying God in his word and works in this design is already spoken."

1609. In the service of the Dutch, Henry Hudson, while searching for a route to India, sails \* along the country from Newfoundland to the Chesapeake. He entered Manhattan River. Here the Dutch opened a trade, next year, with the natives, and for what he had done, claimed the soil there, and north and south of it, though not originally discovered by him. Such a claim was afterwards the source of much perplexity to New England, especially to its portion known as Connecticut.

The same year, Robert Harcourt, on a voyage of discovery, takes possession, by turf and twig, of the territory between Orellana and Orinoco, for England, with an exception of such parts as may have been possessed by any other Christian power. He left his brother, with sixty settlers, at the River Wiapoco, but who were soon forced to leave the premises, from deficiency of supplies. The same position was occupied by Captain Ley, with some Englishmen, four years previously, but with a similar want of success.

1612. Speaking of men who had died in attempts to colonize English America, Mr. Crashawe remarks, "These champions of Christ said, 'All we have, and even life itself, will we willingly give and consecrate to God, that the gospel may be preached, and the name of Jesus Christ called upon in Virginia.'" As an encouragement to prosecute so great an object, Rev. Alexander Whitaker, of the colony at Henrico, exhorts, "Awake, you true-hearted Englishmen, you true servants of Jesus Christ; remember the plantation is God's, and reward your country's."

Under the influence of such promoters of colonization, the Bermuda Islands are settled, by members of the Virginia Company, who purchased them of this corporation, and who send ninety persons thither this year. These planters bind themselves to observe six articles of government, as that they will worship God according to his holy word, and continue in the

\* Smith's History of New York, which follows Oldmixon, makes it in 1608; but Belknap and Purchase place it in 1609.

1613.]

faith of the church of England; will keep the Sabbath in a strict manner; will lead a godly life; will be loyal to the king; will be faithful to their company, and defend their civil and religious privileges against all invaders.

1613. Having broken up the French settlements at Mount Desert, St. Croix, and Port Royal, Sir Samuel Argal, on his return from Acadie, compels the Dutch at Manhattan to become subjects of the English crown. Though his nation were of kindred sympathies with the United Provinces as to the reformation, and had greatly assisted them to secure independence of Papal power, yet they did not allow that the voyage of Hudson gave so good a right to Manhattan as the Cabot discovery.

Such a change is short. A new governor comes, the next year, from Amsterdam, and takes the colony under his control. Events of this kind were calculated to stir up the authorities in London, and render them more careful of their domain in America.

1616. After Raleigh's long imprisonment in the Tower, the king grants him a commission to resettle Guiana, which he visited in 1595, "especially in advancement and furtherance, as well of the conversion of the savage people as of the increase of trade, traffic, and merchandise used by our subjects."

Having so presented these items, which, in some manner and degree, held relations to the concerns of New England, we will look at more of them, as they may occur, after 1619, under the caption of Massachusetts.

## CHAPTER II.

MASSACHUSETTS. Vineland. — Erickson. — Mission. — Gosnold. — New Passage. — Elizabeth Island. — Edgartown. — Barricade. — Capture of Indians; these returned. — Gold Mine. — Attack. — Name of New England given. — Evangelization of the Indians. — Plague. — Dermer dies of wounds. — Thompson's Island. — Council for New England. — Papists. PLYMOUTH. Northmen. — Krossanes. — Cape Cod. — Cross set up. — Indians hostile. — Scrooby church. — Robinson. — Brewster. — Bradford. — Escape to Holland. — Separatists. — Brownists. — Arminius. — Helwys. — Indians kidnapped. — Frenchmen killed. — Robinson and his people purpose to settle in America. — Proposal of the Dutch to them. — Patent applied for. — Discouragements. — Church Usages. — Apology. — Wincob patent. — Contract. — Indians capture Dermer. — Fast Day. — Dutch petition. — Robinson's advice. — Departure. — Perils. — Arrival in America. — Treachery. — Contract for government. — Carver. — Indians. — Clark's Island. — Place for settlement. — Influence of Congregationalism. — Rapin's charge. MAINE. Movoshen. — Fring. — Cross at Kennebeck, at the Island of St. George, and Penobscot. — Natives detained in the family of Gorges. — Plantation at Sagadahock. — Their sufferings. — Departure for England. — Papal mission at Mount Desert destroyed by Argal. — Smith's voyage. — War and pestilence among the Indians. — Richard Vines. — Failure of Dermer's enterprise. NEW HAMPSHIRE. Smith's survey of Piscataqua. RHODE ISLAND. Visit of Northmen and Verrazano. — Natives. CONNECTICUT. Similar visits. — The Dutch Trade.

### MASSACHUSETTS.

1000. WHATEVER may be the opinion of intelligent men, and however they may differ as to the places said to have been discovered and occupied by the Northmen, in New England, in the year 1000 A. D., and subsequently, still there is some evidence, from the *Antiquitates Americanae*, that such enterprising voyagers did visit this portion of our country. Among the islands, according to this view, comprehended by their general name of Vineland\* for the territory which they saw, were Nantucket and Martha's Vineyard. These places, from their situation, seem to have been within the limits of what was afterwards Plymouth colony; but they were not during its whole patent existence. They were assigned by the commissioners of the United Colonies, in 1644, to Massachusetts. Subsequently they were attached to New York, because claimed by the Duke of York.

\* Supposed by Belknap to be Newfoundland.

1121.]

They were returned to Massachusetts by its second charter. Hence they are supposed to be more properly placed here than elsewhere.

The commander of the first company, who discovered Vineland, was Leif Erickson. He, the year before, coming hither, touched at Norway, and was persuaded by Olaf, king of that country, to embrace the Christian religion. So converted, he and all his men were baptized.

1121. The maritime papers of the Scandinavians relate, that Bishop Eric of Greenland, sails from that quarter for Vineland.

The publishers of such information suppose that he undertook the voyage for missionary purposes.

1602. Bartholomew Gosnold, under the Raleigh Patent, sails in the small bark Concord, of Dartmouth, from Falmouth, with twenty-four persons, besides eight seamen. Among his company is Robert Saltern, who was afterwards an Episcopal clergyman in England. Whether this individual is on board to serve as a chaplain, we are not informed. By one authority, he is said to have acted as a pilot. \* Shaping a new course, much nearer than the old one, round by the Canaries and West Indies, Gosnold steers directly for our shores. After a passage long for our day, he reaches, on the 14th of May, what Oldmixon says was the north side of Massachusetts. The journal of the passage agrees, as to this location, in some respects, with the land from "Cape Ann to Marblehead, or to the rocky point of Nahant." In the night Gosnold sails southward, and the next morning falls in with a headland, which he calls Shoal Hope, but changed its name, because of the many codfish taken there by his men, and he named it Cape Cod.

Having surveyed the coast for a place of settlement, the emigrants, with him, fix upon an island,\* May 25, which, in honor of their queen, they call Elizabeth. This spot, known by the Indians as Cuttyhunks, was subsequently grouped with Nantucket and Martha's Vineyard by the Duke of York's patent, and for the reason previously assigned, may be properly put under Massachusetts. Of the passengers, twenty† conclude to settle here. In relation to them, the journal of Archer says, "The 1st of June we employed ourselves in getting sassafras,‡ and the building of our fort. The second, third, and fourth, we wrought hard to make ready our house for the provision to

\* Archer makes it the 25th.

† William Strachey's account says that Gosnold and eleven more agree to continue on the island till the vessel returned from England; that they were three weeks and more in building a large house there, which was covered with sedge.

‡ In Cartier's second voyage to Canada, in 1535, great cures were made among his men by a tree recommended by Indians, and supposed to be sassafras.

be had ashore to sustain us till our ship's return. The thirteenth began some of our company, that before vowed to stay, to make revolt; whereupon, the planters diminishing, all was given over." Among the causes of this result was the lack of sufficient provisions for such as had intended to remain, and also disagreement about the mode of dividing the proceeds of the voyage. The whole company leave the island, June 17, and sail, much to the regret of Gosnold, for England, without accomplishing the purpose of their voyage.

1603. Being much interested in the report of Gosnold's transactions here, as given by Mr. Saltern and others, the Rev. Richard Hackluyt, with the narrator and John Angell, prevail on the principal merchants of Bristol to fit out another expedition. This consists of the small ship *Speedwell* and the bark *Discoverer*. The former vessel is commanded by Martin Pring, accompanied by Saltern, "as their chief agent;" and the latter by William Browne. They sail, April 10, from Milford Haven, under a permit from Raleigh. They coast up along Maine, thence come to Cape Cod, and anchor off what seems to have been the place afterwards Edgartown. Here they erect a building as their land resort, and enclose it with a barricade. While some of them guard these premises, others are abroad to cut sassafras as cargo for their vessels. The bark having sailed previously, the ship, about August 8, commences her homeward passage.

1611. Captain Edward Harlow, after capturing Epenow and another Indian at Martha's Vineyard, stops at Agawam, where the natives treat him in a friendly manner.

1614, June. With regard to settling our coast, the council for New England remark, that to "prosecute a work so pious and honorable, we despatched Captain Hobson, Captain Herley, Mr. John Matthew, Mr. Sturton, with two savages, Epenow and Manawet." The vessel reaches Martha's Vineyard, where Epenow belongs, and where he assures the English a gold mine exists. He alone, his companion, Manawet, having died in a few days after their arrival, upon a concerted plan with his countrymen, slips into the water from his keepers, and is taken up by them, in twenty canoes, while they poured showers of arrows upon the ship's company. Some of these are injured, and several of the Indians are killed and wounded. The chief cause of such hostility on the part of the natives, is the kidnapping of some among their neighbors by Captain Hunt. Hobson loses his voyage and returns with tidings most unwelcome to the individuals who wish for the evangelization of the Indians, that a war was commenced between them of the Vineyard and vicinity and the English.

1617.]

After six months' absence, as Captain John Smith relates, he returns to England from a voyage to our coast. He presents the result of his expeditions, on a map, to Prince Charles. This personage is so much gratified with such a sketch of our territory, he confirms the name of New England,\* given to it by the generous navigator. Thus the subsequent abode of our fathers and ourselves receives an appellation which is associated, in the world's history, with no ordinary events.

So encouraging is Smith's description of our country to the council, they assure him that he shall "have the managing their authority" in these parts during his life. He observes that the company for South Virginia blame him for engaging to those of "the west country," who are concerned in voyages to New England. As to the natives, he remarks, "Religion above all things should move us, especially the clergy, to show our faith by works, in converting those poor savages to the knowledge of God, seeing what pains the Spaniards take to bring them to their adulterated faith." He purposes to make a settlement somewhere on our soil with fifteen men and two boys, being all he could obtain for the purpose. To carry out his plan, he sails from England the next year; but after extraordinary adversities, is finally carried into France, and his voyage spoiled.

1617. The same author, referring to a destructive sickness which begins among the Indians here, quotes the subsequent passage: "It seems God hath provided this country for our nation, destroying the natives by the plague, it not touching one Englishman, though many traded and were conversant amongst them; for they had three plagues in three years successively, near two hundred miles along the sea-coast, that in some places there scarce remained five of a hundred."

Morton's New English Canaan contains the following extract relative to the people of Massasoit: "They died on heaps, as they lay in their houses, and the living, that were able to shift for themselves, would run away and let them die, and let their carcasses lie above the ground, without burial. And the bones and skulls upon the several places of their habitations made such a spectacle, that it seemed to me a new-found Golgotha."

A passage from Johnson's Wonder-Working Providence follows. "There befell a great mortality among them, chiefly desolating where the English afterward planted the country of Pockanoky, Agissawamg. It was almost wholly deserted, in-

\* In a work of this sort, many facts present themselves for acceptance, having reference to the several colonies which it embraces. The question arises, where should they be placed? We think the answer should be, put them under the colony, which, for the most of the period they have existed, has taken a prominent lead of the rest. Of course, Massachusetts is entitled to such an accession.

so much that the neighbor Indians did abandon those places for fear of death, fleeing more west by south, observing the east by northern parts were most smitten with this contagion."

Relative to the nature of so deadly a scourge the words of Gookin were, "I have discoursed with some old Indians, that were then youths, who say that the bodies all over were exceeding yellow, describing it by a yellow garment they showed me, both before they died and afterwards." This denotes that such a pestilence resembled the yellow fever.

Whether it was for their disregard of the light of nature, and their consequent devotedness to iniquity, or for some other cause, that the aborigines of our soil were so cut off, is one of the innumerable questions mysterious to mortal perception, but plain to his, who, in the exercise of his righteous rule, "increaseth the nations and destroyeth them." The event was regarded by many in our fatherland as a providential arrangement for the more easy introduction of the gospel into this part of English America.

Smith, in connection with this, gives a remarkable statement, which was made to him. A ship was cast away on some part of Norumbega, or New England. Two of the crew got to the shore. One of them died; the other lived among the natives, till he had acquired their language. He had a New Testament, and explained certain portions of it to them. But they derided his instruction. He told them that he feared God would destroy them. The sachem assembled all his subjects around a hill, while he and the Christian stood on the top. The first of these two said to the last, "Has your God so many people, and can he slay these?" The reply was, "Yes, and he will bring in strangers to possess your land." Smith adds that the Indians continued to mock the religion of the foreigner, till the plague came and swept the most of them away.

1618-19. The council for New England relate that, in these years, they specially enjoined it on Dermer and Rocroft to negotiate a peace with hostile natives here. They employ Tisquantam, who had been carried off by Hunt, and came back with Dermer, on so desirable a mission.

This commander writes home to the Rev. Samuel Purchas that, during his voyages in May, 1619, from Monhigan to Cape Cod, as he passed along the coast, he "found some eminent plantations, not long since populous, now utterly void. In another place a remnant remains, but not free from sickness. Their disease the plague."

In the latter year, according to the depositions of Masconomet, the sagamore of Ipswich, and others, David Thompson takes possession of an island, bearing his surname, off Dorchester.

1620.]

1620. After being in the country two years, Dermer returns from the south, in the spring, and visits Nantucket and the Vineyard. He hopes that, having made peace with Indians on the cape, though of short duration, he should meet with a friendly reception from the contiguous islanders. But no sooner had he landed with Tisquantam, or Squanto, than he and his men are assaulted by Epenow and other natives. Only he and one of his crew escape with life. He is badly wounded, returns to Virginia for medical help, falls sick, and dies there. Thus closes his career of toil and philanthropy.

1620, November 3. After two years' discussion, the company, instituted in 1606, for North Virginia, from 40° to 48°, have a renewal of their privileges. King James appoints the Duke of Lenox, and others of high rank, as "the council for planting, ruling, ordering, and governing of New England." The patent for their direction presents the following points. The territory is almost without its natural population, by means of the late desolating plague, and wars among themselves. Thus a favorable opportunity is opened to plant colonies. This settlement of the country "tendeth to the conversion of such savages as remain to civil society and Christian religion, as the principal effect desired and expected." That the colonists may live together in the fear and true worship of Almighty God, the council have power "to correct, punish, pardon, and govern" them. No Roman Catholics are to come hither without first taking "the oath of supremacy." The document containing these matters is opposed by the French, because, as they contend, it comprises part of Acadie. It is resisted by the House of Commons, because not granted by them, and not allowing free trade and fishery.

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#### PLYMOUTH COLONY.

Among the various navigations along the coast of New England, from the earliest period, — and very probably there were more of them than are left on record, — the cape embraced by this colony must have made a prominent place of observation. The Danish antiquaries give it as a section of Vineland, discovered in the year 1000. They place the winter houses of Leif in a locality afterwards within its borders, and near Mount Hope. They make its principal headland and immediate parts the Kialarnes, or Keel Cape, described by Thorwald, in 1004 ;



and Gurnet's Point, the spot\* which he admired, and where his body was buried, with a cross at his head and another at his feet, they call Krossanes.

With such romantic associations, connected with this colony, we advance and look at events, in relation to it, of more general credibility.

1602, May 15. Gosnold visits it, and, from the large quantity of codfish which his men caught off its chief headland, he, as before stated, names it Cape Cod.

1605. De Pourtrincourt, under orders of De Monts, visits the cape, which the writer of the voyage (Lescarbot) calls Malebarre. While part of the crew are employed in making a forge to mend the vessel's rudder, and an oven to bake bread for the company, and are occupied about these purposes, Pourtrincourt had a cross set up on a green bank, as a sign of the territory's subjection to the crown of France.

When about to embark, the savages discharged a shower of arrows among his people, and killed two and wounded several of them. Such an attack arose from the firing of two guns by the French, the day before, at some of them, who stole a hatchet. The slain were buried at the foot of the cross, which the Indians took down, and dug up the bodies, soon after the voyagers went on board. Pourtrincourt attempted to pass farther round the cape, but was obliged to return and anchor in the same harbor. Six or seven Indians came to trade. He had them secured and put to death, as a retaliatory measure.

While the navigator is thus engaged, the men, who had a powerful influence in planting this territory, are acting for the highest interests of the reformation.

1606. Bradford remarks of them, "Several religious people, near the joining borders of Nottinghamshire, Lincolnshire, and Yorkshire, finding their pious ministers and themselves persecuted, "shake† off the yoke of anti-Christian bondage, and, as the Lord's free people, join themselves by covenant into a church state." Hunter informs us that this church was a Scrooby. John Robinson is, about 1604, one of their ministers. He was born in 1576, entered, Ashton supposes, Corpus Christi College, 1592, received a fellowship there, 1598 which he resigned in 1604. Before going to Scrooby, he preached Puritan doctrines in and around Norwich. Ainsworth

\* Smith's Northmen of New England places it at Point Alderton, in Massachusetts.

† N. Morton makes this as an event of 1602, but from Hunter's tract, it appears to have been not earlier than 1606. The sketch of Scituate church, under Rev. Daniel Wight, Jr., says that Clifton had a revival of religion among his people in 1602, and that they met at the house of William Brewster.

1607.]

speaks of him, while here, as "a man worthily revered of all the city, for the grace of God in him," and says that "citizens were excommunicated" from Episcopal churches for attending at his place of worship. A colleague with Robinson, in the Scrooby church, is Richard Clifton, who was made Vicar of Marnham in 1585, and Rector of Babworth the next year. Among the principal members of their new church are William Brewster and William Bradford. The former of these two was born at Scrooby; studied at the University of Cambridge; became an under secretary to Davidson, secretary of state; accompanied him on a mission to the Low Countries, in 1585, and faithfully adhered to him when ejected, two years afterwards, by political intrigue, when he retired to his native place, and devoted his time, money, and talents to the cause of God. Bradford, though quite young, being born at Austerfield in 1589, casts in his lot with so worthy disciples of Christ.

This person subsequently informs us that part of the church lived so far away from the other, that they are obliged to form another church, of which John Smith, "of able gifts," was chosen pastor. This minister—who was in prison with Penry in 1598, and his people—subsequently went to the Low Countries, and, "falling into errors there, for the most part bury themselves and their names."

1607. During the fall, the Scrooby church are so persecuted that they begin to escape for Holland. The next spring, more of them follow. Afterwards the rest get to their brethren, accompanied by their pastor and Mr. Brewster. In these attempts, many of them endure severe afflictions. They settle in Amsterdam. But, fearful lest the controversy which prevails in Mr. Smith's church, who had been connected with them at Scrooby, should infect their own body, they move, about 1609, to Leyden. They are accompanied by Robinson, but Clifton remains, and soon dies.

1610. Mr. Robinson publishes his *Justification of Separation from the Church of England*. He is joined by large numbers from his own nation. At his first residence on the continent, he was classed by opponents with the Brownists, though in some respects he differed from them. Through intercourse with Messrs. William Ames and Robert Parker, he moderated some of his opinions. By such relinquishment he holds the propriety of communion with Episcopalians, in preaching and prayer, though he still omits the liturgy and disapproves of indiscriminate admission to the sacrament. With such views, he receives the appellation of semi-Separatist.

1613. After earnest entreaties, and for the cause of what he

accounts important truth, Robinson holds several public debates with Episcopius, the successor of Arminius, as professor at Leyden University. On these occasions, he sustains his high reputation as a scholar, theologian, and Christian.

1614. These qualifications he also exhibits in his answer to Thomas Helwys, who had severely censured such as fled when persecuted for conscience sake, and retained their baptism received in England, as lawful.

Smith, on sailing for home, leaves one of his ships under Thomas Hunt, to finish the collection of a cargo for Spain. Blinded by an excessive desire of gain, he kidnaps seven of the Nausites and twenty of the Patuxetites, on Cape Cod, as Weymouth had, previously, by way of retaliation, at the eastward, though for a less cruel purpose. Purchas speaks of so foul a deed, on the part of the former: "Stowing them vnder hatches, to the number of twentie foure,\* carried them into the Straits, where he sought to sell them for slaues, and sold as many as he could get money for. But when it was understood from whence they were brought, the friers of those parts took the rest from them, and kept them to be instructed in the Christian faith." Such breaches of confidence and humanity kindled the deep resentment of the natives, increasingly prevented their friendly intercourse with Europeans, and greatly impeded the introduction of the gospel among them.

The people so treated watch for an opportunity of retaliation on the whites, to whom were committed the oracles, which taught mercy rather than sacrifice.

1616. In the fall, as Purchas relates, a French ship is cast away on Cape Cod. Her crew land safely. The Indians track and kill them all, at different times, except three or four. These are captured and sent from one sachem to another, for sport and cruelty. Two of them were redeemed, in 1619, by Captain Thomas Dermer.

1617. As the authorities of England still look sternly on the Nonconformists, the exiles of the latter denomination have no encouragement to seek for their native altars and firesides. So cut off from a retreat, Mr. Robinson and his people resolve to make their home in America. For this they have several reasons, as follow: The inconvenience of living with those of another nation. Their young men are enticed to become sailors and soldiers, and contract immoral habits. The twelve years' truce had expired, and "there was nothing but beating of drums and preparing for war, the events whereof are always uncertain. An inward zeal and great hope of laying some foundation for

\* This number is stated by Prince to be twenty-seven.

1617.]

propagating the kingdom of Christ to the remote ends of the earth." A severe contention so prevails between the Arminians and Calvinists throughout Holland, as to threaten the dissolution of the government.

1617. While the congregation are balancing in their minds whither they shall go, the Dutch make them large offers to colonize under their protection. But they are not won to such proposals. Their predilections are still English. They prefer, even with less privilege, to be under the government of their own nation, though infringed by the reigning monarch, than, with greater, to become the subjects of a foreign power. So inclined, Mr. Robinson and friends are doubtful whether to settle at Guiana or Virginia. They soon choose the latter. They finally conclude, "by the major part," after a serious consideration of the objections, that some of his church shall first come to this country, and that, if being a majority of their whole number, he shall accompany them; but if not, then he shall remain till a plantation be prepared here suitable to accommodate all their congregation.

Messrs. Robert Cushman and John Carver are deputed, as agents, to visit London. They find the "Virginia Company" desirous for the Leyden people to settle in America, and are willing to grant them a patent, with as full privileges as their authority allows. Some of the chief proprietors think that they can "obtain of the king liberty in religion, confirmed under" his "broad seal, according to their desires." But, on trial with his majesty and the archbishop for these objects, they are disappointed. All they are encouraged with is, that the king will "connive at and not molest them," if they will conduct peaceably. Still the company advise Mr. Robinson and his society to emigrate. With this, the agents return from their almost fruitless mission.

November 12. Of Cushman and Carver, Sir Edwin Sandys writes to Messrs. Robinson and Brewster, "Your agents have carried themselves with discretion, and the seven articles subscribed with your names have given the gentlemen of the council for Virginia that satisfaction which has carried them on to a resolution to forward your desire, in the best sort that may be for your own and the public good."

This writer was the chief promoter of the privilege so granted. Hunter supposes that he was thus actuated by the "connection of long standing between the Brewsters and the family of Sandys."

Their reply\* to him shows that, however much disappointed,

\* Sent by Deacon John Carver and another gentleman of their company.

they had learned wisdom in affliction, and had thus girded themselves for whatever difficulties might be their lot in a barbarous land. Its language is partly as follows: "We verily believe and trust the Lord is with us, to whom and whose service we have given ourselves in many trials. We are knit together as a body, in a most strict and sacred bond and covenant of the Lord, of the violation whereof we make conscience, and by virtue whereof we hold ourselves straitly tied to all care of each other's good and of the whole. It is not with us as with other men, whom small things can discourage, or small discontentments cause to wish ourselves at home again."

1618. January 27. Still vigilant to compass their just purpose, Messrs. Robinson and Brewster address a letter to Sir John Worsingham.\* They observe, "Although it be grievous unto us that such unjust insinuations are made against us, yet we are most glad of the occasion of making our just purgation." In order to meet such insinuations, they send two notes, one short and the other at greater length, though both of the same essential import. The longer note follows, with an introductory clause of the other: "Touching the ecclesiastical ministry, namely, of pastors for teaching, elders for ruling, and deacons for distributing the church's contribution, as also for the two sacraments, baptism and the Lord's supper, we agree in all things with the French Reformed churches, according to their public confession of faith, though some small differences be to be found in our practices, not at all in the substance of the things, but only in some accidental circumstances; as, first, their ministers do pray with their heads covered, we uncovered; 2d, we choose none for governing elders but such as are able to teach, which ability they do not require; 3d, their elders and deacons are annual, or, at the most, for two or three years, ours perpetual; 4th, our elders do administer their office in admonitions and excommunications for public scandals publicly and before the congregation, theirs more privately, and in their consistories; 5th, we do administer baptism only to such infants as whereof the one parent, at the least, is of some church, which some of their churches do not observe, although in it our practices accord with their public confession, and the judgment of the most learned amongst them. Other differences, worthy mentioning, we know none."

February 14. The person who delivers this communication, and signs the initials (S. B.) of his name, writes to Messrs. Robinson and Brewster. He says that he presented it to Sir John Worsingham, who, after reading it, asked him, "Who

\* Prince gives it as Worstenholme.

1619.]

shall make the ministers?" This occasions the following remarks: "I answered his worship that the power of making was in the church, to be ordained by the imposition of hands, by the fittest instruments they have; it must be either in the church or from the pope, and the pope is Antichrist. 'Ho!' said Sir John; 'what the pope holds good, (as in the Trinity,) that we do well to assent to; but,' said he, 'we will not enter into dispute now;' and as for your letters, he would not show them at any hand, lest he should spoil all; he expected you should have been of the archbishop's mind for the calling of ministers, but it seems you differed. I asked his worship what good news he had for me to write to-morrow. He told me good news, for both the king's majesty and the bishops have consented."

1619. With the wall of separation between England and her exiles for religion made higher, Robinson and his followers make further efforts for a charter. They perceive that one great hinderance to their success in this particular is the misrepresentation of their church order, as though it partook of the most radical spirit and tendency. To cast aside such an obstruction, Mr. Robinson writes a treatise, in Latin, entitled *A Just and Necessary Apology of certain Christians, no less contumeliously than commonly called Brownists, or Barrowists*. With such an exposition before the public, his people press their plea.

May 8. Robert Cushman writes to his friends at Leyden that dissensions in the council for Virginia prevented encouraging attention to their request for a patent. "After long attendance," such a document is granted them "under the company's seal." "By advice of friends, they did not have it taken in their own name, but in that "of Mr. John Wincob, a religious gentleman, then belonging to the Countess of Lincoln, who intended to go with them; but God so disposed as he never went, nor they ever made use of the patent, which had cost them so much labor and charge." Still, it is carried to Leyden, and accompanied by Thomas Weston, of London. He agrees, for himself and others, to form a company with the intended emigrants, and to supply them with shipping and money for their transportation.

Among the conditions between the adventurers and the emigrants, we have such as follow: "There shall be a division of all the property at and owned by the plantation at the end of seven years, unless some unexpected occasion call for a different arrangement. With regard to the colonists, each of them, being sixteen years and upward, is rated at ten pounds, and entitled to a single share. If any contribute money or provis-

ion to the common stock, they are to have shares in such proportion. Two children, between ten and sixteen years old, are reckoned for one share. Each child under ten shall have fifty acres of unmanured land when the division of property is made. If emigrants die before this period, their part is reckoned according to their life spent here, and is due to their heirs. Whatever persons join the company at home, or at the settlement, their proportion of the possessions will agree with the period of such continuance." Hubbard informs us that the contract was so altered that the planters should retain their houses and improved lands, and have two days in a week for their own private benefit, and that this change was much disliked by "such as were concerned in the voyage."

December 27. In a letter Dermer says that the natives at Manamack had surprised and made him captive. Though he paid hatchets for his ransom, they retained him. But "it pleased God at last, after a strange manner, to deliver me, with three of them into my hands, and, a little after, the chiefe sachem himselfe." The chief apologized, returned the hatchets, and gave a canoe full of corn, and was released.

1690. That the important enterprise of those who contracted with Weston be continued by them, with appropriate views, feelings, and motives, they ask direction from God, the supreme source of all wisdom and perfection. They "keep a day of solemn prayer, Mr. Robinson preaching a very suitable sermon from 1 Sam. xxiii. 3, 4, strengthening them against their fears, and encouraging them in their resolutions, and then conclude how many and who should prepare to go first." As the greater part, because some could not get ready, conclude to remain, he, as previously agreed, is to tarry with them. The rest have Mr. Brewster, the ruling elder, assigned for their leader. The latter are to be considered as a church by themselves, as well as those who continue in Leyden, with the proviso that whoever, of either congregation, shall come to America or return to Europe, shall be accounted regular members, without any further dismission or testimonial. It is also agreed that they who remain shall follow the others as soon as possible.

February 12. Aware that these refugees for the gospel's sake had resolved to make their home in the new world, the Dutch West India Company petition their government to grant them a plantation on the Hudson. They remark, "There is residing at Leyden a certain English minister, who is well versed in the Dutch language, and who is inclined to go there and live; assuring your memorialists that he knows that over four hundred families would go with him there, as

well from this country as from England, provided that by the authority of the States General they may be defended from the attacks of other powers; for the purpose of planting there the true and pure Christian religion, and of converting the savages of those countries to the true knowledge and understanding of the Christian faith, and also, through the grace of the Lord, and to the glory of the government of this country, to colonize and establish a new empire there." They proceed: "His Majesty of Great Britain is disposed to colonize the aforesaid lands with English subjects, and with violence to make fruitless your memorialists' discoveries and possessions." Such an application, of the deepest concern to the anxious Puritans, was kept along till the 11th of April, and then negatived. Had it been otherwise, and they settled in New Netherlands, instead of New England, it is probable that so important results would not have come from their emigration to America as already have. "God ordereth all things and sure." With regard to the designs of the English sovereign, he considered the Dutch colony as embraced in his territory, and as justly liable to be ejected by his forces.

July 21. After encountering impediments, which lagged far in the rear of their wishes, the colonists have a ship ready for them.\* She is of sixty tons, and called the *Speedwell*. Her name promises more than she performs. Before the passengers embark, they wait especially upon the Lord, as was their most reasonable service. They observe a day of prayer, when their pastor preaches to them from *Ezra viii. 21*. As some explanation of his remarks on this occasion, it may be well to precede them with the subsequent facts.

His own views did not harmonize with those of the Lutherans in the particulars of their consubstantiation, subjects of baptism, and discipline. Nor in the last of these particulars did he agree with the Calvinists of his day. He was far from approving the distinctive points of the Arminians. Thus differing from such denominations in these respects, and desirous that his people should examine their own and others' creed by the teachings of revelation, he lays upon them the subsequent injunction: "I charge you before God and his blessed angels, that you follow me no farther than you have seen me follow the Lord Jesus Christ. The Lord has more truth yet to break forth out of his holy word. I cannot sufficiently bewail the condition of the reformed churches, who are come to a period in religion, and will go at present no further than the instruments of their

\* Bradford says about July 21, but Neal, in his *History of the Puritans*, says July 1.



reformation. Luther and Calvin were great and shining lights in their times, yet they penetrated not into the whole counsel of God. I beseech you, remember it, 'tis an article of your church covenant, that you be ready to receive whatever truth shall be made known to you from the written word of God. I must also advise you to shake off the name of Brownists. It is a mere nickname, and a brand for making religion and the possessors of it odious to the Christian world."

Thus impressively counselled, the voyagers bid farewell to Leyden, where they had lived near twelve years. They are accompanied by most of their brethren to Delft Haven, where their vessel lay. Friends from Amsterdam come to see them sail and commence their eventful exodus. They spend the night in Christian converse. About to go on board, 22d, Mr. Robinson, "falling down on his knees, and they all with him, he, with watery cheeks, commends them, with most fervent prayer, to God, and then, with mutual embraces and many tears, they take their leave."

Affecting scene! Relatives and fellow-Christians, united by the ties of like nation, by the sympathies of like faith, by experience of like trials, and by efforts for like purposes, are loathfully and sorrowfully separated. They wish that the necessities of obligation would suffer them to dwell in the same community, to worship in the same sanctuary, and to be buried under the same sod. But they who depart feel that duty to the kingdom of Christ has stronger claims on their obedience than all the attractions of friendship and all the interests of time.

The separation draws abundant tears from the eyes of observing strangers. Still it is soothed and softened by the hope that, if the leaving and the left never more commune on earth, they shall in heaven, where "farewells are a sound unknown."

The departure of Columbus for the discovery of a new world, and for opening new sources of commerce, wealth, and knowledge, was an enterprise worthy of the noblest mind; but the undertaking of the Leyden Puritans to found a commonwealth suited to cherish and expand the blessings of civil and religious liberty is one of brighter, sublimer ends. Their passage to Southampton is prosperous.

27. Mr. Robinson, still following his departed friends with the daily aspirations of his benediction, writes a letter to them, in general, and another to Mr. Carver, in particular. In the latter, he says, "I will not foreshow my bodily coming at the first opportunity. I have written a large letter to the whole, and am sorry I shall not rather speak than write to them, and the more, considering the want of a preacher, which I shall also make some spur to my hastening towards you." His gen-

eral epistle contains sound and pious counsel for the conduct of the company, in the several relations which they do or shall sustain. Being read to them, they received it as the advice of a spiritual father whose heart was bound up in their highest good. For their own and other passengers' accommodation, the ship *Mayflower*, of one hundred and eighty tons, is hired in London, to keep company with the *Speedwell*. After the letter of Robinson was read to them, "they distributed their company for either ship, as they conceived for the best, and chose a governor and two or three assistants for each ship, to order the people by the way, and to see to the disposing of their provisions and such like affairs, all which was not only with the liking of the masters of the ships, but according to their desires."

August 5. Thus prepared for a passage to their anticipated residence, they, accompanied by some of Southwark church, spread their sails to the wind, and commit themselves to the keeping of an ever-watchful Providence. But their patience is still to be severely tried. Twice are they compelled to return to the port of Southampton, because of a leak in the *Speedwell*. On this account, they reluctantly give her up. In such emergency, part of her passengers relinquish the voyage, and the rest join those of the *Mayflower*, commanded by Mr. Jones.

September 6. After so tedious a delay, and, with the superstitious, one ominous of evil, this solitary vessel puts to sea. Thus out upon the deep, the emigrants which she bears have a new source of anxiety. The patent, which allowed them a settlement in America, cannot legally avail them, because, as previously stated, Wincob, in whose name it was taken, was unable to accompany them. Still, the expression of their purpose is, Onward.

November 9. After a long and perilous voyage, they descry land, which proves to be Paomet, or Cape Cod. This is a sight which gladdens their heart. It tells them that they have reached the continent, on which their thoughts and words had often dwelt, and which they had often prayed and hoped would be to them and theirs as a land of promise. Thus gratified, they tack about and steer for Hudson River, whither they had proposed to go and form a settlement. On this point, Bradford said, "their design and patent being for Virginia, and not New England." The former of these two jurisdictions included the stream just named. They keep on for a half day; but meeting with shoals and a calm, they are persuaded by the captain to make their way back. It is related that he was bribed, in Holland, not to land them where they intended, lest it should inter-

fere with the trade of the company for New Netherlands. This, however, is denied by some, while affirmed by others.

Returned under such circumstances, the Pilgrims are aware that their invalid patent does not privilege them to be located so far north, and grants them "only the general leave of his majesty for the free exercise of the liberty of conscience in the public worship of God." Still, having decided, from necessity, to remain here, they conclude to organize themselves anew for the purposes of social order.

11. After looking to Heaven for guidance, they unite in a "body politic by a solemn contract, to which they set their hands, as the basis of their government." This covenant avers that they engaged in their enterprise "for the glory of God, and the advancement of the Christian faith, and the honor of their king and country." It is signed by forty-one male adults, who, with the rest of their company, make one hundred and one souls. They elect John Carver, a gentleman of eminent piety, as their governor for the year immediately ensuing. Not decided on what particular spot they shall settle, they conclude to keep on board till they find a suitable place. They entertain different opinions as to what part of the coast they shall occupy. While in suspense of this sort, and confined to the contracted limits of their vessel, they experience severe suffering from cold, hardship, and sickness. Nor was this all: the captain of the ship, anxious lest, by their continuing on board, his provisions should be exhausted, urged their speedy settlement on shore. "Yea, it was muttered by some, that if they got not a place in time, they would turn them and their goods on shore, and leave them." During this period, parties frequently visit the country to discover a proper site for their plantation. In these excursions, they have stirring adventures and hairbreadth escapes; they meet with burial-places of the natives; with baskets of corn and beans, carefully deposited by them in the sand, for which they subsequently pay. They seldom obtain a fair view of the Indians, who still foster resentment to Europeans for the injury done them by Hunt, and received from others in several collisions, and who watch an opportunity to destroy them.

December 8. A company of pilgrims embark for an exploring tour. While some of them are off the shore, and others on land, one of the latter, early in the morning, runs, at the height of his speed, towards his associates on the water, crying, "Indians! Indians!" Instantly a shower of arrows are poured on the English, who quickly disperse their wily assailants with muskets. The same party, so assaulted, are overtaken by a violent storm, and narrowly escape being foundered and cast

away. In their extremity, they get to an island\* wholly unknown to them. Here they make the best of their condition, and recruit themselves as much as their scanty means allow.

10. Unable to reach the ship before the Sabbath, they continue here, and keep holy time with Christian propriety, consolation, and improvement. The ground whereon they worship is probably, for the first time, consecrated by such gospel service.

11. The next day, "they sound the harbor, find it fit for shipping, march into the land, see divers cornfields and running brooks, with a place they judge fit for habitation, and return to the ship with the discovery, to their great comfort."

16. Thus encouraged, after an unsuccessful attempt the day before, the passengers and crew sail to the port so favorably described by their exploring party.

20. To make a final conclusion whether this situation will answer for the residence of the emigrants, a number of them land and examine its localities. They confirm the previous selection, and would have communicated their decision to those in the *Mayflower*; but they are prevented and detained, without any shelter, for two days, by a violent tempest. The place, so carefully and perilously sought and preferred, is *Apaum* or *Patuxet*, which is soon exchanged by the colonists for the English name of *Plymouth*, "in grateful memory of the Christian friends they found at *Plymouth*, in England, and as the last town they left in their native land."

Thus the Pilgrims from *Leyden* are brought to their permanent abode. This, though not the first in their previous desires, and though not accompanied with attractive advantages of soil, is chosen as a retreat from evils more deeply felt than easily expressed. Their advent to these shores is one of the results which flowed from the reformation. True, its more immediate source was the intolerance of England to their church polity; the influences of Holland, partially unpropitious for the piety of their youth, and for the advancement of their congregation; and especially their desire to dwell in a new situation, unaffected by the faults of old communities, and to spread the gospel where its blessings were scarcely known. Their leading motives are the highest of which the soul is capable. In order to develop their plan, it was necessary for them to act, in no small degree, independently of their sovereign's wish.

\* Morton's Memorial says, that this island afterwards went by the name of *Clark's Island*, because Mr. Clark, mate of the *Speedwell*, was the first of her company who landed there. The same place was the occasion of much difficulty in the time of Sir Edmund Andros; who, contrary to the claims and wishes of *Plymouth*, granted it to one of his friends.

When perceiving, from his last charter for New England, that none were permitted to inhabit its territory, except they bowed to his supremacy in church and state, however an undefined toleration was promised to them, but secured by no patent, they felt bound to follow the dictates of their conscience more than the injunctions of royalty. Hence, while James I. resisted the practical import of the maxim often upon his lips, that to take the crosier from the bishop was to rob the king of his crown, they still denied episcopacy as the best modification of the Christian religion. Their compact of social government was virtually intended to countenance no law inconsistent with Congregational principles. These principles essentially involve a purpose for such a measure of civil liberty as will allow the profession and practice of them; and they naturally incline to as great freedom in political concerns as they possess in ecclesiastical. The legitimate consequence of these principles, more than those of other dissenting bodies, in any kingdom, whether under a magna charta or not, if having a large majority of the population in their favor, is to exchange monarchy for republicanism.

Still the charge urged by Rapin against the Independents, inclusive of Congregationalists as well as other dissenters, that they abhorred royalty, and only approved of democracy, is not strictly true. Many Congregationalists have been conscientious and faithful subjects under regal government, and many Episcopalians have sustained a like relation under a popular government. There would be full as much propriety in asserting that the latter abhorred the civil administration of our nation, as that the former abhorred the regal administrations of Europe. There is no proper doubt but the Independents of England spoke truly in their memorial of 1647, when they said, "We do not disapprove of any form of civil government, but do freely acknowledge that a kingly government, bounded by just and wholesome laws, is allowed by God, and also a good accommodation unto men." Here they expressed their comparative preference, which did not absolutely commit them to the denial of their greater preference for a government which should best comport with their religious freedom, and which experience has long proved to be of a popular kind, under the control of intelligence and virtue.

The Pilgrims, by the continuance of their principles and adherence to them, laid the corner stone of the basis on which have risen and now rest the liberal institutions of our nation. Had the emigrants to South Virginia thrown off the forms of hierarchy, when landing on its shores, and perpetuated the Congregational order, they would have been known as the first in so eventful a work. But He who controls the universe of mind and matter

designed that it should be as it is. So appointed to stand in their lot, the colonists of Plymouth became subjected for their policy to various trials from opponents in England. No wonder that, as such policy spread with the population of our country, and manifested its inherent tendencies, it was met with counter-acting restrictions of British sovereigns, from James I. to George III., when kingly power ceased in the United States. Though, in some limited measure, to human perception, "coming events cast their shadows before," yet there was but one eye which foresaw, one supreme mind which comprehended, completely and infallibly, the causes and effects of the agency performed by the planters of Plymouth. Little did Alexander VI., when conferring the western hemisphere on Ferdinand and Isabella for the conversion of its natives to his own creed, realize that any European potentates would deny the sway of his sceptre, and plant the new world with separatists from the Papal see. Little did Luther and his associate laborers, when presenting their first arguments against the abuses of pontifical authority, suppose that they were preparing the way for Protestant influences so soon to operate in the wilds of America. Little did the English monarch, whose edicts drove Robinson and his flock to seek for shelter in Holland, apprehend that he was acting a part which would greatly contribute to the disruption of large domain from British empire. Little did the Pilgrims themselves, when taking possession of the bleak and dreary cape, cherish a sanguine expectation that their precept and example would furnish a more valuable lesson to the world than that of all ancient republics; how nations, actuated by the fear of their Maker, can best live and flourish under rulers of their own appointment and laws of their own sanction. Pertinently does the figurative description of a prophet, wherein he speaks of the involution of the cherubic wheels, illustrate the complicated revolutions of Providence. Still, the sphere of man requires him to discharge present duty, and leave the disposal of its events to the hand of infinite wisdom. Never did a people act more on this salutary principle than the settlers of Plymouth. Herein is the secret of their far-reaching purpose, of their unshaken resolution, their incessant perseverance, their submission under trials, their meekness in prosperity, their success in effort, and their ability to bequeath to successors a heritage invaluable, not for its earthly riches, but for its temporal and spiritual freedom.

## MAINE.

1603, June. On his voyage, previously mentioned, Pring arrives at what the natives call Movoshen, afterwards known as Maine. He harbors in Penobscot Bay, and surveys the coast, as preparatory to meet the purposes of the company who commissioned him.

1605. From St. Croix, his principal head quarters, where Lescarbot gave religious instruction, on the Sabbath, to the men there, De Monts sails along different parts of Maine, and puts up a cross at Kennebec, as a mark of its being under the jurisdiction of France. Charlevoix says that Lescarbot was a lawyer of Paris, and much attached to De Monts, who was a Calvinist. While the French were desirous, by repeated visits, to confirm their claims to the soil here, the English were no less so to do the same, for a like purpose. George Weymouth, fitted out by the Earl of Southampton, discovers an island, which he calls St. George, on the 17th of May. Here he had a cross erected in token of its subjection to James I. On the 13th of June, he had another cross set up on the shore of Penobscot River. The narrator of this, James Rosier, remarks, "We diligently observed that in no place could we discern any sign that ever any Christian had been there before, of which, either by cutting wood, digging for water, or setting up crosses, (a thing never omitted by any Christian travellers,) we should have perceived some mention left." Though he did not meet with these indications, yet the coast had been visited, and, not improbably, several times. Previously to putting up the cross, Weymouth had detained, June 1, five of the natives on board of his vessel, for the purpose of carrying them to England.

When Weymouth reached home, Sir Ferdinando Gorges, to inform himself more fully about their country, and prepare them for assisting to colonize it with the English, took three of the Indians into his family, and had them instructed. But all the benefit he did them could not countervail the evil which their captivity caused in prejudicing the sympathies of their nation against the captors and their religion.

1606, August. Gorges and others,\* despatch Henry Chalons, with two of the five Indians taken away by Weymouth, for the country where they lived. But he was captured by Spaniards, who kept his vessel and cargo. Shortly after he sailed, the same company fit out Thomas Haman† with supplies for him and his people. Not finding Chalons at the designated place,

\* Relation of the Council for New England.

† They say *Haman*, and not *Hunkam*.

1607.]

Haman returned with favorable accounts of the coast. The council say, "upon whose relation, the lord chief justice and we all waxed so confident of the business, that the year following every man of any worth, formerly interested in it, was willing, to join in the charge for sending over a competent number of people to lay the ground of a hopeful plantation."

1607, June.\* So encouraged, these persons have two vessels prepared for another expedition. They are the fly boat, named the Gift of God, Captain George Popham, and the ship Mary and John, of London, Captain Raleigh Gilbert. They sail from Plymouth, with one hundred and twenty emigrants.

August 6. They come to an island, which they call St. George. Here they see the cross erected by order of Weymouth.

9. Most of the persons, in both vessels, land where such a sacred emblem stands, hear a sermon from their preacher, Richard Seymour, and return on board.

18. All of them go ashore, and select a peninsula at the mouth of the Sagadahock, or Kennebec River, for their settlement. Three canoes, full of the natives, watch their movements.

19. Having come back to their vessels, they land again in the same location. Here the clergyman delivers a pertinent discourse. Then the commission is opened, and the officers and laws for the colony read. The document designates George Popham for president. Raleigh Gilbert, James Davies, Richard Seymour, Richard Davies, and Edward Harlow are sworn for assistants. They spend the night in their vessels, for safety.

20. They disembark, and begin to build, as necessity dictates. They so occupied themselves till they had finished a fort, trenched and fortified it with twelve pieces of ordnance, and built fifty houses therein, besides a church and storehouse.

September 27. Parties of the seamen and settlers having been variously employed, Captain Gilbert, on a voyage of exploration up the Sagadahock River, has a cross erected, and begins his back course, after various experience from the Indians.

October 5. Some of these, from Penobscot River, on a visit to the colony, attend worship, morning and evening, on the Sabbath, "with great reverence and silence."

December 5. The two vessels sail for England, to report the condition of the colony, and obtain supplies.

\* Prince makes it May 31.



Endeavoring to promote friendly relations with the natives, and engaged in other services for the benefit of the plantation, the settlers are called to experience a very cold winter, — as the inhabitants in many parts of Europe are, — and the loss of their storehouse, most of their provisions, and residences, by fire. In addition to these trials, the Supplement of Hubbard's Narrative states, according to a tradition, the capture of their fort by a body of Indians, and the loss of men who fought against them. But the captors, being careless of the powder which they found there, were all blown up. Their countrymen took this as an omen that the Great Spirit was angry with them for injuring the English.

On the return of Captain Robert Davies, after such afflictions, who had been sent to England in the *Mary* and *John*, for supplies, he found the colonists much disheartened. They had lost Popham and others by death. Gilbert, who succeeded to the presidency, was under the necessity of going home and attending to an estate left by his deceased brother. In view of these and other circumstances, the planters determine that they will stay no longer to buffet the difficulties of a new settlement. They return to their own country, in the ship commanded by Davies, and in the pinnace *Virginia*, built by some of their number. Thus an Episcopal colony is terminated, and its anticipated influence to advance the interests of the national church on our soil is hastily prevented.

This result, as the relation of the council for New England states, "was a wonderful discouragement to all the first undertakers, insomuch as there was no more speech of settling any other plantation in those parts for a long time after." The same authority informs us that Sir Francis Popham, "having the ships and provision which remained of the company," fitted them out at his own expense, several times, for fishing and trade on the coast.

1613. For years zealous Catholics of France were desirous to promote the cause of missions among the natives of all the eastern territory which their government claimed. In 1607, the king notified Pourtrincourt, who had a grant of Port Royal from De Monts, that it was time to make exertions for the conversion of the savages in Acadie to the Christian religion. Accordingly, two persons\* were selected for such a mission. They were Pierre Biard and Enemond Masse. They expected to embark immediately for the field of their labor. But as a prejudice existed against the Jesuits, and these two were of

\* Belknap, (who quotes Purchas,) Williamson, and others represent them as having been at Acadie several years before 1611; but Charlevoix, Champlain, and Holmes, not so.

that order, their departure was delayed. Pourtrincourt, in 1608, sailed from France without them, for Port Royal, and he soon sent home a despatch that no minister of the Jesuits was necessary here, for twenty-five of the savages had been already baptized. Of course this must have been done by some missionary, whom Pourtrincourt had encouraged to preach in his jurisdiction. During the same year, the latter wrote to Pope Paul V. that he had engaged to exile himself and family in a strange country, so as to "procure for infidels the knowledge of Jesus Christ," and therefore desired his apostolic benediction. After persevering efforts to have the two priests sent over, the queen mother, Mesdames de Verneuil, De Sourdis, and especially De Guercheville, in 1610, advanced moneys for their outfit. On their arrival at Dieppe, to embark, two Huguenots, associates of Biencourt, the son of Pourtrincourt, refused to grant them a passage. Though the queen regent ordered the governor of that port to see that they were allowed to depart, still they were left behind, and retired to their college. Piqued at this conduct, Madame de Guercheville bought the patent of De Monts, and took effectual measures to carry out her purpose. By such energy, the two priests reach Port Royal, June 12, 1611. They still perceive that Pourtrincourt has not the confidence in them which is needful for their pleasant and successful operations. The next year, while Masse was engaged in an exploration of the country, Biard was alike engaged, with Biencourt, along the coast up to the Kennebeck, and, by the aid of an Indian as interpreter, he declared Jesus Christ to the natives. Charlevoix says that the missionary "found a people who were docile, heard him with respect, and who seemed not far from the kingdom of heaven." He also intimates that the Canibas liked the French better than the English, and would prefer the former for allies to the latter.

Believing that the opportunity for spreading the Papal faith through the mission under her protection would be much better if it were removed, Madame de Guercheville sends out Saussey and two Jesuits, Quentin and Thet, to effect such a change. These arrive at Le Heve, May 16, 1613, and set up her coat of arms, as proprietor of the soil. They go to Port Royal, there engage Biard and Masse to accompany them, and thence they proceed to Mount Desert, an island at the mouth of Pentagoet or Penobscot River. They land on the east end of the island, where they choose their settlement, erect a cross, at which they afterwards worship, celebrate mass, and name the place St. Saviour. They, with other colonists, amount to twenty-five. Assisted by the vessel's crew, they prepare an intrenchment for their defence. After their houses are erect-

ed, they proceed to cultivate the earth. In the mean while, Biard and Le Vilin, the lieutenant of Saussaye, take a journey into the adjacent country, to discover the disposition of the natives. In their absence, Biard baptized the child of an Indian, supposed at the point of death, and it recovered. While the mission were preparing to carry out their plans, they are visited by Sir Samuel Argal, from Virginia, who came to protect eleven sail of fishermen from that colony. He captures and breaks up the settlement, and, as Charlevoix says, in the place of their cross, he has another set up with the name of the English king inscribed. The force under him killed part of their opponents. Of those so slain was the Jesuit Du Thet. Argal allows some of the prisoners a vessel, in which they return to France. Fifteen of them accompany him to Virginia. He justifies this procedure on the ground that his captives were intruders upon English soil.

On his return to Virginia, the governor there despatched him, with three vessels, to destroy the French settlements at St. Croix and Port Royal, which he accomplished without opposition.

Thus were the buddings of Papacy crushed, for a time, at the eastward. The opponents of the reformation mourned, and its advocates rejoiced, at such a conclusion of Madame de Guercheville's zeal and exertion.

1614, March 3. With Maine so cleared of the French, John Smith sails, with two ships under his command, from London. He shapes his course for Sagadahock, which he is instructed to occupy if circumstances permit. He arrives the latter end of April. While the greater part of his company attend to fishing, he, with the rest, surveys the coast, and trades with the natives for peltry. As a matter of course, he must have met with Indians who had visited the late colonists, and related to him interesting events of their perilous history. He did not remain, as he expected. While here, he met, "on the main, against Monhigan, a ship of Sir Francis Popham, which had many years used that port only."

1618. Though grievously disappointed in several attempts to settle this part of America with members of his beloved national church, Sir Ferdinando Gorges continues to persevere in his purpose. He had fitted out a ship at his own charge. In her he had sent Richard Vines, an Episcopalian clergyman, and others. As he requested, they left the ship, according to his Description of New England, "to follow their business in the usual place. By these, and help of those natives formerly sent over, I came to be truly informed of so much as gave me assurance that, in time, I should want no undertakers, though

1619.]

as yet I was forced to hire men to stay there in the winter quarter, at extreme rates." He then mentions that he did this during the destructive war between the tribes here, in 1615, and the desolating plague of 1617 and 1618. He informs us that Vines and his associates suffered nothing from the plague, though they lodged in wigwams of the diseased natives. In 1617, Vines resided at Winter Harbor, (part of Biddeford,) which he seems to have occupied for carrying out the religious as well as the commercial plans of his benevolent patron.

1619. Thomas Dermer, fitted out by the Company for New England, stops at Monhigan. One of his specific objects is, as Hubbard's Narrative states, "to settle the affairs of the plantation, now a third time revived, about the Kennebeck." Wounded, as related previously, he soon finds a grave in Virginia, where Edward Rocroft, with whom he came to cooperate, perished.

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#### NEW HAMPSHIRE.

1614. Among the various navigators who appear to have examined the limited sea-coast of this colony, for purposes of trade and colonization, is Captain John Smith, who now carefully makes his observations on its different parts. He calls the Isles of Shoals Smith's Isles. He represents the natives as allies to others more eastward. His desire, and that of his associates, was, that the light of Christianity might soon dawn on these dwellers in heathenish darkness.

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#### RHODE ISLAND.

1000. If the Vineland, discovered by Leif, and retained several years, at least, by his successors, be where the northern antiquaries locate it, there is great probability that exploring parties from their settlements, being long afterwards comprised by the Plymouth colony, passed over into the locations subsequently occupied by Williams, Clark, and their followers.

1524. Verrazano, on his voyage of discovery, writes to the King of France that he visited Narragansett Bay and the harbor on which Newport was afterwards settled. He remarked of the Indians here, "At their departure out of life, their relations mutually join in weeping, mingled with singing, for a long while."

## CONNECTICUT.

1003. From the course pursued by the Northmen, sent on a voyage of discovery, from their settlement, by Thorwald, and from the time of their absence, they most likely ranged along the seaboard of this colony.

1524. While exploring from the south to Rhode Island, there is cause to believe that Verrazano did not omit to make himself somewhat acquainted with a portion of Connecticut.

1614. After the discovery of the Fresh Water or Connecticut River, this year, by the Dutch, their traders carried on a profitable traffic in peltry, with the natives, who lived in the direction of the same stream.

### CHAPTER III.

**MASSACHUSETTS.** William Laud made a bishop. — English Puritans. — Peace with the natives. — Nova Scotia. — Tarrentines. — Protest of the Commons. — Weston's plantation. — New Netherland. — Mariana. — Apprentices. — Emigrants prohibited. — Vessels of Weston arrive. — Poor children. — Government on a grand scale. — New Albion. — Gospel for the Indians. — Sale of fire-arms prohibited. — Admiral. — Indian boy. — Military service. — Patent of R. Gorges. — Puritanism endangered. — Nantasket. **PLYMOUTH.** Residence. — Sabbath. — Natives. — Families. — Doctrines. — Church order. — Marriage. — Holydays. — Prophecy. — Opposition. — Pestilence. — Fire. — Powwows. — Indians pacified. — Visit of Massasoit. — Deaths. — Departure of the Mayflower. — Religious privileges. — Death of Carver. — Duel. — Letter from Robinson. — Call on Massasoit. — Boy lost and found. — Corbitant. — Wounded natives. — Peace with sachems. — More emigrants. — Seal of the colony. — Another patent. — Loss by the French. — Sabbath service. — Sermon of Cushman. — Hostile aspect of Canonicus. — Challenge. — Defence. — Pierce's plantation. — Weston's colony. — Distress. — Virginia massacre. — Famine. — Indian reproach. — Freemen. — Another port. — Supplies. — Books given. — Squanto dies. **MAINE.** Acadie. — Vessels at Damaris Cove. — Public city. — Lands granted. — Laconia. — Mt. Mansell. **NEW HAMPSHIRE.** Coast past. — Purpose to have soil settled. **RHODE ISLAND.** Narragansetts. — French trade. — Canonicus. — Challenge.

#### MASSACHUSETTS.

1621. CONTINUALLY manifesting his strong prejudice against the Puritans of England and Scotland, in their doctrines as well as forms, James I., though the clerical delegates he sent to the synod of Dort seemed to favor its decisions, advances several divines, who were zealous supporters of Arminius, to some of the chief bishoprics in his kingdom. Among the persons so promoted is William Laud,\* who afterwards adopted measures towards the Congregational part of New England, which were dreaded by their friends and commended by their foes. Under the protection of the king, striving to wrest from his people their constitutional rights, such dignitaries exert great influence to accomplish his purpose. All Episcopalians, who will not fall in with their views, and who hold to the thirty-nine articles as previously interpreted, are called Church Puritans. At the same time, his majesty applies the epithet of Puritan to such of

\* The Breviat of his Life makes this 1622, but Prince and others make it June 29, 1621.

his subjects as stand against his prerogative. These go by the name of State Puritans. United with the Church Puritans, who, comparatively, are not numerous, they form a majority, whose constant struggles against the encroachments of regal power prevent the utter ruin of British freedom. To counteract this conservative party, James favors the Catholics and the Arminians, who, together, apply their energies to break down all the barriers of the magna charta.

August. After this date, while the Pilgrims at Plymouth were exerting an influence to calm the angry resentments of the natives, those of Capawak propose terms of friendship between themselves and their white neighbors, who exhibit a disposition very different from that of reckless kidnappers.

September 10. For securing Nova Scotia more fully to the English crown, and thus keeping it from being a head quarters for Papal influence upon the natives and settlers of the country, Sir William Alexander has a patent of it from King James, by consent of the company for New England.

About this time, while other chiefs of tribes submit themselves to the English crown, through the influence of the Plymouth authorities, some of Massachusetts Bay do the same.

18. As the natives here had threatened the Puritan emigrants, their governor sends ten men and three Indians, by water, to conciliate them with friendly proposals. The company are successful in their kind enterprise. They learned that the Tarrentines of the eastward were a scourge to the Massachusetts. They regretted that the lines had not fallen upon themselves in so eligible a location for settlement as the country of the last people.

December 18. As a sign of important demonstrations in this and the mother land, James having rebuked the house for their legislation as an infraction on his right, they protest "that the liberties, franchises, privileges, and jurisdictions of parliament are the ancient and undoubted birthright and inheritance of the subjects of England."

Expressive of his delay and their zeal to support the reformation, they declare their sympathy for his son-in-law, Elector Palatine, who had been deposed, on the continent, by Papal power, and their readiness to sustain him, thus fallen, while the regal relative held back. Amid such conflicting elements, the germ of Puritanism grew and prepared to spread its branches far and wide.

1622. January 17. Partaking of the prejudice which had appeared in the company in England against the Puritans of Plymouth, Thomas Weston, who had been one of the most active among the adventurers there, writes a letter to the

governor. By this communication, its author gives information, that he has made up his mind to settle a colony in Massachusetts. Accordingly he fits out a vessel, called the Sparrow, Captain Redgers.

February 9. Instructed by the English government to arrest, if possible, the endeavors of the West India Company for the further settlement of the New Netherland, Sir Dudley Carleton accordingly addresses the States General. On this occasion, the ambassador remarks on the claim of his nation to the whole of North and South Virginias, and he speaks of the English settlements in them as an enterprise "holy and useful, which tend to the advancement of the Christian religion and the increase of commerce."

March 9. In the exercise of their corporate right, the council for New England grant territory to John Mason, who had been governor of Nova Scotia. This soil has the name of Mariana, which is far more euphonic than it was harmonious in its history. It lies between Naumkeag and Merrimack Rivers, including the extension round Cape Ann, and islands within three miles of the coast. Thus a location is assigned so as to be under the control of an efficient supporter of the national church.

April. For the purpose of commencing Weston's plantation, ten\* emigrants, of whom is Phinehas Pratt, who gives the account, arrive in the Sparrow, at Damaris Cove. These take a shallop, under the direction of Mr. Gibbs, the mate, reach Smith's Islands, sail thence to Cape Ann, remain about Massachusetts Bay four or five days, and fix on the south part of it, called Wessagusset, for their settlement. They buy this of Aberdecest, the sagamore. A patent for it had been obtained of the council, in England, by Mr. Weston. Thus another spot, bordering on the colony of Robinson's followers, is selected for the abode of rivals to them in trade and ecclesiastical polity.

Pratt and his associates visit Plymouth, where they are kindly received. They return to their ship at the eastward, accompanied by Mr. Winslow, whose commission is to obtain supplies for his necessitous townsmen.

May 31. Desirous to provide for boys who have none to support them, the council at home order that such, "not tainted with misdemeanors," may be sent over to this country and bound out as apprentices.

They further require that no emigrants shall come hither without their permission. Of course, being unfavorable to the spread of Nonconformists, they are likely to pursue their course,

\* Bradford, as quoted by Prince, makes seven passengers.



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already begun, of laying out their territories only for those companies who harmonize with them in religious sentiment.

July. Two vessels of Mr. Weston arrive at Plymouth. They are the *Charity* and *Swan*. They bring more settlers for his colony. Pratt says, "Then we made haste to settle our plantation, our number being neare sixty men. Neare vnto it is a towne of later time called Waymouth. The lesser of our three ships continued with vs." They surround their premises with palisades as a defence. The governor of them is Mr. Green, brother-in-law of Mr. Weston. He, being on business at Plymouth, in the fall, dies suddenly. His successor is John Saunders. A Mr. Salsbery is their chirurgion. Thomas Morton, a lawyer, is of their number, whom Pratt describes as no separatist. At first, the adjacent Indians appear friendly to them. But when perceiving them distressed with famine, they say, "Let us kill them while they are weak, or they will possess our country and drive us away."

5. The council write to London for poor children of fourteen years and above to be sent over. These children were probably designed for settlers in Maine and at Wessaguscus.

Desirous to perpetuate the political and ecclesiastical policy of their kingdom on these shores, they adopt what appears to them not only a grand but feasible plan. They say, "whereon is likely to bee built the goodliest frame that hath euer beene vndertaken to be raised by our nation."

24. After distributing their soil among various noblemen,\* they adopt several propositions. Of these are the following: There shall be a general governor, with a council of resident patentees, assisted by the customary officers of state. The territory shall be divided into "counties, baronies, hundreds, and the like." The two former of these are to have lords or deputy governors and other officials; and send members to the parliament here for enacting temporal and spiritual laws. In each county, courts and leets shall be kept as in England, for cases between "lords, tenants, and others." Incorporated cities shall send burgesses to the "publique assembly." The whole country to be called New Albion, "and a place bee reserved for a publique citty." "That there may bee power given in the grand patent to create titles of honour and precedence, soe as they differ in nomination from the titles used heere in England." "Such as are truly pious shall finde heere the opportunity to put in practice the workes of piety, both in building churches and raising of

\* Among these was the Earl of Warwick. As the Massachusetts Company's records of 1629, September 29, inform us that they had received "a former grant to him and others," it is probable that the patent now obtained by the latter associates embraced the territory of the former.

colledges for the breeding of youth or maintenance of diuines and other learned men." As to spreading a knowledge of the gospel among the aborigines here, they say, through the peace of our nation, " We haue the easier passage to aduance the crosse of Christ in heathen parts, and to display his banner in the head of his armie against the infernall spirits, which haue so long kept those poore, distressed creatures in bondage." They further observe, " Which [faith] with wonderfull alacrity many of them seem to giue vnto, and for whose speedy conuersion wee intend to bee as carefull as of our owne happinesse; and as diligent to build them houses, and to provide them tutors for their breeding, and bring vp their children of both sects, [sexes,] as to aduance any other businesses whatsoever, for that wee acknowledge ourselves specially bound thereunto. And this being done to refferre the successe to the Author of heaven and earth, to whom be all honour and glory." This extensive project, charged with involving a monopoly and opposed to free trade, soon found opponents from the proprietors of Virginia and some leading members of the House of Commons. Thus it was impeded and finally suppressed.

To prevent trade with the Indians of our coasts in fire-arms, without a sealed license from them, the council petition his majesty to issue a proclamation.

November 6. This he accordingly does. The document contains the ensuing language: " As it hath ever been held a principal office of Christian kings to seek, by all pious means, the advancement of the Christian religion, soe the consideration thereof hath bene a speciall motive unto us to further, by our royall authority, the good disposition of any of our well-affected subjects, that have a will to attempt the discovering and planting in any parts of the world, as yet savage and unpossessed by the subjects of any Christian prince or state, and nowe for that, by God's sacred fauour, there is likely to ensue great advancement of his glory, our crowne and state cannot but continue our especiall fauour " to the said council. Chalmers observes, " This remarkable edict, far from proving beneficial to the company, really brought on its dissolution." It may have had such tendency, but it was not the only cause. The charter granted to the council, two years before, authorized their suppression of unlicensed trade, and had been much opposed on account of its privileges.

8. However the council meet with obstructions to their purpose, they partially carry it out. They appoint Francis West admiral, to take the oversight of fishery and commerce along their whole coast. He is to embark in the ship Plantation. Thomas Squib is chosen his assistant.

November 19. They require Mr. Weston to send back, by Leonard Paddock, an Indian boy, who belonged in the vicinity of Wessaguscus.

December 3. As an additional item to the system of government in their territory here, the council require of each patentee, after thirty days' notice, "*per gladium comitatus*," to furnish "four able men conveniently arrayed for the warr, to attend upon the governor for any service."

By this year, Thomas Gray had received Nantasket from Chickatalbot, sagamore of the Massachusetts Indians, for a sufficient consideration.

30. The council, in view of his father's services, and of one hundred and sixty pounds from himself, grant Robert Gorges a tract of land,\* ten miles north-east from what is now known as Boston Bay, and thirty miles into the country. The boundaries seem to have been altered, but the amount not diminished. Several merchants, the next May 18, proposed to be connected with him in the patent. The grantee was endowed with the right of fully governing the population who might become his subjects, in accordance with laws enacted by a parliament to be established in his jurisdiction.

The council appear to have been fully resolved, in the distribution of their territory, and in the plan of its particular and general administration of authority, that there should be no more colonies here like that of Plymouth, and that Nonconformists must cease to make this land their refuge, as independent corporations. Indeed, the control of affairs at court was so applied to those here, as to curtail and subvert the Puritan interest on our shores.

\* David Thompson, as attorney for the council of New England, was designated to deliver such a tract to Robert Gorges. When this person died, the grant fell to his brother, John Gorges, who conveyed his fee in it. January 10, 1628-9, to Sir William Brereton, of Handforth, in the county of Chester. Then its contents were described as including, besides what has been mentioned above, "two islands next unto the shore between Nahante and Charles River, the bigger called Brereton, and the less Susanna." Sir William claimed it of the Massachusetts Company, February 10, 1629-30. He then petitioned that it might be set off to him for his people and servants, whom he was about to send hither. But his petition was not allowed. For his stock he is granted six hundred acres here. The governor consented that he might have a trial to make good his demand. Sir William left an only son, Thomas, afterwards Sir Thomas Brereton, and a daughter, Susanna. At the decease of Sir Thomas, the patent was inherited by his sister, who married Edmund Lenthall, Esq. These leave an only child, Mary, wife to Mr. Levett, of the Inner Temple, who claimed it in her right, as heir of Sir William and Sir Thomas Brereton. Sir William sent over families and servants, who possessed some large tracts of the territory, and made several leases. The description of the bounds seems not to be altogether correct as to the points of compass.

## PLYMOUTH.

1620. Faint indeed is our imagination, and fainter still our description, of the various emotions of a company about to inhabit a long-desired, but untried and uncivilized country. Such emotions stir every affection of the soul, task all its powers, and are engraved on the tablet of its memory, in characters never to be erased. As felt by the settlers of Plymouth, they were of a sublime cast; were excited by the retrospection of past efforts and trials for the highest interests of man, and by the prospect of similar experience for a like worthy end.

December 23. Having fixed on a permanent residence, they adopt means for its preparation. Such of their number as are not detained by ill health, after solemnly looking to heaven for guidance, go on shore to "cut and carry timber for a common building." So commencing their labor on the last day of the week, they do not suffer it, however urgent, to be made a plea of necessity for a trespass on holy time.

24. The Sabbath dawns upon them with its sacred associations. They strictly keep it holy. They feel more than ever, in these ends of the earth, where the abuses of deteriorated society disturb not their devotions, that the proper use of such a service is essential to their temporal as well as spiritual welfare. While the party on land are religiously employed, an alarm is given to them that Indians are at hand. Perceiving that the English, though at rest from their labor, are still watchful, these assailants immediately flee. This hostile visit is made by the Nausites of the vicinity. The limited intercourse which they had had with Europeans failed to teach them that none should judge from mere appearance, so as to execute punishment; and that while there were those of every clime and every complexion who trample on the rights of humanity, and sacrifice all the principles of rectitude on the altar of gain, there are others who live for the benefit of their species, and who prize a good conscience more than the wealth of the Indies.

26. The time being come for worldly avocations, the colonists sedulously apply themselves to the erection of a building only twenty feet square, as a shelter for their goods, and some of their company.

28. They divide themselves into nineteen families, measure off lots of land, and draw for them. Thus preparing to live, they are admonished of death. Sickness spreads among them. It is induced by the scurvy, which had infected some of them on their voyage, and by hardships endured after their arrival.

Still, they long not for the leeks and onions of Egypt, so as to murmur at their lot.

December 31. Another Sabbath, with its salutary influences, brings to them "the oil of joy for mourning, and the garment of praise for the spirit of heaviness." It reminds them, while they seek for the sanctification of their sorrows, that the month which it was about to close had witnessed the decease of six of their number. Thus entered on their toilsome way, the planters of Plymouth may be considered here, perhaps, as well as any where else in the compass of this work, in reference to their religious principles and discipline. The founders of this colony, like their brethren whom they left at Leyden, professed the Calvinistic doctrines, as taught in the English church at Geneva.

As to other items on this subject, we are favored with the very words of their own pastor, (Mr. Robinson,) in his Appendix to the Six Christian Principles of Rev. William Perkins:—

*Ques.* What is the church?

*Ans.* A company of faithful and holy people, (with their seed,) called by the word of God into publicke covenant with Christ, and amongst themselves, for mutuall fellowship in the use of al the meanes of God's glory and their salvation.

*Ques.* What are the essentiall marks of the church?

*Ans.* Faith and order, as the church in them may be seen and be held to walke in Christ Jesus, whom she hath received. Faith professed in word and deed, shewing the matter to be true; and order in the holy things of God, shewing the forme to be true; which are the two essentiall parts of the church.

*Ques.* How many are y<sup>e</sup> offices of ministry in y<sup>e</sup> church?

*Ans.* Five, besides the extraordinary offices of apostles, prophets, and evangelists, for the first planting of the churches, which are ceased with their extraordinary gifts.

*Ques.* Shew me which those officers be, with their answerable gifts and workes.

*Ans.* The pastor, to whom is given the gift of wisdom for exhortation. The teacher, to whom is given the gift of knowledge for doctrine. The governing elder, who is to rule with diligence. The deacon, who is to administer the holy treasure with simplicitie. The widow, or deaconesse, who is to attend the sick and impotent, with compassion and cheerfulness.

*Ques.* By whom are these officers to have their outward calling?

*Ans.* By the church, whereof they are members for the present, and to which they are to administer.

*Ques.* What if the officer be found unfaithful in his place?

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*Ans.* He is by the church to be warned to take heed to his ministry he hath received, to fulfil it, which, if he neglect to do, by the same power which set him up he is to be put down and deposed.

*Ques.* What are the outward works of the church's communion with Christ?

*Ans.* These are six: prayer; the reading and opening of the word; the sacraments; singing of psalms; censures; contribution to y<sup>e</sup> necessitie of the saints."

In addition to the preceding, Mr. Robinson taught the subsequent articles: That the more intelligent brethren, by leave from the elders, may prophesy, or give religious addresses to the congregation; that marriage, not being a sacrament, as the Catholics maintained, should be performed by magistrates; that ministers should not be required to pray by set forms; that there should be no other holy days than Sabbaths, fasts, and thanksgivings; that no particular church should contain more than can conveniently worship together and exercise a mutual watch; that any competent number of Christians, who witness a good profession, and choose to be so formed, may covenant with each other, and become a distinct church; that no church has a right to control another, with reference to its individual concerns, except in an advisory manner; that church officers, having been chosen by the brethren, are to be ordained by elders, when practicable. Thus the venerated pastor, though dead, yet speaketh to us through the faith and order adopted by the Plymouth church, when separating from their Leyden brethren.

Appointed to supply his place, in part, so as to prophesy among the emigrants, William Brewster still exercises the office of ruling elder. For so high responsibilities he was eminently qualified. The expected arrival of Mr. Robinson was an inducement for the brethren to delay the selection of a pastoral successor to him longer than they otherwise would. Besides, it appears that members of the trading company who continued in England were unwilling for Puritan ministers to embark with them for this country, as is evident from the fact that Rev. Mr. Crabe had promised to accompany them, but was much opposed, and therefore remained at home. With how much tenacity the spiritual bill of rights, just described and introduced to these shores, was advocated and retained by our fathers, we shall have frequent occasion to observe. From this subject, which stood high in the estimation of the colonists, and was the principal impulse to their onward course, we look to some striking incidents of their experience.

1621, January 14. Still engaged in preparing a town, they

are visited with fire, as well as pestilence. Their storehouse, being covered with thatch, is consumed, with considerable property.

February 9. Their hospital, increasingly needed, is similarly destroyed. To them — far away from the tenements and accommodations of settled and comfortable communities, far from being able to spare the amount and supplies of their loss — such adversities are exceedingly trying.

It is not unlikely that the watchful and offended natives of the vicinity were acquainted with the distresses of the planters, and drew an argument from them that the Great Spirit was dealing in judgment with the white men. To hasten on the catastrophe which they hoped would soon clear the land of their foreign neighbors, the Indians, about this date, assemble all their powows, for three successive days, in a dismal swamp, to perform their various incantations. Thus means and ends, having no connection, either in nature or religion, have, from mere contemporaneous existence, been frequently supposed as closely united, and the one an indisputable precursor of the other. Hereby superstition has gathered strength, and continued its sway over vast portions of the human family, who are either destitute of revelation, or, if favored with its instructions, refuse to obey them. Its exhibition, as just related, must have reminded the colonists of the scriptural representation, as to the Canaanites, when Balak interceded with Balaam to imprecate Israel, and must have been a long-continued service of some common origin. But, leaning on the arm of that Being who converts improved sorrow into a source of joy, and who wisely disciplines the good as well as evil, they gave little heed to the orgies and denunciations of priests who worshipped they knew not what.

March 16. Such unfriendly carriage of the aborigines is soon to be overcome. After repeated endeavors to speak with them, the planters are gratified, as well as surprised, in seeing one come fearlessly among them, and hearing him say, "Welcome, Englishmen! welcome, Englishmen!" The confidence of this individual leads them to anticipate that he would serve to assuage the enmity of adjacent tribes, and thus aid them to enter on their chief object of introducing the gospel among them. The name of the person who so trusted himself among strangers was Samoset. He was sagamore of the Wampanoags, and learned the English tongue of fishermen at Penobscot. He satisfies the emigrants, in various particulars, which their curiosity and welfare prompts them to know, relative to the country and people of their vicinity. He confirms what they had already understood, that among the victims of the plague which

raged four years previously, were all the inhabitants of Pantuxet, in which they had become located. Thus they learn that none of the original proprietors of their settlement live to ask remuneration for its occupancy, and that they are free from the accusation of being intruders upon the soil of their descendants. They are careful, by kind attentions, that Samoset may not lose his favorable impressions of their peaceful and benevolent intentions towards the Indians. Still, they are cautious not to expose their necessities and weakness to him, lest he had come on a treacherous embassy. The treatment which he received from them had the effect on his feelings and the influence over his actions which they desired and sought. He departed, next morning, with an agreement that he would assume the kind office of removing the prejudices and pacifying the passions of their uncivilized neighbors. Faithful in his professions as a peacemaker, he returns, the 18th, to them with five other Indians. As an additional pledge that he had not been idle in their behalf, he hands back to them some of their tools, then much needed, and highly prized because of their scarcity, which the Nausites had purloined. He and his companions bring skins, for the purpose of traffic. But unacquainted with the Christian calendar, and holding all days alike, they discover that it is Sabbath with the English, and that nothing must be said or done about trade at this time. Unaccustomed to such restraint, those who came with Samoset depart for their residence, while he tarries to witness the services of worship.

March 22. Still desirous for the planters to be acquainted with every one capable of advancing their interests, this sagemore brings an Indian to them by the name of Squanto. This individual was among the victims of Hunt's treachery. He had escaped from bondage to England, resided in London, and returned to the abode of his fathers, expecting to entertain them with the tale of his adventures. But he found none to bid him welcome. He saw that the besom of pestilence had swept through their wigwams, and left their bones to bleach on the open cornfields. Though his betrayer meant his abduction for evil, yet a merciful Providence overruled it as the means of saving him from the extirpation of all his kindred, and of rendering him an instrument of service to the Puritans. Samoset and Squanto inform them that Massasoit, "the greatest king of the Indians bordering on" Plymouth, is at hand, attended by his brother, Quadequina, and sixty others of his subjects. This is no undesired message to the planters. They lose no time in assuring the chief that they are glad to reciprocate his kind feelings towards them. After the state etiquette on both sides is closed, and Edward Winslow presents himself as a hostage



for the sachem's safety, the latter enters into a treaty of peace with the colonists, on terms fair and honorable to the contracting parties. Massasoit, no doubt, had policy in such an alliance. He had powerful adversaries in the Narragansetts, who dreaded the fire-arms of the English, and who, as he well knew, would fear him more by his connection with such a people. Seldom have there been purer motives cherished by any community than those of the emigrants on this occasion. In treating with their new allies, they not only acted for their own security, but also to exert an influence over the natives, so that they too might taste the blessings of civilization and religion. Though gratified with having made friends of those who had been their foes, the colonists are still called to mourn the loss of their own number. Eight of their small company died in January, seventeen in February, and thirteen in March. For a part of this period, the well were not sufficient to attend the sick. Over the intense sufferings which must have accompanied such mortality, in the midst of many privations, time has drawn its veil.

Credible tradition relates that the settlers, who buried their dead on the banks of the shore, near their own dwellings, levelled and sowed their sepulchres, to conceal, for evident reasons, from the Indians the fact that so many of them had deceased. As Abraham found first a grave in the land of promise for his beloved Sarah, so did the surviving Pilgrims find, in their refuge, graves for their endeared relatives. As the weather grows milder, and the hardships of the planters lessen, health begins to prevail, and cheer them with the hope that some of them are to be spared for the continuance of their enterprise. Whether living or dying, they resolve to hold on the principles and promises of the gospel. They furnish an eminent example that piety can impart strength in weakness, derive improvement from afflictions, disarm death of its terrors, and make the way from time to eternity both easy and blessed.

April 5. Thus exhibiting proofs of divine philosophy impressed upon their hearts, the colonists fit away the vessel which had brought them hither, and which had lost nearly half of her crew while upon this coast. A chief reason for her long detention was, that she might serve them as a retreat, in case they should be compelled by the natives to relinquish their settlement. As this ark of their perils and preservations, trials and consolations, vows and devotions, launched upon the Atlantic, associations both pleasant and melancholy must have been awakened in their minds. Leaving them who begin to exchange the severities of winter for the blandness of spring,

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the desolations of pestilence and mortality for the aspect of health and life, they could not but wish her passage to be safe; yea, as she recedes from their gaze, assumes the appearance of a speck, and sinks below the horizon, their prayer ascends, "Mayst thou reach thy destination, and prove more welcome than the fairest Mayflower of the field to the greeting eyes of our friends." Soon after the departure of the vessel, the emigrants begin to provide for their temporal necessities by cultivating the soil. In this work they are greatly assisted\* by their friend Squanto. While putting their seed into the ground, John Carver, their governor, who had "spent the main part of a considerable estate" for the colony, is taken ill, and soon expires. The circumstances of so sad an event are related by his successor in office. He "comes out of the field very sick; complains greatly of his head; within a few hours, his senses fail, so as he speaks no more, and, in a few days after, dies, to our great lamentation and heaviness. His care and pains were so great for the common good, as, therewith, 'tis thought, he oppressed himself and shortened his days, of whose loss we cannot sufficiently complain." His wife† deceased five or six weeks after. He left a daughter, Elizabeth, who married John Howland.

Thus falls the head of this smitten commonwealth. As the hope of better days began to dawn, he and the worthy companion of his pilgrimage are called to the unalloyed enjoyments of perfection. His place as chief magistrate is filled by William Bradford, with Isaac Allerton as his assistant.

June 18. Among the evidences which these rulers had that the severe trials of their company had not purified all its members from false notions of honor, is the fact that a case of duelling is brought before them. The combatants are two servants of Mr. Stephen Hopkins, who are both wounded. They are adjudged, by verdict of all the other planters, to have their hands and feet tied together, and so lie for twenty-four hours, without sustenance. This remedy, continued only an hour, with much pain, brings the offenders to make proper apologies, if not to cherish penitent feelings. Strange infatuation must have induced these individuals to commit such folly among so small a people, withdrawn from the whirl of popular errors, and frowning upon the blandishments of demoralized society.

June 30. Still deeply sympathizing with the settlers of

\* The Indians, on all the sea-coasts where fish were abundant, manured their cornfields with them, when discovered by Europeans, and long afterwards. Such a custom was much followed by the English farmers.

† Rev. John Robinson, in a letter dated July 27, 1630, to Carver, says, "Your good wife, my loving sister."

[PLATE

Plymouth, as part of his spiritual family, Mr. Robinson writes\* to them from Leyden. An extract or two is given, showing a far more excellent spirit than the quarrels of the contentious. "My continual prayers are to the Lord for you; my most earnest desire is unto you, from whom I will not longer keep (if God will) than means can be procured to bring with me the wives and children of divers of you and the rest of your brethren, whom I could not leave behind me without great injury to you and them, and offence to God and all men. The death of so many our dear friends and brethren! O, how grievous hath it been to you to bear, and to us, to take knowledge of which, if it could be mended with lamenting, could not sufficiently be bewailed; but we must go unto them, and they shall not return to us."

July 2. Thus addressed, the colonists agree to send some of their number to return the visit of Massasoit. Messrs. Edward Winslow and Hopkins are the principal persons appointed for this purpose. In their journey through places, on which their eyes never before rested, and which afforded ample scope for the employment of their wakeful curiosity, they pass over the skulls and other bones of many natives, who had fallen victims of the recent plague. While walking through such a Golgotha, they must have felt as the living among the dead, and been specially admonished of the slender tie which holds human life and its greatest attractions. Having reached the limit of their destination, the sachem kindly receives them, as well as their presents. He assures them of his unabated attachment to their colony. They return highly gratified with their embassy.

While careful not to break the friendly relations which they had formed with Massasoit, an incident takes place this month, painful in its occurrence, but beneficial in its consequences. A boy wanders from the known limits of the town, and is unable to retrace his steps. The whole settlement are in anxious suspense about his situation. But being found by the Nausites, he is speedily brought back. This afforded these natives an opportunity to perceive that their European neighbors, in the expressions of unfeigned gratitude and other manifestations of real benevolence towards them, were a very different people from those who had formerly wronged them. The strength of barbarous antipathy being thus weakened, both parties form a treaty of friendship. Another similar league is made by the English with the chief, Iyanough.

August 13. Thus extending the olive branch of peace, the

\* Bradford's Letter Book, in Massachusetts Historical Collection, 1s. 3v. 43 p.

emigrants are constrained to interpose in behalf of an ally. It appears that the Narragansetts had committed depredations on property belonging to some of Massasoit's men, and taken him prisoner. An attempt was also made by Corbitant, a friend of the former nation, to murder Hobamak, who had gone from Plymouth to find his sovereign in the hands of captors. Amid these circumstances, the colonists conclude that they are required, by justice and contract, to send a party for the seizure of Corbitant and his companions. This detachment, headed by Miles Standish, find the wily chief absconded. They quiet the apprehensions of the natives who remained by the assurance that they wished to do them no harm, that they had come to suppress a faction, inimical to Massasoit, and that they felt bound to chastise all who rose against him. Having accomplished the object of their expedition, so far as practicable, they march home. They bring three Indians, who were wounded in the defence of Corbitant's house. Such disabled natives, instead of being tormented, and then put to death, as their own custom was towards captives, are carefully tended, and sent back healed.

Kindness of this sort spoke much in favor of the Puritans' religion. It led the Indians far and near to regard them with increasing confidence.

September 13. Nine sachems become their auxiliaries. The example of these chiefs is soon followed by other natives. Report had reached the planters that the Massachusetts meant to invade them. They resolve to conciliate this tribe, if possible. They accordingly, in this month, despatch a party of men, whose mission proves successful. While the Lord thus smiles on them, in turning the hearts of opponents towards them, he also blesses their basket and store. The field supplies them with bread, the woods with fowl, and the sea with fish, in abundance.

November 10. Little expecting any reinforcement from Europe, at present, to supply the vacancy of their deceased relatives, they are happily surprised with the sight of a sail advancing to their port. She proves to be the ship *Fortune*, and brings, as passengers, Mr. Robert Cushman and thirty-five others. They bid her a more hearty welcome than the Venetian merchant ever did his richest argosy. Just one year before, they themselves cast anchor by the cape, which became their habitation. Then was a time of thrilling, though chafened, expectation with them. Now the sweet and the bitter fruitions of their hope and fear on that occasion are the record of their memory. Kindly, could they say, kindly did the hand of Providence hide from us the crowded sorrows of so

short a period, except as we were called to experience them in succession, and were favored with needed support and consolation. Kindly has the same overruling cause sent us more friends, to "bless the present scene," in place of those whom he has resumed "to prepare us for the next." The last adventurers arrived to an abode where pious submission so converts natural evil into moral good — came to cast in their lot with the stricken planters. Nor did they do this ignorantly. Before making a surrender of their homes and kindred, they had listened to the tale of woe which betided their brethren in a far country. Their object is to strengthen the weak and revive the drooping. Nor is such philanthropy, however noble and justly claiming our praise, their greatest end. They are mainly induced so to exchange the endearments of native land, that they too may be co-workers in setting up the pillars of a religious commonwealth, whose principles, administration, and effects they hope may be largely freed from what they deem the errors and corruptions of the eastern hemisphere. Like their predecessors at Plymouth, they might be properly shadowed forth by the symbols of devotion on the seal\* of their company, and as possessing the faith and practising the prayer fit for such an enterprise, which they appreciated more for its results in eternity than in time. Under circumstances like these, such an accession of emigrants must have broken up the deep fountains of feeling; produced emotions; drawn forth expressions of thought, sympathy, and affection; given a language to the countenance, and presented a view which the pencil of a Raphael himself could but have faintly delineated. What sacrifices have the conscientious made that they might freely serve God, extend the bounds of his spiritual kingdom, and be partakers of his endless favor! While the verdict of irreligion may pronounce them mad, the pen of Omniscience records them as the wisest of their species. In addition to their happiness, the settlers hear by the Fortune that another patent has been procured by members of their company at home. Relative to this subject, Mr. Weston wrote to Governor Carver, "We have procured you a charter, the best we could, better than your former, and with less limitation." Though this instrument is not all the colonists wish, yet it frees them from the liability to be expelled from their settlement as intruders. Such superiority as it had over the first may be imputed, not to any increase of favor which they found

\* This seal presents four men, in the midst of a wilderness, each resting on one knee, and extending and raising his hands in the attitude of prayer. It is dated 1620, and circumscribed with the words, "Sigillvm Societatis Plimovth, Nov. Anglia."

with the court party, but to the enlargement of the Puritan influence in England.

December 13. The vessel recently arrived and laden with the products of the country departs for England. Before reaching her port, she is detained and pillaged by the French. This loss operated against the interest of the colony. To supply her with needed stores, and support their last emigrants, they are reduced to a scanty allowance of food. Such precaution against famine is borne without murmur.

By the Fortune, in which he appears to have come, William Hilton writes home to a cousin, "Our companie are, for the most part, very religious, honest people. The word of God is sincerely taught vs every Sabbath."

The day before this vessel sailed, Elder Cushman, one of the homeward passengers, dated the dedicatory epistle to a sermon of his, preached at Plymouth. The subject of this production was suited to promote the disposition applicable to the necessities of the planters, and essential to their success. It was, "The sin and danger of self-love." In its introduction, we have the succeeding passages: "If there be any who are content to lay out their estates, spend their time, labor, and endeavors, for the benefit of them that shall come after, and desire to further the gospel among those poor heathens, quietly contenting themselves with such hardship and difficulties as by God's providence shall fall upon them, being yet young and in their strength, such men I would advise and encourage to go, for their ends cannot fail them. And whoso rightly considereth what manner of entrance, abiding, and proceedings we have had among these poor heathen, since we came, will easily think that God hath some great work to do towards them. They were much wasted of late, by reason of a great mortality that fell amongst them three years since, which, together with their own civil dissensions and bloody wars, hath so wasted them, I think the twentieth person is scarcely left alive. By reason of one (Tisquanto) that lives amongst us, that can speak English, we have daily commerce with their kings; we can acquaint them with our courses and purposes, both humane and religious." The phraseology of this extract shows that the sermon was intended to draw the special attention of Puritans in England to the Plymouth colony, as a residence, where the virtues of religion might be more than ordinarily exemplified. It was soon to be circulated in print among the British public, already much excited by various causes.

1622, January. Returning to the company under Governor Bradford, we find them threatened with hostilities. The Narragansetts, notwithstanding their previous professions of friendship,

assume a daring attitude. Compared in number with the small band of English, they were potent adversaries. Canonicus, their king, no doubt concluded that while the staff of power was in his hand, it would be for his interest to smite the foreigners before they should become too formidable for him to overthrow. He sends them a challenge, but when he perceives that a fearless return is made to him, though with the desire of peace on equitable terms, he is terrified with the image of his own device, and retracts his hostile purposes.

February. The warlike bearing of Canonicus induces the English, as a means of defence, to enclose their town with pales, flankers, and gates, and to keep a watch and ward. Whether a course of this kind was better than that pursued afterwards by the colony of William Penn towards their Indian neighbors, is a question not easily settled by the advocates and opponents of non-resistance. One truth, however, is evident — that the inhabitants of Plymouth sought to cultivate a placable temper towards and among all the adjacent tribes. At the same time, as their conduct manifests, they believed that to show no signs of resistance under menaces of the envious, treacherous, and the strong, was only to invite outrage, if not destruction.

April 20. The council records of London inform us that John Peirce, "citizen and cloathmaker of London," obtains a grant for himself and associates in the company for Plymouth plantation, as a joint interest; but, on the same day, gives it up and procures a patent or "deed pole" of said lands to "himself, for his heirs, associates, and assigns forever." Hence the colony was called, in England, Peirce's plantation. With this procedure other adventurers in the same concern find fault, and accuse him with deceiving them. This case was brought before the council and compromised the next year. When first coming to the ears of the settlers, it must have appeared as if there was a conspiracy to make them bondmen.

May. The settlers have a severe trial in receiving a letter from Weston, that he had broken partnership with them, and is about to set up a plantation in Massachusetts. At this time they are deeply distressed for want of food. The boat which brings the letter also brings several men for the new colony: among them is Phineas Pratt. His relation says that the Plymouth people "were so distressed with sickness, that then fearing the savages should know it, had set up their sick men with their muskets upon their rests, and their backs leaning against trees."

With these passengers comes another letter from Captain John Huddleston to the governor, which kindly warns him and the people to be on their guard against the natives, lest they ex-

perience a massacre like that recently inflicted on Virginia.\* Mr. Winslow, in another boat, accompanied her back to "Damarin's" Cove, so that he might get bread for his fellow-colonists. Of this article he only obtained enough to furnish one quarter of a pound as the daily portion of each individual among them till harvest. Even with the help which they had from fish, many of their number became emaciated, weak, and swollen before their necessities were comfortably supplied.

The Indians, perceiving the weakness of the Plymouth people, and knowing the cruel success of the southern natives, reproach them in their troubles, and boast how easily they may be exterminated. This led to the erection of a fort on the hill above the settlement. Thus feeling themselves bound to exert their physical power as well as use their spiritual means for deliverance, the colonists number only a hundred, a mere handful to withstand thousands constantly on the watch for the surest mode of destroying them. But the discipline of civilization and the fortitude of religion yielded them more might than walls and fortifications.

July. The authorities receive word from Peirce in London, by one of Mr. Weston's ships, that he would sanction the admission of such members to their body as they thought fit to be received. However cramped in their operations, the people of Plymouth are vigilant to prevent surprise of foes from any quarter. During the summer, they have another fort finished, which serves them for a place of worship. Such precaution is taken not only on account of Indians, but also, very probably, from an uncertain apprehension lest the emigrants of Wessagus might try to control their affairs.

August. While the people of Plymouth are fearfully anticipating a famine of bread, because the prospect of their crop is dark, Captain Jones, on his course from Virginia, stops at their port, and sells them supplies for their deep necessities. Having some Indians on board as prisoners, his ship runs on Cape Cod, and they escape. For the complaints which they made against him, the council take measures, December 17, to have him put on trial. With him, John Porey, who had been secretary at Virginia, waits on Governor Bradford and Brewster, who present him Robinson's works, and Ainsworth on the Pentateuch. After his departure, he dates a note of thanks, the 28th, to them for such productions. When he reached England, he highly commended the colony.

\* Stith states that the Indians, on March 27, 1622, killed three hundred and forty-seven of the English in Virginia.



[Mr.

November. The chief magistrate and others, being on an excursion among the Indians, to purchase corn and beans, Squanto, who accompanied him, falls sick and dies. This native, supposing that he could live but a little while, desired Mr. Bradford to pray "that he may go to the Englishman's God." The survivors are also cast ashore and forced to go home on foot. They rejoice to behold their settlement, which, however furnishing few outward attractions, was rendered to them more dear by the hardships of their tour. The year which was about to expire had been one of extremities to the people of Plymouth, and also of remarkable deliverances.

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#### MAINE.

1621, September 10. The conveyance of Acadie to Sir William Alexander, before mentioned, was considered by the friends of reformed colonization as an important barrier against the introduction of Papal missionaries into Maine.

1622, May. As indicative of means for frequent communication with this country to obtain acquaintance with its soil, resources, and inhabitants, for purposes of emigration, there were, about this time, thirty sail of fishing vessels at Damaris Cove.

July 24. For carrying out their favorite idea for a general administration of authority throughout New England, which should harmonize politically and religiously with that of their own nation, the council order, that "the two great islands lying in the river of Sagadahoc be reserved for the public plantation; a place be reserved between the branches of the two rivers for a public city." In reference to such a location as the former of these, they say, in their Relation of this year, "We have now despatched some of our people of purpose there to search out what port or place is most convenient to settle our main plantation in, where we mean to make the residence of our state and government." This business was very likely to have been one of the commissions forwarded by Gorges to the judicious supervision of Vines. The care and tenacity with which the most enterprising members of the council kept their eye on Maine, is palpable proof that they set more by it, for situation of the metropolis, and the chief place of government in their jurisdiction, than by all the rest.

At the same time, large grants of territory are made to the Duke of Lenox, Earl of Arundel, and Secretary Calvert, above and below the same river.

August 10. The part of this territory which extends from Sagadahoc up to Piscataqua, is included in Laconia, assigned to Mason and Gorges.

November 13. Mount Desert, where Madame Guercheville had her missionaries located, is called, on the council's records, Mount Mansell, supposed after Sir Robert Mansell, who, with others, had been previously, during this year, granted lands in New England.

22. Squibs, deputy to Admiral West, is appointed to take possession of it for Sir Robert.

About this year, Monhegan, which had residents several years before, is permanently settled.

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#### NEW HAMPSHIRE.

1622, May. Like many other Europeans, who passed the limited seaboard of this colony, Phineas Pratt and his associates regard it with interest, on their passage from Damaris Cove to Wessaguscus, where they conclude to found another colony under the patronage of Weston.

Though not yet planted by Europeans, Mason and Gorges are exerting their ability to have this soil thus occupied.

August 10. This land, from Merrimack River towards Maine, is contained in Laconia, now granted to these public benefactors.

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#### RHODE ISLAND.

1621, July. Commissioners from Plymouth on a peaceful excursion, in harmony with their religious profession, are at the residence of Massasoit. A river flowed by his premises, of which Bradford observed, "It goes into the sea at Narragansett Bay, which the Frenchmen use so much." The same author, continuing his remarks, said, that the sachem desired the commissioners not to let the French trade with the Narragansetts. From this it is evident, that these Europeans had sustained a commercial intercourse with such natives, and it is likely that they claimed a right so to do from the visit paid by Verrazano to this coast. It would not be strange, if the hardness exhibited subsequently by the Narragansetts against the Puritan religion, while many others, this side of them, yielded to its power,

might be traced to a tincture of prejudice imbibed from such Papal visitors.

August 14. Not long after this date, Canonicus, the sachem of the Narragansetts, who had recently begun hostilities with Massasoit, but who was much intimidated by the interposition of Plymouth, sends to their governor for peace, which was readily granted.

1622, January. About this date, the Narragansetts, supposed able to raise five thousand fighting men, because the plague had passed over them, begin to discover unfriendly purposes towards the colonists on the cape. Their king sends them a bundle of arrows, tied with a snake skin, which an Indian interprets as a challenge to combat. The governor, taking advice, immediately assumes the bold front, as most suited for the uncivilized in such a case, and sends back the snake skin filled with powder and bullets, as a sign that if he would have war he might, though the settlers had done him no harm, and wished to live quietly with him and his. The chief wisely withdrew from the menaced conflict, and kept his hands off from the tribes whom he wished to oppress.

## CHAPTER IV.

**MASSACHUSETTS.** Poor emigrants. — Admiral. — Ship for the coast. — Plantation. — Conspiracy. — Indians killed. — English slain. — Weston's settlement ceases. — Episcopacy. — Governor general. — Wessaguscus reoccupied. — Refugees from Plymouth. — Papacy. — Gorges' plantation closed. — Morrell's poem. — Colony at Cape Ann. — Braintree settlers. — Naumkeag occupied. — Mount Wollaston. — Lyford goes to Virginia. — Laud succeeds Abbot. — Church Puritans. **PLYMOUTH.** Trials. — Sickness of Massasoit. — Hambden. — Conspirators killed. — Pierce's plan thwarted. — Good name. — Fast. — More emigrants. — Scanty fare. — Winslow embarks for London. — Incendiaries. — Letter from Robinson. — Adventurers in England. — Opposition to Puritanism here. — Advice to Brewster. — Patent of Cape Ann. — Cushman's message. — Objections to the colonists. — Winslow's good news. — Principles of action. — Evangelization of Indians. — Religion of the natives. — Faction. — Lyford. — Morton's death. — Plot discovered. — Oldham expelled. — Lyford's confession. — Oldham runs the gantlet. — Lyford departs. — Parties among the stockholders. — Dissolution. — Standish sails for London. — Loss by capture. — Oldham reconciled. — Cushman dies of the plague. — Decease of Robinson. — Truck house at Penobscot. — Free trade. — Dutch desire intercourse. — Usury. — Contract with the company. — Monamet for trade. — Dutch trade. — Undertakers. — Virginia emigrants. — Escort of the Dutch secretary into Plymouth. — Boundaries. — Leyden people. **MAINE.** Seat of government. — Settlements. — Agamenticus. — Monhegan patent. — Plymouth trade at Kennebeck. **NEW HAMPSHIRE.** Mason's grant; Godfrey with him. — Laconia. — Mason Hall. — Hiltons. **RHODE ISLAND.** Religion of the Narragansetts. **CONNECTICUT.** Plymouth settlers invited to occupy Connecticut.

### MASSACHUSETTS.

FOR the continuance of our course, we will look at several items from the records of the council, who held their sessions in London.

1623, January 15. A letter from the king to the lieutenants of every shire, "for the setting forth of their poorer sort of people to New England," is received, "to be prosecuted." This subject is deferred, February 18, for a season. A proposal is offered to elect Sir Samuel Argal admiral of New England.

21. Emigrants should be of three sorts — military, to attend the governor, mechanics, and husbandmen.

25. Andrew Dickson, master builder of a new ship made at Whitley, Yorkshire, for members of the council, and also for service on our shores, is appointed her commander. Among

the subscribers to pay for this vessel are Robert Gorges and his father.

February 18. No vessel is allowed to come here without a permit.

William Darby, of Dorchester, agent for Richard Bushrode, of the same place, and his associates, desires that the latter may be admitted a patentee, because they wish to begin a plantation in New England, and send a ship over to promote the enterprise. This is granted, and a license granted for the vessel to make discovery, and engage in "other employments." For such privilege a considerable sum is paid. It is very probable that the voyage was made to Cape Ann, and that this was then selected by Bushrode's men for a plantation, though Hubbard supposed that it might be so occupied the next spring.

The same author represents John White, a noted Puritan divine, of the town where Darby resided, as a principal promoter of this settlement. He also gives the names of John Tilly, as the overseer of its planting, and Thomas Gardner, as the director of its fishery.

Mr. White, just named, speaks, in his Planter's Plea, of the same colony as commenced in this year. He states that the proposition for it "tooke so well that it drew on divers persons, to joyne with them in this project, the rather because it was conceived that not only their owne fishermen, but the rest of our nation that went thither on the same errand, might be much advantaged, not onely by fresh victuall, which that colony might spare them, in time, but withall, and more, by the benefit of their ministers' labours, which they might enjoy during the fishing season."

Circumstances denote that the patent so assigned included the territory between the grant of Mason and that recently set off to Robert Gorges, with the addition that it embraced Cape Ann, previously assigned to the first of these two patentees. Land of Lord Sheffield is mentioned by the council, November 27, of 1622, which is probably contained in his patent, that seems to involve the proposed plantation of Bushrode.

Saunders, of Wessaguscus, dispatches a message to Bradford, stating that he had tried to borrow a hogshead of corn of the natives, but they refused the favor. He therefore wishes his advice, whether he should force a loan of this kind till his return from Monhegan, whither he was going for supplies. The reply urges him to adopt no such policy. Leaving one in his office, he hastens eastward for succor.

Pecksuot charges the colonists with stealing his corn, to supply their necessities, and demands satisfaction. He is told

that only one\* of them had committed such misdemeanor, and that he had been whipped and otherwise punished. He and others of his subjects, seeing some of the English on their fort, fear, and flee.

March. A plot of the Indians, comprising those of Capawack, is discovered, promoted principally by Massachusetts chiefs, to destroy the Weston and Plymouth plantations.

23. By order of the General Court, convened in the latter place, Miles Standish and eight men are commissioned to pursue and slay such conspirators. Of these are Wituwamet and Pecksuot, who had, some time before, killed several French and Englishmen

Mr. Pratt, at the imminent peril of his life from treacherous Indians, reaches Plymouth, to entreat aid for his fellow-colonists. He states that they had sold most of their clothes for food, and were near perishing with cold and hunger; that the greater part of them had scattered from the town in three divisions, and resided where they could obtain scanty supplies, with very little powder and shot. He also relates that the natives insulted them because of their destitute condition, had constrained them to hang† one of their number for taking corn, and were watching a favorable opportunity to exterminate the English at the Bay, as well as on the cape.

Such tidings hasten Standish and his small corps. He comes to Wessaguscus, visits the ship, but finds none on board. He discharges a musket, which rallies the master, who was on shore, with others, to dig groundnuts for their subsistence. He goes to the plantation, and converses with the superintendent and others about the conspiracy. They answer, "it was of God's mercy that they were not killed before his coming." He advises that their men abroad be recalled, and, "on pain of death," guard the town. He allows each of them a pint of corn a day. Measures of caution are taken to execute his severe purpose, though in their view essential to prevent the total destruction of both colonies.

Soon informed, by vigilant spies, that Standish and his followers were at Wessaguscus, and not certainly aware that he knew any thing of their murderous design, several of the Indians, who had been prime movers of it, come to discover how matters stand. From his bearing towards them, they perceive that he has no hearty confidence in them. They draw their knives, sharpen them before his face, and challenge him to combat. Of these are the chiefs already named, and two more

\* Hudibras, part 2, canto 2, line 403.

† Morton, in his *New English Caanan*, says that the thief was hung, and not a decrepit person, as Hudibras has it.

immediately connected with them. Watching an opportunity, when they are together in a house, Standish attacks them with an equal number. After a severe struggle, he and his assistants kill three, and he orders the fourth to be hung. Weston's men slay two more, but, while in pursuit, they have two of their own number killed, and one wounded. The conspiracy is thus crushed.

The settlers at Wessaguscus, having lost nine\* of their company by famine, besides those slain, possessing no food to sustain life, and unable to withstand the natives around them, exasperated by the recent conflict, feel it necessary to forsake the spot, which they had chosen as their permanent abode. Standish agrees with them in opinion, that they must resort to so hard an alternative. He invites them to Plymouth, which they had expected to surpass in speedy prosperity, until they can make better arrangements. But the most of them prefer to be at Monhegan, as the most likely quarter to supply their wants and hear from their proprietor. Accordingly, the captain gives them corn enough for their passage. They take the remnant of their effects on board their vessel, and set sail. The rest accompany Standish to the residence of the Pilgrims. Here the head of Wituwamet is exposed on the fort, as a terror to the Indians.

Shortly after the relinquishment of Weston's plantation, he arrives at the eastward, where he hears of so unwelcome an event. He takes a shallop, with one or two hands, to survey the deserted premises; is cast away in a storm, between Piscataqua and Merrimack; hardly escapes with life; is pillaged and stripped by natives. With much difficulty, he gets back to Piscataqua, borrows a suit of clothes, and goes to Plymouth. Here he takes a loan of beaver from his former fellow-adventurers, sails for Monhegan, retains his ship and some of his colonists for trade and fishery. Though Bradford says that Weston never made any return for what he so borrowed, it is very likely that, as the latter had advanced a large sum to the company of the former, he felt himself but partially repaid, and therefore under no obligation. From the siding of Weston with a majority of the said company, at home, who opposed the emigration of Robinson to Plymouth, and encouraged the effort to spread Episcopacy in the colony, by Lyford, it is very evident that a prominent object with him, in the occupation of Wessaguscus, was to promote the cause of the national church in this quarter.

1623, September. Robert Gorges, an estimable character,

\* Another died, from the like cause, immediately after they left the settlement.

recently returned from the Venetian wars, and son of Sir Ferdinando Gorges, arrives \* in Massachusetts, with a commission from the council, as governor general of all their territory. Gentlemen designated for his advisers are Admiral West, Christopher Levett, and the existing governor of Plymouth. He has power to choose other assistants for his council, if he prefer. With three, at least, of such a body, he has full authority for the administration of his extensive province. His father informs us, that, after coming to the Bay, and "building his storehouses, he sent to them of New Plymouth to come unto him, who willingly obeyed his order, and as carefully discharged their duties."

Gorges is accompanied by William Morrell, a learned and worthy minister of the English church, and families of emigrants. An important item of this clergyman's mission is to exercise "superintendence over the churches here." They reoccupy the town forsaken by Weston's company.

1624. About spring time, Governor Gorges returns home. His father states that this course is adopted because friends to the colony fail to forward supplies, as they promised, perceiving that the council were opposed by parliament, in their plans for New England. Part of the colonists go to Virginia, while the rest continue with their minister.

The hands of these who tarry are subsequently strengthened by the arrival of some worthy emigrants from Weymouth. It is supposed, that, for this reason, the place afterwards received the same name.

July. John Oldham comes to Nantasket after his difficulty in attempting to establish an Episcopal church at Plymouth. Conant and others concerned in this matter make a like change of residence. The next month, Lyford, their pastor, having his purpose again exposed, is expelled, and throws in his lot with them. Here, as Morton's Canaan informs us, he "freely executed his office, and preached every Lord's day, and yet maintained his wife and children, foure or five, upon his industry there, with the blessing of God and the plenty of the land, without the helpe of his auditory."

As having an immediate and important relation to this country, we look at the religious condition of England. Neal informs us, "The Puritans retired to the new plantations of America, and Popery came in like an armed man. This was occasioned partly by the new promotions at court, but chiefly by the Spanish match, which was begun about 1617, and drawn

\* Gorges' Description of New England says he arrived here the beginning of August.



out at a length of seven years, till the Palatinate was lost, and the Protestant religion, in a manner, extirpated out of the kingdom of Bohemia and other parts of Germany, and then the match was broken off. Under these circumstances, the Papists appeared openly, and behaved with an offensive insolence; but the hearts of all true Protestants trembled for themselves and their posterity."

1625. After Gorges had gone home about a year, Mr. Morrell imitates his example. His departure proves the close of a second attempt to settle the position he occupied. Had the council prospered in their efforts, his commission for a superintendency of the New England churches would have afforded him high ecclesiastical preferment. But, like a sensible man and a good Christian, he was not spoiled by disappointment.

After his return to England, in his address to the council for New England, preceding his Latin poem, he remarks, "When, in contempt of envy, I may present your counsell with an *omne bene*, at least *certa spe boni*, if the three noble mistresses of monarchies, Pietas, Pecunia, and Potentia, royally vndertake and resolutely continue constant favorers to their well-ordered and sweetly scituated colonies." He subscribes the address as "late preacher with the Right Wor: Cap: Rob: Gorge, late governour of New England."

To the reader of his poem he remarks, that he is, and shall be desirous for the advancement of colonies here, "if my poore iudgement can assuredly obserue pietie to be one prime end of plantation and the vndertaking probable to prosper." An extract from his poem follows:—

"If these poore lines may winne this country love,  
Or kinde compassion in the English move,  
Or painefull men to this good land invite,  
Whose holy workes these natives may inlight,—  
If Heaven graunt these, to see here built I trust,  
An English kingdom from this Indian dust."

About spring, Conant receives an appointment, through John Humphrey, as treasurer of the Dorchester company for Cape Ann, "to be their governor in that place." He was thus noticed by recommendation of the Rev. John White, who was personally acquainted with his brother. Oldham is also invited to take charge of the fur trade there, but he declines. After suitable arrangements, Conant enters on the duties of his new sphere. He is accompanied by Lyford, who is employed by the same associates to preach for those at the settlement.

This place received the special care of such as had seceded from the company for Plymouth. They resolve to encourage it as a rival to the latter. A ship belonging to them arrives at the

cape. Her commander seizes a fishing stage and its appurtenances, of considerable cost, which belong to the people under Bradford. Standish comes over to regain such property. Force was about to repel force, and serious damage ensue, when Conant and William Pierce interpose and settle the difficulty.

The present year, Captain Wollaston and thirty others commence a plantation at Pasonagessit, afterwards Braintree. This, of course, must have been done by permission of the council. The emigrants, like those of all the colonies, allowed by that body, except those of Plymouth, are, thus far, of the national church.

1623. The stockholders of Cape Ann plantation perceive that their profits come far short of their recent zeal. After considerable loss in the cargoes of their vessels, they notify the emigrants that they must relinquish the enterprise. "Most of the landsmen," after having been there over two years, return to England. Others continue to take care of the cattle which had been transported. Among these is Conant. To provide a retreat, he had examined Naumkeag. He prefers this, as an eligible location for a town. Encouraged by Mr. White, of Dorchester, he goes thither with others, and commences a settlement. They are accompanied by their pastor, to whom their attachment is strengthened by common trials. Thus another colony is forced to yield before adverse occurrences. Though the toil and property expended on it may seem, in one view, lost, still, in reference to their preparatory process for successors of greater permanency, they should be remembered among the items of public usefulness. On this point, the language of White's Plea is pertinent and expressive. "In building houses, the first stones of the foundation are buried vnder ground, and are not scene; so in planting colonies, the first stockes employed that way are consumed, although they serve for a foundation to worke." The design of the new undertaking is to provide an asylum for those of the mother country, who, though conformists with the liturgy of the national church, are Puritans in principle.

With regard to this enterprise, the language of Peters, in his Legacy, is, "That good man, my dear firm friend, Mr. White, of Dorchester, and Bishop Lake, occasioned, yea, founded that work, and much in reference to the Indians." He then directs us to a sermon of the latter person from 1 Kings viii. 37, and adds, "who profest to Mr. White, he would go himself with us but for his age, for which we had the late king's gracious patent, license, and encouragement." Had not the worthy prelate, thus actuated with a missionary spirit, been laid low by the hand of death, the current year, we should probably

have known more of his high purposes and deeds as to the colonization of our country.

Perceiving that his anticipations would not be realized so far as to warrant a continuance of the plantation, under his direction, Wollaston takes measures for the removal of the settlers. He carries part of them to Virginia, and invites others to follow him. He appoints Mr. Fletcher "his lieutenant." A spirit of insubordination is excited against the latter, so that he is forced to flee. Under these circumstances, Thomas Morton assumes the government. Bradford says of those who so change their rulers, "they fall to great licentiousness and profaneness." Their leader describes the erection of a Maypole on Mount Wollaston, which they call Mare-mount, so that they and the adjacent Indians might enjoy "revels and merriment after the old English custom." He mentions how this sign of jollity is viewed by their more judicious neighbors. It "was a lamentable spectacle to the precise separatists that lived at New Plimouth. They termed it an idoll; yea, they called it the calfe of Horeb, and stood at defiance with the place, naming it Mount Dagon, threatening to make it a woefull mount, and not a merry mount." Notwithstanding these remarks, more flip-pant than wise, it is very plain that the disciples of Robinson had shown better understanding how a colony must begin, in order to continue, than those at Pasonagessit. Improvident pleasure wears a joyous face for a short season, and then assumes the woful aspect of conscious folly and inevitable destitution.

1627. Besides the trials incident to a new settlement, Conant is called to consider the question whether his most efficient helpers ought to accompany their pastor to the south. Through his cogent persuasion, they consent to remain, and thus prevent the termination of the colony. Lyford takes passage, the latter end of the summer, for Virginia. His abode there is short. He is soon called to finish his earthly career. Having his reputation drawn by those against whom he acted, it appears differently from what it would, were its shades relieved by his own explanations.

Having a relation to the concerns of our colonies, the subsequent facts call for attention. Archbishop Abbot, perceiving that the Puritans, whether separatists or not, are more attached to the doctrinal articles than others of the established church, shows greater leniency towards them. For such charity he is deposed by his sovereign, who appoints William Laud in his place. Fuller says of this prelate, "It was most apparent he endeavored a reconciliation between Rome and England."

While Conant, at Naumkeag, is in suspense as to communi-

1623.]

cations from Mr. White, the latter is punctual to fulfil his engagement. With respect to promoters of the colony, they, being together, this year, in Lincolnshire, deliberate on "the planting of the gospel there," and for its advancement, apply to the council for a patent. To further the same concern, Conant appoints John Woodbury to visit England and represent the condition and prospects of the settlement. Concerning the same matter, Sir Ferdinando Gorges thus expresses himself: "The king, not pleased with divers passages of some particular persons, who, in their speeches, seemed to trench on his royal prerogative, suddenly brake off the parliament, whereby divers were so fearful what would follow so unaccustomed an action, some of the principal of those liberal speakers being committed to the Tower, others to other prisons, which took all hope of reformation of church government from many not affecting Episcopal jurisdiction, nor the usual practice of the common prayers of the church, whereof there were severall sorts, though not agreeing among themselves, yet all of like dislike to those particulars, some of the discreeter sort, to avoid what they found themselves subject unto, made-use of their friends to procure from the council for the affaires of New England, to settle a colony within their limits." The grandson of this author subsequently remarked, "Whereupon my Lord of Warwick writ to my grandfather to give his consent that a patent might be granted to such as then sued for it, which he did so far forth as it might not be prejudiciall to the interest of his sonne, Robert Gorges." While thus active, Sir Ferdinando, the elder, supposes that his efforts go towards preparing a residence for such as will cleave to the national church, though desirous for a change in some of its rites and interpretation of its doctrines.

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 PLYMOUTH.

1623, February. The inhabitants here commence another year with sad experience. The fears of Indian conspiracy still trouble them. A scarcity of bread renews its sufferings among them. Their chief sustenance is groundnuts, shell and other fish. They are compelled to seek for corn among the natives at great personal hazard.

March. Information having reached the authorities of Plymouth that Massasoit was near his end, Edward Winslow and John Hambden, a London gentleman, probably the person noted for his resistance to royal imposition, set out, with Hobamak for

a guide, to visit him. Though the chief had all the symptoms of speedy dissolution, yet, through the applications of Winslow, he speedily revives, and bids fair to recover. In view of attempts to alienate him from the colonists, and of the aid just received, he remarked, "Now I see the English are my friends, and love me, and whilst I live, I will never forget the kindness they showed me." He further manifests his gratitude by charging Hobamak, when the visitors left him, to discover a plot concerted by Indian chiefs for the destruction of Plymouth. The favorable impression thus made on the mind of Massasoit must have been very acceptable to the Puritans, whose great desire was not merely to promote Christianity among themselves, but also to prepare the way for its introduction among the uncivilized natives.

March 23. There being a certainty in the judgment of members in the "yearly court" that hostile natives are on the point of attempting to destroy their colony, as well as Weston's, Standish and eight men are despatched to attack them.

25. This commander and his small band kill Wituwamet, a chief of the Massachusetts, and several others. So sudden a blow strikes the surrounding tribes with dread. It induces those who had taken the stand of adversaries to revive their expressions of friendship to the English. When informed of this exploit, Mr. Robinson regretted it, and, in answer\* to Mr. Bradford, expressed his benevolent feelings. His words were, "O, how happy a thing had it been, that you had converted some before you killed any!" Indeed, it must have been a sad disappointment to him, who was praying and expecting that his people here were able to dispense the word of life to the savages, to be assured that they were under a necessity to visit them with the weapons of death.

April. Thus tried in their benevolent sympathies, they receive letters from friendly adventurers of their particular company in England. From such they have interesting news. This is, that Mr. John Peirce, who procured one patent for them, as trustee, then obtained another so expressed as to make them mere tenants at his will, had made two attempts to reach America to secure his advantage over them, and been as often shipwrecked and forced to return; and that, being so thwarted in his purpose, he had sold his claim to their friends. Such correspondents remark to them, "It rejoiceth us much to hear those good reports that divers have brought home of you." Commendation so seasonable as this must have been an antidote for the sorrow which the Puritans felt on hearing that another

\* Mr. Robinson's letter was dated December, 1623.

principal member of their trading association had adopted a course which they considered oppressive.

May. While Providence, like the pillar of cloud, appears to them with alternate lights and shadows, they renewedly experience a scarcity of bread. This continues three or four months. In reference to such an affliction, Mr. Bradford observes, "Yet we bear our wants with cheerfulness."

July. They are sadly disappointed in expected supplies from Europe. Still they look to Him who is almighty to relieve. They fix upon a day for humiliation and prayer. Before the devotions of this occasion were over, the clouds gathered, and the next morning, begin to pour down a prolonged rain. The colonists are cheered with the hopeful appearance of the earth, and with favorable tidings from England. For these mercies, they soon keep a public thanksgiving.

August. Their gratitude to God is increased by the arrival of two vessels, in succession, from their company at home. One of these is a new pinnacle of forty-four tons, intended to remain here for the accommodation of the planters. She was built by the adventurers in England, and commanded by Emanuel Altum. She brings sixty emigrants, some of whom are a valuable acquisition to the community here. By such conveyances letters are received from those who favor the settlement, which hold the subsequent language: "Let it not be grievous to you, that you have been instruments to break the ice for others, who come after with less difficulty. The honor shall be yours to the world's end. We bear you always in our breasts, and our hearty affection towards all, as are the hearts of hundreds more, which never saw your faces, who doubtless pray your safety as their own." This is vivid sympathy of Puritans, striving for civil and religious freedom in England, for their brethren here, exposed to similar influences of opposition from the same source of power. It imparts a charm to the relations of friendship and piety, and stimulates the struggling to renew their hope and vigor. The last passengers are affected to sadness in beholding the scanty fare of the colonists. Mr. Bradford remarks, "Only our old friends rejoice to see us, and that 'tis no worse, and now hope we shall enjoy better days together. The best dish we could present them with is a lobster or piece of fish, without bread, or any thing else but a cup of fair spring water."

September 10. One of the last vessels, belonging to patentees of Plymouth, and laden with the productions of the country, sails for London. Mr. Winslow embarks in her to defend the colony against accusations in England, and otherwise to promote its welfare. After his departure, a plentiful harvest is

reaped. In reference to this, Mr. Bradford observes, "The face of things is changed, to the joy of our hearts."

November 5. The people of Plymouth, being thus dealt with, notice an event, which must have produced sober thought and deep feeling in all the settlement. They are again called to meet with a sad reverse of condition. Several houses, with thatched roofs, are consumed. The loss is estimated at five hundred pounds — great indeed for so tried a community. In the midst of their alarm on this occasion, an attempt is made to burn their storehouse. Had so black a deed succeeded, Mr. Bradford says, that "would have overthrown the plantation." It was suspected that individuals of two ships' companies, who arrived with Governor Gorges and Mr. Weston, then in port, were the originators and executors of such a crime. By means of the fire, some of the last emigrants to Plymouth, having lost their property, and others of them disliking the settlement, take passage for home in one of these vessels. A secession of this kind, however, does no material hurt to the colony. They who remain determine to live and die on the spot which they have chosen. They patiently endure afflictions amid the free privileges of religion.

December 20. So consistently resolved, their former pastor, John Robinson, is present with them in his thoughts and desires. He writes\* to Elder Brewster. Speaking of his wish to be a dweller with them, his language is as follows: "The present adventurers alledge nothing but the want of money, which is an invincible difficulty; yet taken out of the way by you, others without doubt, will be found. For the better clearing of this, wee must dispose the adventurers into three parts, and of them five or six (as I conceive) are absolutely bent for vs above others; other five or six are our bitter professed adversaries; the rest, being the body, I conceive to be honestly minded and lovingly also toward vs; yett such as have others, namely, the forward preachers, nearer vnto them than vs, and whose course, soe farr as there is any difference, would rather advance than ours. Now, what a hank these men have over the professors you know, and I persuade myself, that for mee they of all others are vnwilling I should be transported, especially such as have an eye that way themselves, as thinking if I come there their markt will be mared in many regards; and for those adversaries, if they haue but halfe their will to their mallice, they will stop my course, when they see it intended." These views denote the wish of Mr. Robinson to join his friends in this country, and his regret to perceive that some of the stock-

\* Morton's Manuscript.

1694.]

holders were determined to confine his immediate influence in Europe. Such opposition seems to have risen from the reasons that he was a leading dissenter, and that his detention at Leyden would hinder his hastening to the rescue of Puritanism here, now increasingly liable to fall before the purposes and operations of a powerful hierarchy.

With regard to an inquiry made of him by Mr. Brewster, he makes the following remark: "Now, touching the question propounded by you, I judge it not lawfull for you, being a ruling elder, (Rom. xii. 7, 8, and 1 Tim. v. 17,) opposed to the elders that teach and exhort, and labour in word and doctrine, to which sacraments are annexed, to administer them, nor convenient, if it were lawful." No doubt the Plymouth church were urgent to have baptism administered to their children, and the eucharist to themselves. Still, their former pastor did not count their necessity great enough to dispense with a gospel rule. Such a want of ordinances must have been a strong plea with them, why he or some other, of like views and character, should come and enable them to enjoy the full privileges of their denomination. But Mr. Robinson's exposure of the resistance to his becoming an inhabitant of Plymouth implied that their desire, in this respect, was not soon to be gratified.

1694, January 1. Lord Sheffield grants a patent\* to Robert Cushman and Edward Winslow and associates, of Cape Ann. He allows them the use of land, gives them authority for building a town, schools, churches, hospitals, and maintenance of ministers, officers, and magistrates. He empowers them, through permission from him, to enact laws for the colony.

24. Robert Cushman, in London, sends word to Mr. Bradford, that the adventurers have sent a "carpenter to build two ketches, a lighter, and six or seven shallops," a person to make salt, and "a preacher, though not the most eminent, for whose going Mr. Winslow and I gave way, to give content to some at London." He also remarks, "We have taken a patent for Cape Ann." The clergyman mentioned is John Lyford, whose coming was promoted by members of the company who opposed the emigration of Robinson.

25. Mr. James Sherley, desirous to have the Plymouth colonists acquainted with the policy of their opponents of the company in England, so that they may be on their guard, writes a friendly letter to Governor Bradford. He represents these adversaries as making certain objections to the Puritans here, which, with the replies made to them by the party so accused, follow:—

\* Recently published by J. Wingate Thornton, Esq.



*1st Objection.* There is diversity about religion.

*Answer.* We know no such matter, for here was never any controversy or opposition, either public or private, to our knowledge, since we came.

*2d Obj.* Neglect of family duties on the Lord's day.

*Ans.* We allow no such thing, but blame it in ourselves and others; and they that thus report it should have showed their Christian love the more, if they had in love told the offenders of it, rather than thus reproach them behind their backs; but to say no more, we wish themselves had given better example.

*3d Obj.* Want of both the sacraments.

*Ans.* The more is our grief that our pastor is kept from us, by whom we might enjoy them; for we used to have the Lord's supper every Sabbath, and baptism as often as there was occasion of children to baptize.

*4th Obj.* Children not catechized nor taught to read.

*Ans.* This is not true in either part thereof, for divers take pains with their own as they can; indeed, we have no common school, for want of a fit person, and hitherto means to maintain one, though we desire now to begin.

"When the answers to these objections were sent over, the objectors were so confounded, as some of them confessed their faults and others denied what they had said, and eat their words; and some others of them have since come over again, and here lived to convince themselves sufficiently both in their own and others judgments."

About this date, Edward Winslow has his *Good News* from New England printed in London. An object of the book's being published was, to counteract reports of some persons who had gone from Weston's plantation. Several quotations from it will be presented. One refers to the experience and principles of the colony. "Though our beginning has been raw, small, and difficult, as thou hast scene, yet the same God that hath hitherto led vs thorow the former, I hope will raise means to accomplish the latter. Not that we altogether, or principally, propound profit to be the maine end of that wee haue vndertaken, but the glory of God, and the honour of our country, in the inlarging of his maiesties dominions, yet wanting outward meanes to set things in that forwardnesse we desire, and to further the latter by the former, I thought meete to offer both to consideration, hoping that where religion and profit lump together (which is rare) in so honourable an action, it will encourage euery honest man, either in person or purse, to set forward the same, or at leastwise to commend the wellfare thereof in his daily prayers to the blessing of the blessed God."

Another relates to the evangelization of the Indians : " Where the church of God being seated in sincerity, there is no lesse hope of convincing the heathen of their euill wayes, and converting them to the true knowledge and worship of the living God, and so, consequently, the salvation of their soules by the merits of Jesus Christ, then elsewhere, though it be much talked on and lightly and lamely prosecuted."

The author, rectifying a previous misstatement of his, that the aborigines of New England had no religion, proceeded to show what it was, so far as it had been communicated to him : " They conceive of many divine powers, so of one, whom they call *Kiehtan*, to be the principal, and maker of all the rest, and to be made by none. He, they say, created the heavens, earth, sea, and all creatures contained therein. Also, that he made one man and one woman, of whom they and we, and all mankind, came. At first, they say, there was no king but *Kiehtan*, who dwelleth above in the heavens, whither all good men go when they die, to see their friends and have their fill of all things. His habitation lieth far westward in the heavens, they say ; thither the bad men go also, and knock at his door, but he bids them walk abroad, for there is no place for such ; so that they wander in restless want and penury. Never man saw this *Kiehtan*. Only old men tell them of him, and bid them tell their children, yea, to charge them to teach their posterities the same, and lay the like charge upon them. This power they acknowledge to be good, and when they would obtain any great matter, meet together, and cry unto him, and so likewise for plenty, victory, etc., sing, dance, feast, give thanks, and hang up garlands and other things in memory of the same. Another power they worship, whom they call *Hobbamock*, and to the northward of us *Hobbamoquoi*. This, as far as we can conceive, is the devil. Him they call upon to heal their wounds and diseases. When they are curable, he persuades them he sends them for some conceived anger against them, but upon their calling upon him, he can and doth help them ; but when they are mortal, and not curable in nature, then he persuades them *Kiehtan* is angry, and sends them ; insomuch as in that respect only they somewhat doubt whether he be simply good, and, therefore, in sickness, never call upon him. This *Hobbamock* appears in sundry forms unto them, as in the shape of a man, a deer, a fawn, an eagle, etc., but most ordinarily a snake. He appears not to all, but the chiefest and most judicious amongst them. Of these is ' the Powah,' who is exercised principally in calling upon the devil, and curing diseases of the sick and wounded. The common people join with him in the exercise of invocation, but do but only assent, or, as we term it, say

Amen to that he saith, yet sometimes break out into a short musical note with him. In the Powah's speech, he promiseth to sacrifice many skins of beasts, kettles, hatchets, beads, knives, and other the best things they have, to the fiend, if he will come to help the party diseased. Many sacrifices the Indians use, and, in some cases, kill children. They grow more cold in their worship of Kiehtan, saying, in their memory, he was much more called upon."

March. Mr. Winslow returns. He brings a good supply of provisions, and the first cattle of the colony. He gives "a sad account of a strong faction among the adventurers against" the people here, "and especially against the coming of Mr. Robinson and the rest from Leyden."

Of Mr. Lyford, who accompanies Mr. Winslow, Morton's Canaan contains the following extract: "He was, at the merchants' charge, sent to Plimouth plantation to be their pastor. But the brethren, before they would allow it, would have him first renounce his calling to the office of the ministry, received in England, and then to receive a new calling from them, which he refused, alledging and maintaining that his calling, as it stood, was lawful, and that he would not renounce it; and so John Oldham was on the affirmative, and both together did maintain the church of England to be a true church, although in some particulars defective."

But this difference of opinion was not expressed at first, as Bradford, and his nephew, Morton, inform us. They state that on the arrival of Mr. Lyford, he accorded with all their ecclesiastical views, and particularly did "not consider himself a minister till he had a new calling;" that, at his own request, he was admitted a member of their church, when he "made a large confession of his faith;" that a greater allowance for support was made to him than any other; and that he served them as a preacher. They also represent that Oldham, because of his friendly appearance, was kindly entertained, and that he and Lyford were admitted to conventions of the governor and council on important questions.

June. The colonists meet with a great loss in the decease of George Morton, an exemplary Christian, and a pillar of church and society. He arrived in the Ann, in 1623. His wife was sister to Governor Bradford. He left children, Nathaniel, John, Patience, Ephraim, and Sarah. Though his tarry here is short, his memorial on high is everlasting.

July. They have living troubles of greater trial. Lyford and Oldham had written letters to England. These were intrusted to Captain William Pierce, who suspected their contents as unfavorable to the settlement. Being out a league or two from

port, and accompanied by Bradford, they both examined such communications, and found them very unfriendly. The governor returns with them, and keeps their contents a secret. The authors of them draw as many as they can into their plans. "There was nothing but private meetings and whisperings amongst them; they feeding themselves and others what they should bring to pass in England by the faction of their friends there."

Bradford informs us, "Lyford and his few accomplices, which the factious part of the adventurers sent, judging their party strong enough, rise up, oppose the government and church, draw a company apart, set up for themselves, and he would minister the sacrament to them by his Episcopal calling." Or, as N. Morton describes it, "At length Lyford, with his accomplices, without ever speaking one word either to the governor, church, or elders, withdraw themselves, and set up a public meeting apart on the Lord's day." Hubbard adds that some of this clergyman's friends "affirm that the first occasion of the quarrel with them was the baptizing of Mr. Hilton's child, who was not joined to the church at Plymouth."

A court is summoned for investigation. The writers of the letters deny the contents of them, until they are read. Oldham is exceedingly displeased, and tries to raise a mutiny; but his supporters refuse to abet this purpose, and he is expelled. While his wife and family are allowed to tarry through the winter, or till he can provide for them comfortably, he retires to Nantasket. Roger Conant, a worthy Christian, and some others, with their families, who were Puritan Episcopalians, leave for the same place, where the Plymouth people had set up a building for trade with the Massachusetts. Lyford has permission to remain six months. He owns that he expected to carry most of the inhabitants with him, and thus exercise control over them as his advisers, in London, wished. He confesses that he has erred, and asks forgiveness. His plea is heard, and he is restored to his ministerial duties.

In view of the fearful odds which the struggling colony had to contend with on the other side of the Atlantic, and which threatened to absorb their political and religious privileges, it is matter of wonder that they held their position and continued their existence. Nought less than the Power who controls the universe, was "as a wall of fire round about them."

August 22. Though Lyford had had his private opinions exposed at the peril of expulsion, he expresses them in another letter, addressed to his advocates among the adventurers in England. But this is handed to the governor. Some of its items, as gathered from Morton, follow: "The church would have none live here but themselves. If there come over any honest

man, they would soon distate him. The Leyden company, Mr. Robinson, and the rest, must still be kept back, or else all will be spoiled; and lest any of them should be taken in privately somewhere on the coast of England, (as it was feared might be done,) they must change the master of the ship, Mr. William Pierce, and put another also in Mr. Winslow's room for merchant, or otherwise it would not be prevented. He would have such a number as would overweigh them here. If they cannot be strengthened to carry and overbear things, it would be best for him and his confederates to plant elsewhere by themselves." Here is plain proof that conformists, sent over by members of the company, who were opposed to the Congregationalism of Robinson's friends here, had a plan to subvert the ecclesiastical polity of the plantation.

The vessel which was to bear this communication takes out Winslow as a passenger to London. His main object is to plead the cause of the colony before its opponents in the company, who were aiming for the subversion of its liberties.

1625, March. At the court of election, Oldham makes his appearance without permission. He charges the authorities with infringing upon his rights. They order him to run the gantlet. While the armed file strike him with the butts of their muskets, each said to him, "Go and mend your manners." He is then carried off in a boat.

While this scene is acted, Winslow arrives from England. He relates that the members of their company had had severe contention in London, part of them justifying the measures here against Lyford and his followers, and the rest condemning them.

The last of such adventurers number two thirds of the whole. They fit out a ship for the purpose of strengthening the settlement at Cape Ann, and having the Episcopalians, ejected from Plymouth, provided for there.

Bradford informs us, that after Winslow had developed the course of Lyford more fully than had been known here, he and some of his supporters followed Oldham to Nantasket. Thus his effort to carry out the scheme of his friends, among the adventurers, for the erection of Episcopacy on the ruins of Congregationalism at Plymouth, terminates in disappointment.

This attempted revolution was so much in accordance with the plan of the council for New England, to promote what they considered the better way of ecclesiastical government, the conclusion forces itself on the mind, that his advocates, in London, coöperated with that very respectable body. The temper exhibited by the leading colonists, on the discovery, during the progress, and at the sequel of such a combination, shows them to have been actuated by more than common principle, and worthy of no ordinary estimation.

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While the national church party are vindicated by a majority of the adventurers, their opponents are not without encouragement from the remainder. These address the latter, under the date of the preceding December 18, as follows: "We cannot forget you, nor our friendship and fellowship we have had some years. Our hearty affections towards you (unknown by face) have been no less than to our nearest friends, yea, to ourselves. As there has been a faction among us more than two years, so now there is an utter breach and sequestration. We are still persuaded that you are the people that must make a plantation in those remote places, where all others fail." In assigning reasons for the conduct of the unfriendly stockholders, they give the subsequent one: "A distaste of you there, for that you are [as they affirm] Brownists, condemning all other churches and persons but yourselves and those in your way." The collision of feeling and action, so exhibited by members of the company at home, results in their immediate dissolution. The directors of the settlement, thus left to put forth greater energy of themselves, acquire a habit of more independence, and trust less to foreign aid. What was intended for their ruin proves their benefit.

Two ships, belonging to their friends of the company, and bound for England, with the prospect of profitable voyages, take their departure. Standish embarks in one of them, as agent of the colony, to promote its interests, and particularly to settle the claims of the adventurers, who had become its opponents. The object of his mission is greatly embarrassed by the plague's raging in London. The vessel which accompanied him, being almost arrived at her port of destination, is captured by a Turkish man-of-war, and her men doomed to slavery. By this event, and loss on the cargo which escaped, the community of Plymouth suffer loss of property, and the failure of supplies in return. Still, in reference to these discouragements, Bradford remarks, "Meanwhile God gives us peace and health, with contented minds, and so succeeds our labors, that we have corn sufficient, and some to spare, with other provisions."

1626. Oldham, on a voyage to Virginia, and in great peril, resolves, if his life is spared, to confess that "he had sought the ruin" of the plantation, and thus had wronged them. He is saved, gets back to Nantasket, and fulfils his vow. The consequence is, that the act of his banishment is repealed, and he is on friendly terms of intercourse with the authorities.

April. Standish comes back from his mission to England. He relates that he has arranged a settlement with the disaffected stockholders. He brings the news that some of the most efficient supporters of the colony had fallen victims to the plague.

Among them is ~~Elder~~ Cushman. To these events he adds another, more afflictive than all. It is the decease of their former pastor, John Robinson. The manuscript of Morton remarks, "These sad tidings struck our church and the godly here with much sorrow. His and their adversaries had been long and continually plotting how they might hinder his coming hither. But the Lord has appointed him a better place." In view of these and other facts accompanying them, Bradford observes, "These things could not but cast us into great perplexity; yet being stript of all human help and hopes, when we are now at the lowest, the Lord so helps us, as we are not only upheld, but begin to rise and our proceedings both honoured and imitated."

As a means of support, and of extending their influence, the settlers establish a truck house at Penobscot, having the year before had a profitable traffic with the Indians up the Kennebec River. Such movements displease the people of Piscataqua and farther east, and also the companies engaged in fishery on the coast. Their complaints induce the undertakers to petition the council, next year, for a patent on the Kennebec, to carry on the fur trade, which was allowed. A privilege of this sort is in accordance with what is granted to Holland, by the king, the same year, for her vessels which trade at New Netherland, and with the persevering efforts of Parliament for free trade, against the provisions of the council's charter. It serves to break down prejudice against the cause of the separatists.

1627, March 9. The authorities of New Netherland write to those of Plymouth, desiring to hold a friendly intercourse with them. The latter reply and begin with wishing them "all happiness and prosperity in this life and eternal rest and glory with Christ Jesus our Lord, in the world to come." They advert to the new union, recently formed between England and Holland, "the better to resist the pride of that common enemy, the Spaniards, from whose cruelty the Lord keep us both and our native countries." Here is a topic in which the Protestants of both these plantations had a common interest. Reflecting on the barbarities which Spain, as a bigoted ally of Papacy, had inflicted on multitudes of reformers, they could not but feel more closely drawn together by the late connection formed between their respective nations. Leaving this point, Bradford touches another, more in accordance with his own experience. "Many of us are [as he observes] further tied by the good and courteous entreaty, which we have found in your country, having lived there many years, with freedom and good content, as many of our friends do this day, for which we are bound to be thankful, and our children after us, and shall

1697.]

never forget the same, but shall heartily desire your good and prosperity as our own, forever." He candidly states that the council for New England claims to 40°, which includes almost the whole of the Dutch patent. He adds, "Yet, for our parts, we shall not go about to molest you in any thing, but continue all good neighborhood and correspondence as far as we may; only we desire that you would forbear to trade with the natives of this bay and river of Narragansett and Sowames, which is [as it were] at our doors."

In the spring, Isaac Allerton comes from London with supplies, bought by money hired at thirty per cent. He brings a contract of the adventurers, signed by them, November 15, to give up their interest in the patent, for eighteen hundred pounds, which the colonists accept, "though they scarce know how to raise the payment, discharge their other engagements, and supply their yearly wants." Indeed, they run no small hazard in this engagement, while an anxious uncertainty hangs over their affairs. They know the powers of the kingdom look on them with jealousy, as dissenters, whose political interest is to change the mode of their worship whenever an expedient opportunity presents. They are even aware that it is far from being fixed that they will be permitted to retain the asylum which they occupy. Still they are willing to make the utmost exertion for deliverance from the control of men who had striven to bring them under the bondage of an ecclesiastical polity which they dreaded more than any other social evil.

May and June. Constrained to make extraordinary efforts, a small company go from Plymouth, and settle at Monamet, to avoid the peril of sailing round the cape, and carry on a southern trade. For this purpose a pinnace is built there, corn cultivated, and swine raised.

June 15. To prevent the effect of misrepresentations about his intercourse with the governor of New Netherland, Bradford gives notice of it to the council in England. He also forwards similar information to Ferdinando Gorges, a member of the same board.

July. Eight\* of the principal inhabitants assume the responsibilities of the plantation for its trade during six years. They go by the name of "undertakers." A prime motive with them, in making this arrangement, is to obtain a passage for their friends in Leyden, and thus to welcome them as co-workers in the great cause of religious freedom.

At the latter end of summer, many emigrants for Virginia,

\* William Bradford, Edward Winslow, Thomas Prince, Miles Standish, William Brewster, John Alden, John Howland, and Isaac Allerton.



who, in the commencement of winter, were driven into perilous places at the cape, and their ship finally lost, resume their voyage. They were hospitably entertained at Plymouth, allowed land to plant corn, and were otherwise treated with great Christian kindness. When the voice of distress called, difference of denomination neither silenced the claims of duty nor prevented the ready and generous supplies of benevolence.

October 4. In reciprocation of the proposal made by the Plymouth authorities to those of New Netherland, Isaac de Razier, secretary of the latter, having arrived\* at Monamet, sends notice to the former. After he had bartered white sugar, cloth, and wampum, at this port, a party come for escorting him to Plymouth. He approaches and enters the town, accompanied, as an ambassador, by trumpeters, who give notice of his progress. The scene is novel for the place of its display, and revives impressions of similar European customs.

Through Razier, Bradford addresses a letter to the Dutch directors of the West India Company. He gratefully acknowledges the expression of their kind intentions, and adds, we "shall ever be ready in the performance of all offices of Christian neighbourhood towards your colony here." He mentions to them the subject of the New Netherland limits, as he had done to Minuit and his council. His language is, "We desire your honours, that you clear the title of your planting in these parts, which his majesty hath, by patent, granted to divers his nobles and subjects of quality, least it be a bone of division in these stirring evil times, which God forbid. That now may be easily and seasonably done which will be harder and with more difficulty obtained hereafter, and perhaps not without blows." Experience showed the wisdom of Bradford's views. In commenting on such intercourse, he states that the same company are ready to assist the Plymouth people against the French, if need require. Here is another instance, in which Protestant sympathies harmonize as opposite to the Catholic religion of the French at the eastward. Dunlap informs us, that not only was assistance of this kind offered by the Dutch authorities, but that they also invited the Puritans to leave their barren soil, and dwell on the banks of the Fresh-Water or Connecticut River. A main cause of apprehension in the minds of these, lest their commercial and Christian relations with those would be interrupted, is removed. For, in the preceding September, the States General obtain from Charles I. free trade with all English ports, as before stated, for vessels which visited the colonies of the West India Company.

\* Prince mistakes in placing this under 1628.

1623.]

December 27. In reference to the threatening aspect of religious affairs under Laud, and to the parishioners of Robinson, James Sherley writes to Bradford from London, "The sole cause why the greater part of the adventurers malign me was, that I would not side with them against you and the coming over of the Leyden people ; and, assuredly, unless the Lord be merciful to us and the whole land in general, our condition is far worse than yours. Wherefore, if they should send persecution here, which is much to be feared, and should put into our mind to flee for refuge, I know of no place safer than to come to you."

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MAINE.

1623, February 18. The council in London decide that the seat of government for their patent shall be on the Sagadahock River, being about the middle of the coast which they claim, and that it shall have a "verge, containing a state county," of forty miles from the centre.

Other portions of the eastward, as Williamson states, are occupied by planters about this year. Some of them make a permanent residence at Saco. Of them are Richard Vines, a learned and pious gentleman, and John Oldham. These two persons had been in the country several years, and done much to advance its settlements. Further plantations are made at Arrowsick Island, Sheepscot, Damariscotta, Pemaquid, and St. George's River. At home, Sir Ferdinando Gorges still continues his exertions, as one of the most efficient members of the council, for the prosperity of their patent.

1624. Crossed by Parliament in aiding to promote the general purpose of the council as to colonization, he has a grant from this body to form a settlement at Agamenticus, afterwards known as York. Of twelve thousand acres on one side of the river, his grandson, Ferdinando Gorges, was the patentee, and of the same amount on the other side, Colonel Francis Norton. The latter and William Gorges, who had been lieutenant-governor in the fort of Plymouth, come over with emigrants, erect houses and mills, and make other improvements on their respective jurisdictions. Richard Vines, who had greatly assisted the elder Ferdinando Gorges in his generous sacrifices for the advancement of colonial interests, and who, amid perils, discharged his pastoral duties, is judiciously relied upon for advice in the furtherance of the present enterprise.

1626. As the opposition of Parliament to the New England

patent is powerful, and there is a prospect of war with France, and other difficulties thicken, the proprietors of the Monhegan patent dispose of it to a smaller firm on easy terms. Though the soil thus changes hands, its population still continues its occupants.

1627. Though the Plymouth colony are steadfast in their non-conformity, and thus likely to spread the influence of their example, still the council sell them a patent at Kennebeck for purposes of traffic.

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#### NEW HAMPSHIRE.

1622, August 10. John Mason, having, the previous year, a grant of Mariana, from the council, now receives another, in connection with Gorges, called Laconia. This embraces what is subsequently termed New Hampshire, and the portion of Maine reaching down to the River Sagadahock. Edward Godfrey,\* who, with Mason, had "lived long in the Oriental parts of the world," is concerned with him in procuring such patents "at great charges, hoping to fit them and their posterity to propagate the gospel and enlarge his majesties dominions."

1623. In the spring, "the company of Laconia" send over emigrants. Among these is Godfrey, who resided in the country twenty-seven years. One of the divisions of land, which they name Little Harbor, is at the mouth of Piscataqua River. Here they erect salt works, and a house named Mason Hall. Three or four thousand acres of land are appropriated for this hall, so as to form a manor, in accordance with the plan of the council as well as with English custom. Had the plan been carried out, Mason would have been styled lord of the manor, and had his seat in the intended Parliament of New England. These colonists are under the direction of David Thompson, a Scotchman.

Another division of the emigrants, headed by Edward and William Hilton, of London, settle at Northam, afterwards Dover. Thus the Granite State commenced its existence under the auspices of energetic and honorable proprietors, who purposed to give it the durable impression of Episcopacy as the efficient handmaid of royalty.

1624. As one of the Mr. Hiltons, probably William, who resided at Plymouth in 1621, has a child baptized there by Mr.

\* Vindication by Henry Gardner, merchant of London, son of Edward Godfrey, printed 1660.

Lyford, according to Episcopal order, it produces much opposition in that settlement of Congregationalism.

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#### RHODE ISLAND.

1624. After describing the religion of the New England Indians, Winslow, in his *Good Newes*, adds the subsequent paragraph relative to the Narragansetts: "The Nanohiggansetts exceede in their blinde devotion, and haue a great spacious house wherein onely some few (that are as wee tearme them priests) come: thither at certaine knowne times resort all their people, and offer almost all the riches they haue to their gods, as kettles, skinner, hatchets, beads, knives, etc., all which are cast by the priests into a great fire that they make in the midst of the house, and there consumed to ashes. To this offering euery man bringeth freely, and the more hee is knowne to bring, hath the better esteeme of all men. This the other Indians about vs approue of as good, and wish their sachims would appoint the like; and because the plague hath not raigned at Nanohigganset as at other places about them, they attribute to this custome there vsed."

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#### CONNECTICUT.

1627. According to the statement of Dunlap, the Dutch authorities invite the settlers of Plymouth to leave their sandy soil, and occupy the luxuriant acres abounding on the Connecticut River. At the same time, Governor Bradford reminded their directors, through Razier, on a visit at Plymouth, that it would be a matter of sound prudence for them to have the question about their claims to such territory seasonably and fully settled.

## CHAPTER V.

**MASSACHUSETTS.** Patent — Subscriptions. — Instructions. — Arrest of Morton. — Patentees increased. — Hostile Indians. — Mount Wollaston. — Mishawum settled. — Sickness. — Instructions from the company. — Remonstrances of the Commons. — Charter. — Gorges' patent. — Contracts with ministers. — Considerations for settling New England. — First settlers. — Evangelization of Indians. — Ministers. — Sabbath. — Servants. — Family Religion. — Government. — Governor's oath. — Satisfaction with Plymouth order. — Journal of Higginson. — Justice to the natives. — Sea-Fast. — Separation of ministers. — General Court. — Morton's goods seized. — Quebec captured. — Church establishment. — Ordinations. — Indian worship. — State of the colony. — Covenant. — Articles of faith. — Ecclesiastical polity. — Difficulty with Messrs. Browns. — Influence of Plymouth church. — Compact. — Infant baptism. — Change as to government. — Letters of the Browns. — Charge for ministers. — Letters to prominent men. — Legislative worship. — Clerical advice. — Freemen. — Undertakers of the colonial stock. — Mortality. **PLYMOUTH.** Minister comes and returns. — Letter to Bradford. — Leyden brethren and sisters. — Morton returns. — Lothrop's people. — Smith. — Trade at Kennebec. — Confirmation of colonial grant. — More of Robinson's people arrive. — Fuller's Letter. **NEW HAMPSHIRE.** Division of Laconia. — Part of it called New Hampshire. — Agreement between Cradock and Mason.

### MASSACHUSETTS.

1628, March 19. The associates, for colonization, purchase a patent of Massachusetts from the council, though including several grants previously made. The omission of particularity in the bounds, was afterwards the prolific source of anxiety, litigation, and cost. The patentees avow their object to be the preparation of an asylum, where "Nonconformists may transport themselves, and enjoy the liberty of their own persuasion, in matters of worship and church discipline."

May. After being so far favored in their desire and request, the friends of this enterprise subscribe liberal sums towards its charges. Of such donors, who so indorse the sincerity of their professions, were Hugh Peters and John White. The obligation which they signed began with words of solemnity — "In the name of God, amen;" and contained the petition — "whereunto the Almighty grant prosperous and happy success, that the same may redound to his glory and the propagation of the gospel of Jesus Christ."

30. Carrying out the deep aspirations of their hearts, Peters

and thirteen others sign instructions for John Endicott, giving him authority to succeed Roger Conant in the government of the plantation.

June. Having been to England for advancement of the colony among several other objects, Woodbury comes back after six months' absence. His theme of encouragement must have afforded high satisfaction to the expecting planters.

The colonists of Plymouth, Piscataqua, and other intervening settlements are alarmed at the course of Thomas Morton and his company. They charge him with selling arms to the natives, alluring the disorderly from several places, setting law and religion at defiance, and thereby endangering the welfare, if not existence, of their plantations. Plymouth is requested by the rest; as the ablest member of their communities, to have him apprehended at the proportional charge of all concerned. His comment on the matter intimates, that the people of Plymouth are the chief means of excitement against him and his friends. After representing his place "in a good way for gaine in the beaver trade," it describes such opponents as desirous to subvert the Mare Mount establishment, because he "was a man that endeavoured to advance the dignity of the church of England, which they would laboure to vilifie, with uncivile termes, enveying against the sacred Booke of Common Prayer," and him "that used it in a laudable manner, amongst his family, as a practice of piety." It states that a party of them, under Standish, surprise him at Wessaguscus; but he escapes from them, and reaches his own house. Here he capitulates, is carried to Plymouth, tried, kept on an island, and sent to England, in charge of Oldham, for further prosecution. The fact that Edward Hilton, Blackstone, and other Episcopalians pay towards the charge for his arrest, indicates that they regarded the cause for this step in a different light from what he did.

After the patent for Massachusetts is obtained, Mr. White,\* still proceeding on the generous principle of providing good for others, though not a participator in it himself, introduces the patentees of and about Dorchester to others in and adjacent to London, of like respectability, substance, and piety. He was fully aware, that to attempt the erection of communities in a wilderness, without such builders, would be the reacting of Babel confusion. Of the latter class are Winthrop, Saltonstall, Johnson, Dudley, Cradock, and Goffe.

To carry out their purpose more directly, the company, how-

\* This worthy divine continued his wise and energetic exertions for the Puritan cause in New England, as a member of the Dorchester and Massachusetts Companies. He ceased from his labors of philanthropy and religion, July 21, 1648, aged 72, at Dorchester, where he was in the ministry about forty-two years.

ever, having cause to think highly of Conant, conclude to select one of their own number as governor of the plantation.

This is John Endicott, of whom Bradford says, "a worthy gentleman" and White "a man well known to divers persons of good note." He sails from Weymouth, June 20, in the ship *Abigail*, Henry Gauden master. He reaches Naumkeag the 6th of September. Deeply impressive must have been the meeting between those who arrive and those on the spot. The emotions and transactions of that day could never be effaced from their memory. An actor in the scene afterwards deposes that, the voyagers being weary and sick with their passage, a thousand Indians, by the way of Saugus, approach the colonists on Sabbath morning, in order to destroy them, but that the latter, by discharging a few of their cannon, so terrified the invaders that they fled in dismay. On the 13th, Endicott writes to Cradock. The "good report he sent back of the country gave such encouragement to the worke, that more adventurers joined with the first vndertakers." Shortly after he came hither, he visits Mount Wollaston. He causes their "Maypole to be cut down, and rebuked them for their profaneness, and admonished them to look to it that they walked better." He commissions Ralph, Richard, and William Sprague and others to make a settlement at Mishawum, afterwards Charlestown. These find a house, thatched, palisadoed, and belonging to Thomas Walford, a smith on the premises. They have the free consent of John, the sagamore, to dwell upon them. A main object of this movement is, that such territory may be kept from those who claim it as part of the patent allowed to Robert Gorges, deceased, but contained in the Massachusetts grant. At this very time, John Oldham is in London, to have it held as a jurisdiction independent of the latter.

Ere long, the last emigrants are greatly afflicted with disease. Not having sufficient medical aid, they write to Plymouth for a supply. Accordingly, Samuel Fuller, one of Mr. Robinson's deacons, while in Leyden, comes among them like a good Samaritan. Through him an intercourse more cordial than previously takes place between Plymouth and Naumkeag. The latter, who had not yet thrown off the forms of Episcopacy, had been jealous of the former, as having gone too far in their Congregational alterations. The perils and sufferings of adversity are often the common levelers of distinctions and separations.

1629. While called to drink deeply of afflictions common to new settlements, the people of Naumkeag have precious alleviations in the kind remembrance of their friends at home.

February 16. Governor Cradock dates an epistle to Endicott. Of his instructions, some follow: "Wee trust you will not be

vnmindfull of the mayne end of our plantacon by indeuoringe to bringe y<sup>e</sup> Indians to the knowledge of the gospell, which y<sup>e</sup> it may be y<sup>e</sup> speedier and better effected, y<sup>e</sup> earnest desire of our whole company is, y<sup>t</sup> you have a dilligent and watchful eye over our owne people ; that they live vnblameable and without reproofe, and demeane themselves iustlye and curteous towards y<sup>e</sup> Indians, thereby to drawe them to affect our persons, and, consequently, our religion. Alsoe endeavour to gett some of their children to trayne vp to readinge, and consequentlye to religion whilst they are yonge. To yonge or olde omitt noe good opportunity y<sup>t</sup> maye tend to bringe them out of y<sup>t</sup> woefull condicon they nowe are in, in which case our predecessors in this land sometymes were, and but for y<sup>e</sup> mercye and goodness of our God, might have continued to this daye. But God, whoe, out of the boundless ocean of his mercye, hath shewed pittie and compassion to our land, he is al-sufficient, and can bringe this to passe which wee now desire in y<sup>e</sup> cuntrye likewise ; onlie let vs not be wantinge on our partes nowe wee are called to y<sup>e</sup> worke of the Lord's, neither havinge put our hands to the plowe, let us looke back."

While thus counselling that care and zeal be exercised for the promotion of Christianity among the natives, he also urges the need of caution, lest they bring desolation on the colony, as others had on Virginia. He gives information that Hugh Peters, then in Holland, Samuel Skelton, and Francis Higginson, are engaged to come over as preachers, and that the two latter are recommended by their brethren John White and John Davenport. Towards the close of the letter, he gives this benediction: "The God of heaven and earth preserve and keepe you from all forayne and inland enemies, and bless and prosper this plantacon to the enlarginge of the kingdome of Jesus Christ, to whose mercifull protecon I recommend you and your associates there, knowne or vnknowne." Fit words for the author and the occasion. No foundation of any commonwealth can long and prosperously remain without a firm reliance on the arm of infinite Goodness. But for such dependence, this colony would have languished and died.

As a specimen of the complexion which public affairs were assuming to have an effect on colonization, the subsequent facts are presented.

March 2. The speaker of the House of Commons is desired to read a remonstrance. He said that he dared not do it, because contrary to the order of his majesty. He then endeavored to leave the chair, but was held in it, and the doors kept locked, until the following protest was read: "That whoever should bring in innovation in religion, or seek to introduce Popery or



Arminianism, and whosoever should advise the taking of tonnage and poundage not granted by Parliament, or that should pay the same, should be accounted enemies to the kingdom." The result of this was, that on the 10th the king dissolved the Parliament.

March 4. The patentees of Massachusetts receive a confirmation and extension of their privileges, by charter from the king. After dealing with them, on a generous scale, as to their commercial and political affairs, this instrument rises to the higher and nobler concerns of morality and religion. It requires that the planters shall be so controlled "as their good life and orderly conversacon maie wynn and incite the natives of the country to the knowledge and obedience of the onlie true God and Sauior of mankinde and the Christian fayth." Continuing to speak by the mouth of kingly authority, it adds, "which is our royall intencon, and the adventurers' free profession, — is the principall end of this plantacon."

5. At the Court of Assistants in London, Sir William Brereton proposes to subscribe to the company's stock, if it can be permitted without prejudice to Robert Gorges' patent, which had come into his possession. They decline to allow any such condition.

12. As persons of note, on account of religious controversy while at Naumkeag, John Brown, a lawyer, apparently of London, and Samuel, his brother, of Roxwell, in Essex county, agree to take passage for New England.

23. John Humphrey is deputed to notify Mr. Higginson, then at Leicester, of his appointment, "if his remove may be without scandal to that people, and approved by some of the best affected among them, with the approbation of Mr. Hildersham, of Ashby."

April 8. A contract is made between Messrs. Higginson and Skelton and the company. They and Francis Bright, whose agreement was made the 2d of February, promise "to doe their endeavour in their places of the ministrie, as well in preaching, catechisinge, as also in teaching, or causing to be taught, the company's servants and their children, as also the salvages and their children, whereby to their vttermost to further the maine end of this plantation, being by the assistance of Almighty God the conversion of the salvages." As a specimen of clerical support, the items of payment for Mr. Higginson are given. He is granted thirty pounds to buy apparel and other supplies for the voyage, and ten pounds more for books, a free passage for himself, and family, and furniture. His salary for each of three years, commencing from his arrival at the plantation, is to be thirty pounds, a house and land, fire-

1666.]

wood and diet, the produce of the land accruing to the company for said period. The dwelling and appurtenances are a parsonage for him and his successors in the parish. At the expiration of three years, he is to have one hundred acres of land for his own, and of seven, one hundred more. Towards the support of his household, he is to have the milk of two cows, and half the increase of their calves for three years. In case of his decease, his wife, while remaining his widow, and his children, if the former and latter continue in the patent, are to receive support at the public charge. Should he not like to dwell longer here than the three years, he and his family are to have a gratuitous passage for England. As Mr. Higginson had a larger family than the other two, he is allowed ten pounds more outfit, and the same sum more for salary, than they. In other respects, their compensations are alike. Ralph Smith, another Puritan clergyman, has leave to accompany them hither without expense.

Francis Higginson was the son of John Higginson,\* and born in 1587. He had his A. B. 1609 at Jesus College, and his A. M. 1613, at St. John's, both of Cambridge University. He was settled as a conformist, about 1615, at Claybrooke, one of the parishes of Leicester.† While conscientiously, eminently, and usefully discharging his sacred duties, he became acquainted with Hildersham and Hooker, and about 1627, embraced their Puritan belief. Though highly esteemed by all who knew him, he was deposed from his ministry and subjected to other severities of law. Invited by the Massachusetts Company to become a preacher of salvation in their jurisdiction, he consented, and embarked with his family, for Naumkeag.

Skelton had his A. B. at Clare Hall, 1611, and A. M., 1615, in Cambridge University. He was a preacher in Lincolnshire; "a man of gracious speech, full of faith, and furnished by the Lord with gifts from above." The special confidence reposed in him by the company shows that they had a high esteem of his qualifications and merit. The particulars of his secession from Episcopacy are not handed down. But from his engagement to serve as the shepherd of souls in the new world, with its indispensable perils and trials, there is proof that he, as Brook states, felt the power of persecution for his dissenting opinions, and made engagements which would carry him beyond its more immediate grasp.

\* Tradition in one branch of the Higginson family in England, says that this person was drowned in returning from a place where he had preached, at the advanced age of one hundred and four years. Preaching at so great an age, does not seem probable.

† Claybrooke parish, in the census of England and Wales, in 1841, is stated to be in the counties of Leicester and Warwick.

Bright was son of Edward Bright, of London. He graduated at "*Hospitium Novum*," Oxford, 1624-5, aged 22. He studied with John Davenport. He became minister of "Rolly, Essex county," and, as such, contracted to cast in his lot with the people who came hither to escape from the yoke of bondage.

Smith graduated at Christ College, of Cambridge, in 1613. Though his services were not needed for Massachusetts, yet the company gave him a passage hither to engage in missionary labors, as opportunity should present. His object was worthy of the trials he endured for its accomplishment.

About the time of Mr. Higginson's engaging to undertake his American mission, he publishes *General Considerations*\* for the Plantation in New England. The sound judgment and elevated motives of this production justly claim a record of its thoughts. These follow: first, it would be for the prosperity of the church in general to have the gospel planted on these shores, and would "raise a bulwarke against the kingdom of Antichrist, which the Jesuits labour to rear up in all places of the world." Second, the churches of Europe had been desolated, except that of England, and there was just fear lest this might be similarly judged; and who could know but that God had provided the colony as "a refuge for many, whom he meanes to save out of the general destruction"? Third, England grew weary of her impoverished population; and sixth, why should they remain and starve, when there was land enough and to spare in the plantation for their sustenance? Fourth, "Wee are growen to that excess and intemperance in all excess of diet, as

\* Hutchinson's Collection, pp. 27-31. These Considerations are supposed by Mr. Savage, in Winthrop's Journal, vol. i. p. 432, to have been composed by the latter gentleman. A reason for this is, that "the larger part" of them still remain in the writing of Winthrop. But they also remain in the ancient chirography of Higginson, or some other of his day. Here is a Rowland for an Oliver.

Another reason assigned in favor of Winthrop is, that Higginson had enough else to do. But what does his son John say in his election sermon of 1662? He says that his father, before immigrating hither, gave "some account of his grounds in a great assembly of many thousands, at Leicester, Old England; he mentioned this one, the mercy of the patent, permitting people here to choose their own magistrates, and to admit unto freedom such as they should think meet, and that religion was the principal end of this plantation." Here we have conclusive proof that Higginson did have and did occupy time enough for composing, and laying before the public, arguments for the settlement of this country.

What he, of strong, judicious, and cultivated mind, as well as of heart deeply interested in his subject, thus contributed from his treasures new and old, must have had a "very apparent connection between" itself "and the compact for emigration by a powerful company." "So valuable a document" was "published more than four months prior to that meeting," (of August 28,) though Mr. Savage thinks there is no reference to it, while the son of the author refers to it in terms which need leave no doubt upon any mind.

When we bring the weight of Hutchinson's positive declaration, that Higginson was the author of the Considerations, and place it in the balance of the comparative evidences already adduced, I do not perceive how we can reasonably refuse to admit, that the preponderance is decidedly in favor of such a conclusion.

no meane estate almost will suffice to keepe saile with his equals, and he that fayles in it must live in sorrow and contempt. Hence it comes to passe, that all arts and trades are carried in that deceitful manner and unrighteous course, as it is almost impossible for a good, upright man to maintayne his chardge and live comfortably in any of them." Fifth, the literary and theological schools were inordinately expensive, and were "perverted, corrupted, and utterly overpowered by the multitude of evill examples and licentious governors of these seminaries." Seventh, "What can bee a better worke, and more noble and worthy a Christian, than to help raise and support a particular church, while it is in its infancy, and to join our forces with such a company of faithfull people, as by a tymely assistance may grow stronger and prosper, and for want of it, may be put to hazard, if not wholly ruined?" Eighth, "If any such as are known to bee godly, and live in wealth and prosperity here, shall forsake all this to joyne themselves with his church, and runne in hazard with them of hard and meane condition, it will be an example of great use, both for the removing of scandall and sinister and worldly respects, to give more lyfe to the faith of God's people in their prayers for the plantation, and also to encourage others to joyne the more willingly in it."

In answering an objection that there was no call to emigrate for avoiding spiritual judgments, he thus expresses his thoughts: "It is likely that this consideration made the churches beyond the sea, as the Palatinate, Rochel, etc., to sit still at home, and not look out for shelter while they might have found it; but the wofull spectacle of their ruine may teach us more wisdom to avoid the plague while it is foreseene, and not tarry as they did till it overtooke them. If they were now at their former liberty, wee may be sure they would take other courses for their safety. And though most of them had miscarried in their escape, yet it had not been halfe so miserable to themselves, or scandalous to religion, as this desperate backsliding and abjuring the truth, which many of the antient professors among them, and the whole posterity that remayne, are plunged into." The mind which perceived and the heart that felt the preceding opinions and sentiments were of no ordinary texture. Their expressions are ingenious and forcible arguments for the occupancy of this soil.

April 17. Of this date is a letter from Cradock and his deputy to Endicott. It relates, what is like glad tidings from a far country, that there is an increased disposition and resolve, at home, to sustain the plantation. It gives information of the charter's being confirmed by the king, and that an exemplification of it, with his seal, is about to be sent over. The writers of this epis-

tle and their associates, understanding human history and divine economy, are aware that every enterprise of our race, uninfluenced by religion, will soon or late fall to the ground. They well know, that let temporal prosperity be ever so great for a season, still, if destitute of such a vital preservative, it will draw in its train abounding corruptions, and infuse them into its possessors for their ultimate ruin. Thus properly impressed, they sought for men worthy to bear the ark of God. These have been already mentioned in connection with their contract. They are among the Calvinistic clergymen of England, who are reduced by its laws and their severe application, while residing in the kingdom, to the hard alternative, either to withhold some of their opinions and practices, and read in time of public worship the Book of Sports, which encouraged an open profanation of the Sabbath, or submit to prosecutions, fines, imprisonment, and deposition from the ministry. With the way for a satisfactory discharge of their duty so hedged up, and with a sphere of usefulness opened for them where religious freedom is proffered, they feel obligated to leave the one and move in the other.

In reference to them, the letter makes the subsequent remarks: "And for that the propagation of the gospel is the thing wee doe profess aboue all to bee our ayme in settling this plantacon, wee haue bin carefull to make plentyfull provision of godly ministers, by whose faithfull preachinge, godly conversation, and exemplary lyfe, wee trust not only those of our owne nation wilbe built vp in the knowledge of God, but also the Indians may, in God's appointed tyme, bee reduced to the obedience of the gospel of Christ. \* \* One of them is well knowne to yourselfe, viz., Mr. Skelton, whom wee haue the rather desired to beare a part in this worke, for that wee are informed yourselfe hath formerly received much good by his ministry; he cometh in the George Bonaventure. Another is Mr. Higga-son, a graue man, and of worthy commendacons; he cometh in the Talbot. The third is Mr. Bright, sometymes trained vpp vnder Mr. Davenport, who cometh in the Lyon's Whelp. We pray you accommodate them with all necessaryes as well as you may; and in convenient time, lett there bee houses built them, according to the agreement wee haue made with them."

The letter proceeds to observe, that there is prospect of harmony among these ministers, which will be promoted by impartiality towards them and all others; that the manner of their preaching to the colonists and Indians is left to their own discretion; and that, for their labors to be appreciated, they must be duly honored.

The same communication speaks of Ralph Smith: "Passage

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was granted him before wee vnderstood of his difference in judgment in some things from our ministers; but his provisions for his voyage being shipt before notice was taken thereof, and forasmuch as from hence it is feared there may grow some distraction amongst you, if there should bee any syding, though wee have a very good opinion of his honestie. Wee have therefore thought fit to give you this order, that vnless hee wilbe conformable to our government, you suffer him not to remain within the limitts of our graunt." From the import of these remarks, and from the subsequent and speedy employment of Mr. Smith, by Plymouth, as their pastor, he seems to have been a Congregationalist. The same evidence, joined with this conclusion, denotes that the stockholders of Massachusetts are careful to guard against entire separation from the national church, and do not mean that the colonists here shall adopt any such change.

After proposing that the first settlers here be represented in the Court of Assistants for the colony, and allowed advantages of trade and agriculture, the letter proceeds to say of them, "Our further order is, that none bee partakers of any of the aforesaid priuiledges and profitts but such as bee peaceable men, and of honest lyfe and conversacon, and desirous to liue amongst vs, and conforme themselues to good order and government." While this caution has a general application, it particularly bears on the people of Mount Wollaston, who are free livers according to the full indulgence of the national church.

It relates that Oldham is about embarking to settle in the patent granted to Robert Gorges, and traffic with the natives for beaver. On this subject, it says, "As we shall unwillingly doe any act in debarring suche as were inhabitants before vs of that trade, as in conscience they ought to enjoy, soe shall we as vnwillingly permitt any to appropriate that to their own private lucar, which we, in our religious intencons, have dedicated to the common charge of building houses for God's worship, and forts to defend such as shall come thither to inhabite." It advises that a conciliatory course be pursued towards Oldham and his associates, "wishing rather there might be such an vnion as might drawe the heathen by our good example to the embracing of Christ and his gospel, then that offence should be given to the heathen, and scandall to our religion, through our disagreement amongst ourselves." Having strong apprehensions lest he should accomplish his project, they are solicitous for Endicott to obtain a pledge from Conant and his associates, that they will have neither part nor lot in the matter. They propose that if nothing short of severe measures will arrest the progress of Oldham, they shall be used. They urge that the planters of

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the company, already on the Gorges tract, be reinforced by more of the emigrants.

With respect to the ministers already engaged, it has an additional clause: "Wee haue, in the former part of our letter, certyified you of the good hopes we haue of the love and vnanimous agreement of our ministers, they having declared themselves to be of one judgment, to be fully agreed on the manner how to exercise their ministry, which wee hope wilbe by them accordingly performed; yett because it is often found that some busy persons (led more by their will then any good warrant out of God's word) take opportunities by moveing needless questions to stir vp strife, and by that way to begett a question, and bring men to declare some difference in judgment, (most commonly in things indifferent,) from which small beginnings great mischiefs have followed, wee pray you and the rest of the councell, that, if any such disputes should happen amongst you, that you suppress them, and be carefull to maintain peace and vnitie." Here again the company discover their uneasiness lest a schism occur among the colonists, and result in secession from the established church.

The letter empowers Messrs. Skelton and Samuel Sharp, in case of Governor Endicott's decease, to take the lead of the council, and rule according to order. It requires the ministers to elect one of their number to preach at Mishawum, or, if they cannot agree in this, it shall be decided by lot, and whoever is so chosen shall dwell there with his family.

With regard to the observance of the Lord's day, its language follows: "To the end the Sabbath may bee celebrated in a religious manner, wee appoint that all that inhabite the plantacon, both for the generall and particular imployments, may surcease their labor euery Satterday throughout the yeare, at three of the clock in the afternoone, and that they spend the rest of that day in catechizing and preparacon for the Sabbath, as the minister shall direct."

April 21. In its continuation, the same epistle represents that the servants about to come over are divided into families. It proceeds, "Our earnest desire is, that you take spetiall care in settlinge these families, that the chiefe in the familie (at least some of them) bee grounded in religion, whereby morning and evening familie duties may be duly performed, and a watchfull eye held over all in each familie." The two orders here given indicate how deeply the patentees are impressed with the long verified position, that as the discipline and morals of domestic circles, so the elevation or depression of the community, state, or nation, which they constitute.

As the communication draws to a close, it introduces John

and Samuel Brown. It recommends them, "who, though they bee noe adventurers in the generall stocke, yett are they men wee doe much respect, being fully persuaded of their sincere affeçcons to the good of our plantacon. Mr. John Browne is sworne an assistant here, and by vs chosen one of the counsell there, a man experienced in the lawes of our kingdom, and such an one as wee are persuaded will worthyly deserue your favor and furtherance, which wee desire he may haue, and that in the first division of lands there may be allotted to ether of them two hundred acres." Thus these gentlemen are approved. The prospect before them is fair; but, ere long, discrepancy of views covers it with clouds.

April 30. A record of the General Court contains an act, though passed previously, of much importance to the colony. It orders "that thirteene of such as shalbe reputed the most wyse, honest, expert, and discrete persons, resident vpon the said plantacon, shall haue the sole managing and ordering of the gouernment and our affaires there, who, to the best of their judgments, are to endeavour soe to settle the same, as may make most to the glory of God." The title of this body, so constituted, is "The Gouvernor and Councell of London's Plantacon in Massachusetts Bay in New England." Its formation and agency tend to promote the ecclesiastical independence here, dreaded by the stockholders at home. While Endicott is governor, Bright, Higginson, and Skelton are of his assistants. The administration, not only altogether composed of professors of religion, but also, in part, of clergymen, is an early specimen of actual union between church and state. Such a connection in the infant condition of the commonwealth was both proper and requisite. Though it has long been abused by human frailty, so that it has often been more injurious than beneficial to true freedom, the period will come, when one perfect, universal church will reign on earth, and, without exciting any jealousy, will control every government for the highest welfare of all who live in so blessed an era.

May 7. In the form of oath, ordered for the chief magistrate here, is the passage, "You shall doe your best endeavor to draw on the natiues of this country, called New England, to the knowledge of the true God, and conserve the planters and others coming hither in the same knowledge and feare of God." Here is another repetition of the ruling design which forms the foundation of this commonwealth. Such a basis accords with the relations of man's being, with the purpose of his existence, and the best interests of his nature, and with the wisdom which bears the bright and broad seal of divinity. It is but a poor compliment which any people pay themselves, in view of



what experience has long taught and their own highest good demands, when boastfully declaring that they are so far delivered from the trammels of restraint, as to deny the necessity of such religious care in the commencement and continuance of a wilderness colony.

May 11. Having medically administered to the wants of the colonists in Massachusetts, Dr. Fuller returns to Plymouth, with the "soul's calm sunshine" which benevolent action always affords. By him Endicott writes to Bradford. He exhibits the expanded views and feelings ever legitimately flowing from Christian principle. He speaks of the union in sympathy, motive, and action, which should be cherished by disciples of the same divine Master. He mentions the necessity of this, in order to establish a religious commonwealth. To this import is his remark, "bending all our hearts and forces in furthering a work, beyond our strength, with reverence and fear, fastening our eyes always on Him that is only able to direct and prosper all our ways." He then touches, with prudence, on the jealousy which had existed between the respective friends of Plymouth and Massachusetts as to ecclesiastical discipline. His words are, "I rejoice that I am by him satisfied touching your judgments of the outward form of God's worship, being far from the common report, that hath been spread of you, touching that particular." Endicott and his friends had suspected that the Plymouth church retained the radical notions of Brownism, but which they renounced while under the instruction of Robinson. Such a suspicion explains, to some extent, why Lyford and his followers, when expelled from the jurisdiction of Bradford, were offered an asylum at Cape Ann, and then at Naumkeag. It was widely circulated in England, and produced violent opposition, among members of the company, to the emigration of the Leyden Puritans, and even to the continuance of their brethren in Plymouth colony, under any other ecclesiastical form than that of Episcopacy. But it was so divinely overruled, that while it brought out the latent and conservative energies of the latter plantation, it produced greater sacrifices and exertions for the erection of another in Massachusetts, both of which soon became mutual protectors, and advanced the great cause of political and religious reformation.

13. In his journal, Higginson notes, "We came as farre as the Land's End, and so left our deare native soyle behind us." On this trying occasion he calls up his family and others to the stern of the ship. He gives vent to the fulness of his heart: "We will not say, as the separatists were wont to say, at their leaving of England, Farewell, Babylon! Farewell, Rome; but we will say, Farewell, dear England! Farewell, church of

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God in England, and all Christian friends there! We do not go to New England, as separatists from the church of England, though we cannot but separate from corruptions of it; but we go to practise the positive part of church reformation, and propagate the gospel in America." Such an expression of patriotism, magnanimity, and religion, cannot but accord with the sentiments of every conscientious heart. At first sight, it may seem partially inconsistent with the subsequent action of its author. But the separation which he had in mind when uttering it, was very different from what he embraced in the colony, and the latter was reconcilable with the reform which he purposed to adopt as duty should dictate. This position is strengthened by the signification of his discussion with the Browns, which shows his idea of separation from the mother church, not as a denial of its being a true church, but a disuse of its modes in government and rites. From the relation of Hubbard, it is plain, that neither Higginson, nor Skelton nor Bright, had determined to institute the platform of Episcopacy after their coming over, before all others. He informs us that Hildersham advised these three ministers to agree "upon their form of church government, before they came away from England," but that they did not. This is confirmation that they left the matter open till they should reach the field of their labor, that they might then freely choose the mode most congenial with their feelings of obligation.

May 27. Anxious lest the profane and dissolute conduct of traders among the Indians may cross the chief purposes of the colony, Endicott writes and desires the company at home to seek for redress. When the letter reached them, they immediately moved for the royal proclamation of 1622 to be revived and amended.

28. Another valuable letter from the company's court, in London, is dated and directed to Endicott. It repeats the desire to him, that an act, with penalty, be passed and published, in manuscript, here, against injury to the natives. As proof that they prefer godliness to gain in the colonial affairs, they assert, "Wee haue discharged diuers servants heere, that wee had entertained and bin at great charges with some of them; yett fearing their ill lyfe might bee preiudiciall to the plantacon, wee rather thought fit to dismiss them and loose our charges, then to burden the plantacon with them."

June 27. Mr. Higginson's journal states, that the Talbot, having gotten within sight of the long-desired haven, on Saturday afternoon is driven off by a heavy squall. Her company put into Cape Ann, and there devoutly keep the Sabbath. Next day, as the journalist remarks, with aid of pilots and

"God's blessing, we passed the curious and difficult entrance into the spacious harbour of Naimkecke. And as we passed along, it was wonderful to behold so many islands replenished with thicke wood and high trees, and many fayre greene pastures." Welcomed by the residents with the mutual sympathies, emotions, and expressions peculiar to such as have met on the soil where they anticipate peril and suffering as the price of Christian duty, the one hundred emigrants of the Talbot are thankful that their ocean course has ended. One of the fleet had been in port a week, and the others soon arrive.

Mr. Higginson, reverting to events of the voyage, informs us that, afflicted with small-pox on board, a fast was observed the 21st of May. He notes, "I heard some of the mariners say, they thought this was the first sea-fast that was ever kept, and that they never heard of the like performed at sea."

He further relates, "We had a pious and Christian-like passage, for I suppose passengers shall seldom find a company of more religious, honest, and kynd scamen than we had. We constantly served God morning and evening by reading and expounding a chapter, singing, and prayers. And the Sabbath was solemnly kept by adding to the former, preaching twice and catechising. Besides, the shipmaster and his company used every night to sett the eight and twelve o'clock watches with singing a psalme and prayer, that was not read out of a booke."

We pass from the journal, which deserves a high place among the records, that perpetuate the acts of our primitive clergy, who, like apostles, made great sacrifices to spread the doctrines and benefits of Christianity.

Soon after the emigrants reached Naumkeag, Messrs. Bright and Smith depart in different directions. The former, having the lot fall on him for Mishawum, goes thither, and enters on his missionary labors. The latter takes up his residence at Nantasket, where he labors for a small congregation, and is straitened for the comforts of support. After tarrying here a short time, he begins his residence at Plymouth.

The scurvy and an infectious fever is brought to Salem by the last passengers. Such diseases spread, and are extensively mortal. Though an argument for opposers of the enterprise, it does not sink the sufferers in despair.

Not long subsequent to the arrival of the fleet, Endicott calls a General Court at Salem. A main object of it is for the settlers within his jurisdiction to sign laws for the regulation of the colony. These rules are based on the general position, that all questions relative to political and ecclesiastical order shall be decided according to the Scriptures. Thomas Morton attends the session. He declines to subscribe, because the clause — so

far as in conformity with the statutes of England—is omitted. He remarks, in his Canaan, without this proviso, “The same would prove a very mousetrapp to catch somebody by his owne consent, for the construction of the words would be made by them of the separation to serve their owne turnes.” It was zeal like this, exhibited by him prior to his being transported for trial in London, which saved him harmless there, and permitted him to return and resume his policy, which greatly troubled the adjacent Puritans. The condition he advocated was in accordance with the colonial charter. Those from whom he dissented concluded that a promise complying with the spirit of the Bible would harmonize with all righteous acts of the mother country, and that, if they believed any of her acts to be essentially wrong, scriptural authority should be considered as paramount to them. Such an interpretation was often urged against them by their opponents at home, as evidence of their purpose to be independent of the crosier and the crown.

Having thus refused to come under the government here, it was not long before they commissioned a party to visit his residence and break up his quarters there. As they approach in a shallop, he secretes his ammunition and other articles in the woods. They take what goods are left, principally corn, and bring them to Salem as sequestered property. The opposite actors in this scene look at it with very different opinions and feelings. On one side it is considered as a blow wrongfully aimed at all Episcopal influence in the colony. On the other, it is viewed as a dutiful procedure for the progress and security of reformation in morals and religion.

Near this time, Thomas Graves and a considerable number of the late emigrants go to strengthen the settlers at Charlestown, and thus throw greater impediments in the way of its being occupied and retained by Oldham and his associates.

July 19. As an event to be heard by our colonists with deep interest, because fearful lest Romanism spread in North America, Quebec is reduced by the English arms, and the inhabitants allowed to sail for France with “*les pères Jesuits que Recollects*.”

20. To secure the primary object of their emigration, the people of Salem begin to take measures for the regular establishment of a church among them. Without such means of the gospel, though an Eden of natural advantages might have smiled upon them, they would have felt spiritually impoverished, and fearfully anticipated a blast on all their purposes and efforts. Let the description of Gott to Bradford tell the proceedings. “The 20th of July, it pleased God to move the heart of our governor to set it apart for a solemn day of humiliation, for the choice of a pastor and teacher; the former part of the day be-

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ing spent about the election, which was after this manner : The persons thought on were demanded concerning their calling. They acknowledged there was a twofold calling, the one, inward calling, when the Lord moved the heart of man to take that calling on him, and fitted him with gifts for the same. The second was from the people, when a company of believers are joined together in covenant to walk together in all the ways of God ; every member (male) is to have a free voice in the choice of their officers. These two (Higginson and Skelton) clearing all things by their answers, we saw no reason but that we might freely give our voice for their election after this trial. Their choice was after this manner : Every fit member wrote in a note his name whom the Lord moved him to think was fit for a pastor, and so likewise whom they would have for a teacher. The most voice was for Mr. Skelton to be pastor, and Mr. Higginson to be teacher, and they accepting their choice, Mr. Higginson, with three or four more of the gravest members of the church, laid their hands on Mr. Skelton, using prayers therewith. This being done, then there was imposition of hands on Mr. Higginson. Then there was proceeding in election of elders and deacons ; but they were only named, and laying on of hands deferred, to see if it pleased God to send us more able men over ; and since, Thursday, 5th of August, is appointed for another solemn day of humiliation, for the full choice of elders and deacons, and ordaining them. Now, good sir, I hope that you, and the rest of God's people with you, will say that here was a right foundation laid, and that these two blessed servants of the Lord came in at the door, and not at the window." This communication is full of interest. It must have been exceedingly welcome to the sage Bradford and his associates. Constituted as a church in Holland, they came over so embodied, exhibited the fitness of their ecclesiastical polity to meet the exigencies of successful colonization, and were partly instrumental in having its counterpart planted in Massachusetts.

July into September. With a conscientious regard for his contract to labor among the natives, Higginson sends the results of his observations upon them to his friends in England. An extract is given : "For their religion, they do worship two gods, a good and an evil god. The good god they call *Tantum*, and their evil god, who they fear will do them hurt, they call *Squantum*. We purpose to learn their language as soon as we can, which will be the means of doing them good."

Relative to the colony, he adds, "There are with us in all, old and new planters, three hundred, whereof two hundred are settled at Naimkecke, and the rest plant themselves at

Massachusetts Bay, being to build a towne there called Charlestowne." It is observable that this refers to the last-named place, and its immediate vicinity, as within Massachusetts Bay, while Salem and its neighborhood are excluded from such a circuit. This accorded with former views and conversation, though contrary to subsequent and present impressions. The narrative adds, "We haue great ordnance, whereof we doubt not but to fortify ourselves in short tyme, to keepe out a potent aduersarye." Rising above the temporal prospect of the planters, though a subject he loved to contemplate, the writer comes to his still more favorite theme of spiritual concerns: "But that which is our greatest comfort and means of defence above all others, is, that we have here the true religion and holy ordinances of Almighty God among us. Thanks be to God, we have plenty of preaching, and diligent catechising, with strict and carefull exercise of good and commendable orders to bring our people to Christian conversation, which whilst we do, we doubt not but God will be with us; and so, (Romans viii. 31,) 'What shall we then say to these things? If God be for us, who can be against us?'" Such a conclusion is what would be expected from one who had drunk deeply of "Siloa's brook," who had wisely scanned the immutable conditions on which society can be prospered and immortality blessed. In a letter of September, from the same author, he mentions that several companies in England have expressed their purpose to emigrate hither, and aid in the great work of building up Zion. He urges his Leicester friends, among whom he had preached, not to delay their coming: "If you linger too long, the passages of Jordan, through the malice of Sathan, may be stopped, that you cannot come if you would." His apprehensions, in this respect, were afterwards found not to be groundless. He would have the rich assist families unable to pay their passage, so that they may reach the plantation, "where they may live as well, both for soule and body, as anywhere in the world." He adduces a noble example of such charity: "Mr. Johnson, out of Lincolnshire, and many others, have helped our godly Christians hither, to be employed in their worke for a while, and then to live of themselves." Thus, in his correspondence with his friends abroad, he fans their zeal for missions to the new world, so that the light of Christianity may illumine its thick darkness.

August 6. The ordination mentioned in Gott's letter, to be the 5th instant, takes place. The church platform of rule, covenant,\* and articles of faith, being Calvinistic, and drawn up by

\* This covenant differs from the second, formed 1636, which has long been supposed to be the first, and from the hand of Higginson, when it was probably drawn up by Peters, at the later date.

Mr. Higginson, are accepted by thirty members. These had been individually supplied with a copy of the covenant, which is read publicly, and receives their consent. With regard to the doctrines now professed, Chalmers says, they "formed the seed-plot of the independent churches of New England." To the numbers received, many, of good report, are speedily added. The covenant and confession of faith here spoken of were evidently not contained together in one document, but were separately and individually acknowledged. A pamphlet, printed about 1660, which comprises both of them, "for substance," as distinct articles, proves that the first independent church of Salem, at their outset, had articles of faith. Governor Bradford is a delegate from Plymouth church; but, detained by adverse winds, he arrives during the services, and proffers the right hand of fellowship. This he does, though, as Hubbard remarks, Higginson's principles of church discipline "were a little discrepant from theirs of Plymouth." Among the attendants on this occasion was Edward Gibbons, who had resided at Mount Wollaston. The services seriously affect him. He was subsequently a prominent and useful inhabitant of Boston.

By the account of Gott, it seems as though the ministers were ordained the 20th of July, and a similar ordinance performed for ruling elders, of whom was Henry Haughton and the deacons, in August. Still there is an evident propriety in believing that a like service took place with regard to the clergymen on the latter date. The chief objection which arises with this view, is that a twofold consecration appears unnecessary. Morton's Memorial observes on this subject, "After the sermons and prayers of the two ministers, in the end of the day, the confession of faith and covenant being solemnly read, the forenamed persons (members of the church) did solemnly profess their consent thereunto, and then proceeded to the ordaining of Mr. Skelton, pastor, and Mr. Higginson, teacher." This refers to the last date. Hubbard confirms the same position. Prince offers an explanation: "As Mr. Skelton and Higginson had been ministers ordained by bishops in the church of England, this ordination was only to the care of this particular flock, founded on their free election. But as there seems to be a repeated imposition of hands, the former, on July 20, may only signify their previous separation for their solemn charge, and this latter, of August 6, their actual investiture therein." Thus the question is completely decided, what the leading men in Massachusetts mean to have as the mode of their ecclesiastical polity.

Situated as they are, without any leave of their company at home to adopt such independence, exposed for it to opposition

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from the council, who had control of the whole country, and of Bishop Laud in his powerful influence over the executive of the kingdom, they hazard an experiment full of peril and anxious expectation. Nothing short of supreme regard for what they heartily believe to be the divine will, can induce them to assume so responsible an attitude. Their strike is for religious liberty, in its rational and broadest sense, with its consequent effects, uncongenial with the spirit and domination of royalty. They are fully convinced, that, to carry out their ideas and professions of reform, the simplicity of the Congregational basis is the Puritanism which they absolutely need to aid them, so far as human imperfection will allow, in keeping their plantations free from the social, political, and religious corruptions which abound in their native land. Thus actuated, they commit their cause to the Ruler of the universe, and trust in his protection, though such as are of their own house resist them, and the mighty of their own countrymen join heart and hand for their speedy overthrow.

In laying the deep foundations of this Christian commonwealth, the leading operators are not free from opposition among themselves. The preparations for so great a work are not in accordance with the design, opinion, and wish of the pioneers who came to Naumkeag as supporters of the national church. Nor do they receive the approval of others among the recent emigrants. Of these, the Memorial of Morton thus remarks: "Some of the passengers that came over, observing that the ministers did not at all use the Book of Common Prayer, and that they did administer baptism and the Lord's supper without the ceremonies, and that they professed also to use discipline in the congregation against scandalous persons, by a personal application of the word of God, as the case might require, and that some that were scandalous were denied admission into the church, they began to raise trouble." Of these, the Messrs. Brown, being the chief, "gathered a company together in a place distinct from the public assembly, and there, sundry times, the Book of Common Prayer was read. The governour, taking notice of the disturbance that began to grow among the people by this means, convented the two brothers before him. They accused the ministers as departing from the orders of the church of England, that they were Separatists, and would be Anabaptists, etc.; but for themselves, they would hold to the church of England. The ministers answered, they were neither Separatists nor Anabaptists; they did not separate from the church of England, nor from the ordinances of God there; and that they came away from the common prayer and ceremonies, and had suffered much for their nonconformity in their native land, and,



therefore, being in a place where they might have their liberty, they neither could nor would use them, because they judged the imposition of these things to be sinful corruptions in the worship of God. The governour and council, and the generality of the people, (that is, the General Court,) did well approve of the ministers' answer; and, therefore, finding these two brothers to be of high spirit, and their speeches and practices tending to mutiny and faction, the governour told them that New England was no place for such as they; and, therefore, he sent them back for England, at the return of the ships, the same year; and though they breathed out threatenings both against the governour and ministers, yet the Lord so disposed of all, that there was no further inconvenience followed upon it." Chalmers, referring to this controversy, observes, "This expulsion of its chiefs inflicted a wound on the church of England which it never recovered."

Such action on the part of the Massachusetts authorities has been often called persecution. If by this term their accusers mean the prevention of others from the free exercise of their religious forms, the charge is correct. Were our fathers, concerned in the matter, put upon the stand, they would, in all good conscience, reply, for substance, as follows: At much expense of toil, money, and suffering, we chose a remote part of the world to carry out our ideas of reform, unmolested by those of conflicting views and practice. We made an honest avowal of this to the public, as our intention. We consistently hold, that all who cannot harmonize with our ecclesiastical polity should leave us, and go where they may enjoy their opinions, as we ourselves have done, in forsaking relatives, home, and country. Should we permit them to remain and propagate what we consider the very errors from which we have fled, it would be a preparation to destroy the work we came to accomplish, would be contrary to our deep impressions of obligation, and to the prosperity of Christ's kingdom. Thus much for their plea. On the other hand, it was a hard case for those expelled. They, too, had encountered much, so that they, without disturbance, might sustain religious worship as they thought regular. They, no doubt, felt themselves wronged. Of this the authorities were fully aware. They regretted that what they believed to be necessity, was laid upon them so to exercise their power, that it might preserve and promote the greater benefit of the colony, though to the detriment of a few.

They felt themselves driven to this requisite, though hard, alternative, as Plymouth had in their expulsion of Lyford and his supporters. They acted on the principle of self-preservation, allowed by our laws, that protect the sects who live as sep-

arate communities, and empower them to have all ejected who arise among them, or intrude themselves, for the object of disarranging their regulations, and thus endangering their existence as distinct bodies. Such a principle, as well known, has been long applied in Great Britain, with all her enlightenment; so that many dissenters from the established church are, even now, legally compelled to pay a large amount of fines. Among us, it subjects the disbeliever in future retribution, the deist, and the atheist, to civil disabilities. That it should be exercised, to some extent, there can be no reasonable doubt. It is as requisite for the healthful condition of church and state, as attraction and repulsion to keep our solar system from rushing to destruction. But to what precise limit it should be confined, is a question which, on account of human deficiency in knowledge and holiness, and consequent diversity of opinion and preference, has never been fully settled. As true religion loses its hold on the population, their legislative bodies will incline to narrow down the moral restriction of such a principle. In all ages and nations, men, while weak and feeling its pressure, have protested against it; but when they have become the strong majority, they have advocated and put it in force. No denomination that has ever existed, and gone through such a process of experience, can justly throw itself without the circle of this fact.

Such a stand opens a source for free and full remark in England. Bailey took the ground that Plymouth church leavened all its adjacent churches. Cotton replied to this, "How far they of Salem took up any practice from Plymouth, I do not know. Sure I am, Mr. Skelton was studious of that way before he left Lincolnshire. If the diswader knew the spirit of those men who first came hither, after Plymouth, hee would easily discern they were not such as would be leavened by vicinity of neighbours, but by the divinity of the truth of God shining forth from the word."

August 26. Among the signs which brought gladness to the hearts of many who prayed and sought for the advancement of the colony, is a compact. This is subscribed at Cambridge, by highly respectable members\* of the company. It says, "Upon due consideration of the state of the plantation, now in hand for New England, wherein wee have engaged ourselves, and having weighed the greatnes of the worke in regard of the consequence, (God's glory and the church's good,) as also in regard of the difficultyes and discouragements which, in all probabilityes, must be forecast on the execution of this businesse," and

\* Richard Saltonstall, Thomas Dudley, William Vassal, Nicholas West, Isaac Johnson, John Humphrey, Thomas Sharp, Increase Nowell, John Winthrop, William Pynchon, Kellam Browne, and William Colbron.

then proceeds to state, that mutual confidence has induced them to engage in the undertaking. They pledge themselves, "in the word of a Christian and in the presense of God," to make all due preparation. Various have been the covenants formed by individuals of different nations and for diverse purposes. But none of them has exceeded that before us in purity of motive, in denial of selfishness, in firmness of purpose, and in nobleness of end. The Achæan league, long celebrated, sought and obtained civil liberty; but its nature and results do not equally compare with those of this and other compacts, formed by our ancestors for the establishment of New England in the faith of Christ and his apostles.

A correspondence takes place between Higginson and Brewster. The subject of it concerns the relation which children of church members hold to the church of the latter. The conclusion is, that such children are subjects of baptism, and, by this ordinance, are so far members of the church as to be under their watch and care. It also allows that these children may be admitted to full communion with the church, on their own confession and acknowledgment of the covenant, when they become adults and give evidence of piety. In connection with this intercourse, it is agreed that the parents own and retain "the baptism which they themselves received in their infancy, in their native land."

August 29. The company agree in London "that the government and patent shall be settled in New England." Learned writers have differed in opinion about this decision, and also, in connection with it, about the right of our fathers to freedom of religious worship. There are several facts which bear on these questions. With regard to the first, the leading members of the company, at home, took pains to inform themselves concerning the legal relinquishment of the supervisory government of the colonists, and became satisfied that it was allowed by their charter. Their conclusion was not made a ground of annulling this instrument, because, if it had been, it would have annulled the regal authority which sanctioned the document. In reference to worship, the patentees were open in the avowal of their Puritan sentiments, of their purpose to build up a commonwealth of ecclesiastical reformation. This was a main object for which they obtained their charter; and notwithstanding repeated endeavors before the royal council to have them counteracted in such polity, the English authorities never denied them the right to worship God as their consciences dictated. It is true that the clause which provides that no charter rights shall run counter to the laws of the realm, if literally construed as giving the right of public worship to none except conformists with the

established church, would demand that our ancestors, so far as they deviated from Episcopacy, should be considered as falling short of such enactments. But in view of the right granted by the executors of the laws themselves, and thus confirmed by their interpretation of these very laws, and of the charter's saying of itself, it "shall be construed in all cases most favourably" for the patentees and their successors, "any statute" of the kingdom "to the contrary notwithstanding," — the planters of our soil must have felt themselves justified, judicially and equitably, in pursuing the course which they did.

September 19. At a General Court of the company, in London, letters from Endicott and others, concerning the difficulty with the Browns, are read. Referees are designated to settle their differences.

29. The same body decide to open some of the letters from the Browns, and ascertain if they defame "the country of New England, and the governor and government there." They direct that the parties to whom such epistles are addressed shall be accordingly notified. They conclude that the letters of Samuel Brown shall be kept as evidence, if occasion require. A copy of complaints from Salem, against him and his brother, is ordered for them, so that they may prepare to reply.

October 15. It is resolved that the charge for ministers in the colony, or who may be employed here, and for the erection of churches, shall be paid seven years, one half by the joint stock of the company, and the other by the planters.

16. Anxious as to the result of the Browns' expulsion, the authorities of the company write to the ministers of Salem. They mention that the Messrs. Brown had recently arrived, being sent home by Governor Endicott, who charged them with factious conduct; that, since their arrival, they had "raised rumors of divers scandalous and intemperate speeches," as uttered by one or both of Messrs. Higginson and Skelton in their "public sermons or prayers," and of some innovations attempted by them. The matters here alleged probably arose from the compliance made by the Salem church with the Congregational discipline of Plymouth. The letter remarks, "Wee have reason to hope that their reports are but slanders," and then cautions the clergymen here to be careful of their ministry; and if, having said or done aught to justify the censures passed on them, to correct their course, and bear in mind that the company in England would tolerate no such severity as was laid to their account. It proceeds: "Wee desire that this only may testifie to you and others, that we are tender of the least aspersion which, ether directly or obliquely, may bee cast vpon the state heere, to whom wee owe soe much duty, and from whom

wee haue received soe much fauor in the plantacon where you now resyde." A literal adherence to every part of this advice was hard for such men as Higginson and Skelton. In a new sphere, where they were unexposed to the apprehension of a pursuivant at every turn, it was natural for them to preach and pray so as to express their disapprobation of crown oppression to the Puritans, as well as their gratitude for charter privileges. They felt obligated not to cover up the repulsiveness of the one with the fair mantle of the other, in their high intercourse with the Judge of the universe, as well as with the mortals who were to stand before him for retribution. They did not feel justified to deal with the state as if needing no physician. The same conscientiousness which led them to brave the inflictions of misdirected power at home, would not suffer them, while exiles abroad, through its influence, to speak of it by any other name than its own. Thus actuated, they knew that they were watched by those who honestly differed from them, and who, driven from their soil, and landed upon the shores of England, would as honestly proclaim their clerical course in no measured or commendable terms.

Another communication, from the same hands and of the same date as the preceding, is forwarded to Governor Endicott, on a similar topic. It relates that Messrs. Brown had spoken against him and the ministers "concerning some rash innovations begun and practised in the civill and ecclesiasticall gouernment." It takes for granted that their resentment at being sent home would lead them to make representations in very strong terms; but still, it adds, there is a possibility "some vndigested councells haue too sodainly bin put in execucon, which may haue ill construcon with the state heere, and make vs obnoxious to any adversary." It then urges on Mr. Endicott to be careful about introducing any laws which may have such a tendency, and to watch over social and religious concerns so that they lead to no such end. This magistrate has had a greater share of blame for excluding Messrs. Brown from the plantation, than actually belonged to him. Others were active as well as himself to insure their departure. For what he did in that affair he had ample authority. But whether it was expedient to exercise his power as he did, is a question which religious toleration, as generally understood in his day, would answer in the affirmative, but as understood in ours, would answer in the negative. Men should be judged according to the light of the age in which they live.

The language of both communications shows that the patentees at home are dissatisfied that the colonists have so widely departed from the national church, and are apprehensive lest it

incur the displeasure of the king and his council, and thus seriously impede the progress of the plantation.

As a matter fitted to strengthen the settlers, and afford them greater freedom to pursue their adopted course, the company, in London, discuss the order for relinquishing their supervisory power over the Court of Assistants here, and conclude that it is "fitt and naturall" for themselves to retain only the "gouernment of trade and merchandize." At the same session, the question is brought before them, whether Endicott shall be continued in office, and decided affirmatively. \*This subject is probably broached by reason of the complaints made by the Browns. His continuation is to last till John Winthrop, now highly commended, and chosen his successor, shall reach the colony.

November 20. The Browns petition for relief, because some of their goods in the settlement are undervalued, and others not appraised at all. Order is given for an equitable adjustment of this concern.

25. A letter and testimonies from the colonial authorities are communicated to the court. They relate to William Revell, commander of a ship, who is charged with "insolent speeches" against the laws here, "which is to bee proceeded against when other certificates are come, which are expected concerning this business."

An important session is appointed. In view of it, the following is adopted: "To the end that this business might bee proceeded in, with the first intencon, which was cheifly the glory of God, and to that purpose that their meetings might bee sanctified by the prayers of some faithfull ministers, resident heere in London, whose advice would bee likewise requisite vpon many occasions, the court thought fitt to admitt into the freedome of this company Mr. Jo. Archer and Mr. Phillip Nye, ministers heere in London, who, being heere present, kindly accept thereof. Also Mr. Whyte did recommend vnto them Mr. Nathaniel Ward, of Standon." Here the commendable custom of having legislation preceded by daily intercession for the divine blessing is first noted by the company's records. As clergymen previously attended their sessions, it is very likely that they had performed similar service. This is one of the ancient usages not yet discarded by the rulers of this commonwealth. Recreant, indeed, to the memory of its founders, and to the safeguard of its public integrity, must the state be, if ever so degraded in moral sentiment as to exclude devotion from its councils.

Here, too, is a purpose of the court to ask the opinion of ministers on questions which may come before them. As well known, this was continued under our colonial charter. It was deliberately appointed by laymen, which implies that the ancient

clergy of New England were not so officious in thrusting themselves into civil affairs as some would have us believe. Though preachers of the gospel have enough to occupy all their energies, yet our country is greatly indebted to their predecessors for much salutary advice.

Here, also, we have the admission of freemen. This must have been done before, because specified by the charter. It was a custom which had a powerful effect on our social, civil, and ecclesiastical interests, till the interference of commissioners sent over by Charles II. Nor was its influence small from this period to the usurpation under Dudley and Andros.

Returning to the company's anxious and eventful deliberations, we perceive that the tide of emigration to our shores is considerably diminished, because of embarrassment in their funds. The joint stock is already much in arrears. Still there are mind and heart enough left to perceive the remedy, and have it applied.

November 30. In imitation of what the undertakers had done at Plymouth, in like trials, five of the Massachusetts adventurers, and the same number who intend to become planters, agree to take on themselves the management of the stock for seven years. They are to have it at a third of its original amount. Thus, while one portion of benefactors to the plantation assume a hazardous responsibility, another are disposed to make great sacrifices of their property. They act as men accountable to God for his benefits, and bound to use his gifts for the promotion of his spiritual kingdom.

Though the settlers have reason to be encouraged by movements at home, yet signs among themselves are cheerless and depressing. As the winter approaches, disease and mortality continue their dreadful work. Nearly one half of their number die. Among them is Haughton, the ruling elder of Salem. Such a repeated event is enough to drive ordinary adventurers from the shores which breathe pestilence and death. But the afflicted survivors continue firm, and hope for better days. While they look, in imagination, to the more healthy residences of England, others are earnestly engaged in preparing to move thence, and become partakers with them in the trials of a new country.

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#### PLYMOUTH.

1629. Having been severely afflicted, as to their ministrations of the sanctuary, the congregation are again called to similar

trial. Early in the spring, a young minister, named Rogers, comes over with Mr. Allerton to preach for them, though he had received no call from the church. They soon perceive that his mind is so deranged, that it was necessary for him to return home next year. The charge for both of his passages was no small burden to them in their straitened circumstances.

1629, May 11. A letter from Endicott to Bradford has this passage: "The same request with you I make unto the Lord, that we may, as Christian brethren, (of both their colonies,) be united by an heavenly and unfeigned love, bending all our hearts and forces in furthering a work beyond our strength, with reverence and fear, fastening our eyes always on Him that is only able to direct and prosper all our ways." This is proper expression of human dependence for the accomplishment of an exalted purpose.

25. In compliance with the benevolent endeavor of the undertakers, the long-deferred hope of their brethren and sisters, in Holland, is about to be realized. On this subject, Sherley, in London, addresses Bradford: "There are now many of your and our friends from Leyden coming over. A good part of that end is obtained which was aimed at, and has been so strongly opposed by some of our former adventurers. With them we have also sent some servants in the Talbot, that went hence lately; but these come in the Mayflower."

When such passengers reach their destination, they are met with the gratulations of Christian friendship. The various aspects of former intercourse between the receivers and received are brought to their recollection, and become an avenue of mutual desires and hopes for a better experience in their high calling. Their object is great, and fitted to afford them needed energy and encouragement. Bradford observes, "So their being thus long kept back is now recompensed by Heaven, with a double blessing; in that we not only enjoy them beyond our late expectation, when all hope seemed to be cut off, but with them many more godly friends and Christian brethren, as the beginning of a larger harvest to Christ." He also relates, that Allerton, who had returned from London, whither he went to obtain an enlargement of their patent, greatly offends them, because he allowed Thomas Morton to come back with him.

The accusations sent with Morton to England were disregarded by the authorities there, and he was not brought to trial. Thus at liberty, he revisits the land of what he describes as his persecutions, and again dwells at Mount Wollaston. Though the transportation of the late emigrants cost five hundred pounds, "yet it was borne cheerfully by the poor brethren here concerned in it."



Near this time, "severall godly persons, some whereof had bin Mr. Laythrop's church in England, and others also, came to vs out of England, soe that wee became, through the goodness of God, pretty numerous."

About fall, Ralph Smith, wife and family, uncomfortably situated at Nantasket, are brought in a boat to Plymouth, where he "exercised his gifts among them."

1630, January 13. In accordance with the enterprising and useful plan of the company here, to expand their trade and means of support, the council grant them territory on each side of the Kennebec River. The motive of the latter body is thus expressed: "Whereby soe hopeful a plantacon may subsiste, as alsoe that they may bee encouraged the better to proceed in soe pious a worke, which may especially tend to the propagation of religion." The applause here given was truly deserved. It was nobly won by the constant exhibition of compliance with duty, under the heavy pressure of adversities.

The patent, so assigned, was extensive, and secured to the grantees all the rights and privileges of colonial government on the premises. The party in England who had striven to crush their religious liberty, in the day of their weakness, must have been disappointed in perceiving the circle of their wide control, on the very soil intended as the stronghold of Episcopacy and royalty.

The same instrument which makes so desirable a conveyance enlarges and confirms their first territory. It says of them, "Seeinge by the spetiall Prouidence of God, and their extraordinary care and indvstry, they have encreased their plantacon to neere three hundred people, and are vppon all occasions able to relieue any new planters or other of his majestie's subiects, whoe may fall vppon that coaste." Instead of it, they had made great exertion for a charter with the royal seal. One reason why they did so was, that they might have privileges equal to those of Massachusetts. Another was, that, if successful, they should feel more secure, in case the grants of the council should be nullified, which was expected and dreaded by those interested. Their experiment cost them five hundred pounds, hired from thirty to fifty per cent. This result, so burdensome to them, had some alleviation in the accompanying advantages of territorial enlargement.

May. Another company of Robinson's people arrive. They are strong in faith, but poor in temporalities. They are not met with the cold hand of worldly policy, but with the heartfelt welcome of Christian benevolence. They are supported about a year and a half before they could raise a harvest sufficient for

their maintenance. The loan thus made had the supreme Giver of all mercies for its guarantee.

July 30. Fast is observed to implore divine interposition for the arrest of mortal sickness in Massachusetts. In connection with this occasion, Morton speaks of the chief planters in the Bay colony. "Those eminent servants of Christ did not despise their poor leaders and fellow-soldiers, that they found in the same work of the Lord with them, at Plimouth, but treated them as brethren, much pitying their great straits and hardships they had endured in the first beginning of planting this wilderness, promising all helpfulness, even out of their own estates, according to their power." Such sympathy is the offspring of uncorrupted religion. It availed far more for the great work with which it was allied, than all the set and polished forms of heartless courtesy.

August 2. Fuller writes from Charlestown, "Here we have divers honest Christians desirous to see us; some out of love they bear us, and the good persuasion they have of us; others to see whether we be so ill as they have heard." Here the misrepresentation\* of Robinson's followers at home has an additional confirmation.

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#### NEW HAMPSHIRE.

1629, November 7. Having agreed with Gorges to make the Piscataqua the divisional line between their portions of Laconia, Mason has a confirmation of his from the council. The latter, so arranged, lies between that river and the Merrimack. It receives the name of New Hampshire.

It appears from the deposition of Henry Jocelyn, before the commissioners sent over to New England by Charles II., in 1664, that he was requested to get an agreement between Cradock, as governor of the Massachusetts Company, and Mason, recorded in Boston, which was, that the latter would give up Mariana for what the former claimed by charter beyond the Merrimack River; but, hearing of Mason's death, he did not feel himself required to fulfil the commission. This, of course, left the subject open for the controversy which succeeded.

\* This and the preceding facts, under Plymouth, from January 13, 1630, though chronologically accurate, should have been located under Chapter VI.

## CHAPTER VI.

**MASSACHUSETTS.** Common stock. — Church of emigrants formed in London. — Court on board of the *Arbella*. — God's promise to his plantation. — Planter's plea. — Benediction. — Farewell to the church of England — Indian conspiracy. — Christian charity. — Arrival of Dorchester church. — Winthrop reaches Salem. — Communion. — Scarcity of food. — Wilson. — Philips. — Ministers cease to be members of government. — Ordination in England. — Church membership. — Son of Winthrop drowned. — Thanksgiving. — Salem ceases to be the seat of government. — Mortality. — Colonists. — Brownists. — Old planters. — Disadvantages of Charlestown. — Fast. — Watertown church. — Charlestown church. — Cotton. — Death of Higginson. — Emigrants return. — State of colonists. — Clerical support. — Ordination. — Deceased women. — Shawmut settled. — Gager. — Sentence of Morton. — Condition of becoming a settler. — Shawmut called Boston. — Affliction. — Death of Johnson. — Cotton's letter. — Baptism. — Communion. — Innovations in England. — Freemen. — Rossiter. — Deacon ordained. — Drinking healths. — Emigrants not allowed to settle here. — Secession from Charlestown church. — Mortality. — Morton sent to London. — Higginson's *New England Plantation* printed. — Scarcity of food. — Roger Williams arrives. — Ill reports. — Brownists. — Thanksgiving. — Men transported. — Motives of colonists. — Mrs. Skelton dies. — Cards and dice. — Wilson's voyage. — Ordination of Williams prevented. — Benefactions. — Gardiner apprehended. — Church membership essential to being freemen. — Oath of freemen. — Sentence of Ratcliffe. — Gorges' patent. — Husbandmen. — Church of Rome. — Banishment. — Eliot arrives. — Thanksgiving. — Elder Brown. **PLYMOUTH.** Roger Williams comes to Plymouth. — Gardiner, a Papist. **MAINE.** Grant to Plymouth. — Other grants. — Plough patent. — More grants. — Husbandmen. **NEW HAMPSHIRE.** Upper plantation. — Neal, governor of lower settlement. — Gibbon. — Gorges' patent. — Wiggin. **RHODE ISLAND.** Son of Canonicus visits Winthrop. **CONNECTICUT.** Indian sagamore invites Englishmen to occupy lands.

### MASSACHUSETTS.

1630, February 10. At a General Court of the company, in London, measures are taken to raise a common stock for public charges in Massachusetts, such as the maintenance of ministers, erection of meeting houses, and transportation of families unable to pay their passage. The subject of pecuniary loss at Salem, by the ejection of the Browns, comes up, and is left for adjustment to two of the assistants.

Near this time, as Roger Clap relates, a company of pious people assemble in the new hospital of Plymouth, in England, keep a day of fasting and prayer, and are formed into a Con-

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gregational church. In the forenoon, Mr. White, the indefatigable and efficient promoter of the colony, preaches. In the afternoon, John Warham, a noted divine of Exeter, and John Maverick, living forty miles from him, are chosen by the church for their clerical officers, and are ordained. The sanction of White's presence and coöperation on this occasion is a guaranty that his judgment was highly favorable to the qualifications of these two ministers for the work thus undertaken. Not permitted to have the free and full enjoyment of their Puritan principles at home, they resolve to seek such a privilege abroad. The persons so embodied under them are from the counties of Devon, Dorset, and Somerset. They thus associate, as Hildersham advised Higginson before he left England. They are the first emigrants to this country known to have prepared themselves, in this manner, with full ecclesiastical privileges prior to their embarkation. It is a judicious step, fitted to preserve union and accomplish their object of civil and religious liberty. Having thus hearkened to the voice of wisdom, they sail, on the 20th of March, from Plymouth, on board the *Mary and John*, Captain Squeb. They commit themselves to the gracious protection of the Being for whose cause they had endured trials, and were ready to suffer greater, in the course of obligation.

March 23. The last court of the company, except for trade, on the other side of the Atlantic, is held on board the ship *Arbella*. The records of such conventions are precious, as exhibiting one of the noblest foundations ever laid for a commonwealth. They bear no impress of speculation, which soiled the registers of the South Sea corporation. They show more attractive traits of humanity, higher aims of moral obligation, and a further reach into endless realities, than the commercial acts of the far-famed East India associations in Europe. They contain transactions which, however wearing, when first penned, the aspect of uncertainty attendant on every new enterprise, have given rise to results of momentous relation to the temporal and eternal interests of our race.

Among the productions occasioned by the wide-spread zeal for emigration from the mother country to our shores, is God's Promise to his Plantation. It came from the clear head and sanctified heart of John Cotton, preacher in Boston. It was composed in view of the fact that the largest fleet and greatest number of emigrants ever fitted out for New England were about to depart. He delivered it to Winthrop and others a short time before they embarked. He felt the subject, and thus more fully did it justice. Its application affords these extracts: "Have special care that you ever have the ordinances planted amongst you, or else never looke for security. Have a care to

be implanted into the ordinances, that the word may be ingrafted into you and you into it. Be not unmindfull of our Jerusalem at home. Goe forth with a publicke spirit, looking not on your owne things only, but also on the things of others. Looke well to the plants that spring from you, that is, to your children, that they doe not degenerate as the Israelites did. Offend not the poore natives, but as you partake in their land, so make them partakers of your precious faith. As you reape their temporalls, so feede them with your spirituals. Winne them to the love of Christ, for whom Christ died. Neglect not walls, and bulwarkes, and fortifications for your owne defense, but ever let the name of the Lord be your strong tower, and the word of his promise the rocke of your refuge." These are expressions of friendship which impart a grace to the powers of thought and speech. Addressed to minds absorbed with purposes which command the exercise of the best human affections and energies, they must have made an impression and produced an influence on every listener, not even now estranged from his experience beyond the grave.

Of a kindred spirit is the Planters' Plea. This is ascribed to the Rev. Mr. White, of Dorchester. He well knew the merits of the undertaking from its commencement. He needed that none should inform him of its history and claims. His preface says of the last emigrants, "if it may be believed that the gentlemen that are lately issued out from us, to lay the foundation of a colony in New England, have not beene thrust forward by unadvised precipitation, but led on by such probable grounds of reason and religion as might be likely to prevaile with men that desire to keepe a good conscience in all things." He observes, that "the propagating of religion in the West Indies" or America, affords "the strongest motives that can be proposed to draw on the hearts and affections of men for this purpose." After ingeniously giving reasons to substantiate such a proposition, he considers various objections, which he answers, to the apprehension of candor, in a satisfactory manner. Several of these objections follow: The aborigines are Ham's posterity, and, therefore, excluded by the curse of Noah from the benefits of grace, until the return of the Jews. The want of success in their conversion to Christianity. "This time is unfit in this troubled condition of the church. It were more convenient for men to keepe close together than to scatter abroad, that so they might be more able to resist the common enemy. This withdrawing of ourselves in time of so great hazard betrays weaknesse of heart, and proclaimes our despaire of the cause of religion, which the godly entertaine with sad hearts and Jesuites with smiling countenances."

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"Religion indeede and the colour thereof is the cloake of this work, but under it is secretly harboured faction and separation from the church. Men of ill-affected mindes, (they conceive,) unwilling to joyne any longer with our assemblies, meane to draw themselves apart, and to unite into a body of their owne, and to make that place a nursery of faction and rebellion." Having examined this, Mr. White looks at its successor of less severe suspicion. "If they doe not separate, yet they dislike our discipline and ceremonies, and so they will prove themselves semi-separatists at least; and that is their intention in removing from us, that they may free themselves from our government." His answer to this contains the ensuing passage: "I see not how we can expect from them a correspondence in all things to our state, civill or ecclesiasticall. Wants and necessities cannot but cause many changes. The churches in the apostles' and in the settled times of peace afterwards, were much different in many outward formes. In the maine of their carriage two things may moue them to vary much from us — respect to the heathen, before whom it concernes them to shew much pietie, sobrietie, and austeritie, and the consideration of their owne necessities will certainly enforce them to take away many things that we admit, and to introduce many things that wee reject, which, perhaps, will minister much matter of sport and scorne unto such as have relations of these things, and that represented unto them with such additions as fame usually weaves into all reports at the second and third hands." In applying his subject, he remarks, "Let men seriously weigh and consider with themselves, whether a worke of so great importance, so neerely concerning God's honour and the service of the church, calling upon men (as Lazarus upon Dives) for some of the wast of their superfluous expences, if they lend a deafe eare to the motion, will not assuredly plead strongly against them at the barre of Christ's judgment seat at the last day?"

Such extracts let us into the real views and feelings of many in England as to the colonists, and difficulties which they had to encounter while there, more than any other sources of information. They discover the Christian principle and the judicious manner with which the author of them espoused the cause of emigration to this country, and perseveringly sustained it in different places and on various occasions. Whenever we look back on the efforts of its friends to begin and continue it, admire their constancy under no common trials, and our hearts spontaneously proffer them the oblations of gratitude, we should give him a place among the most worthy.

April 7. An address from Winthrop and others,\* on board the *Arbella*, at Yarmouth, is made to their brethren in the church of England. The object of it was to request the prayers of such Christians for a divine blessing on the colony, and to remove suspicions from their minds, concerning the motives and purposes of the emigrants. It appears to have had in view the reports of Messrs. Brown and others, as though the design of the colonists was to counteract the civil and ecclesiastical authorities of England. Its language is, "Howsoever your charity may have met with some occasion of discouragement through the misreport of our intentions, or through the disaffection or indiscretion of some of us, or rather amongst us; for wee are not of those that dreame of perfection in this world; yet wee desire you would be pleased to take notice of the principals and body of our company, as those who esteeme it our honour to call the church of England, from whence we rise, our deare mother, and cannot part from our native cuntry, where she specially resideth, without much sadness of heart and many tears in our eyes." This is the expression of patriotic and Christian affection, which adorns character in any period, clime, and condition. Though the consequent, as well as previous action of its authors was made the target of strenuous conformists, no doubt it was a sincere oblation on the common altar of benevolence. The address appeals to the clergy: "It is an usual and laudable exercise of your charity to commend to the prayers of your congregations the necessities and straights of your private neighbors. Doe the like for a church springing out of your owne bowells." This was a proper request. Hard as it is for human selfishness to call down blessings on any body who break over its restrictions, the duty should be done against all the cabals of its resisting propensities. The communication engages that its signers will do for their brethren in England what they so ask for themselves, when, as their words are, "we shall be in our poor cottages in the wilderness, overshadowed with the spirit of supplication, through the manifold necessities and tribulations, which may not altogether unexpectedly, nor, we hope, unprofitably, befall us." These thoughts shadow forth the anticipation of exceeding hardships, and a noble purpose to meet them in the only way of duty, of peace and benefit to the soul, and of securing the elevated objects of the enterprise.

April and May. The colonists, here and elsewhere, are alarmed

\* Their names were Richard Saltonstall, Isaac Johnson, Thomas Dudley, William Coddington, Charles Fines, and George Phillips, with two et ceteras in the printed account, which are probably substitutes for more subscribers to the original address.

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by the report that most of the Indians, from Narraganset to the eastward, had laid a plan to destroy the English. John, the sagamore at Mystic, exposed their design. The first point of their intended attack was upon Plymouth. Governor Bradford despatched a boat to Salem for ammunition. The people of Charlestown built a fort to defend themselves. Their records say, in reference to the unfriendly natives of this quarter, "The people at Salem shooting off their great guns to clear them, the report so terrifies the Indians, that they disperse and run away. This plot obliges us to be in continual arms."

On his passage to Salem, Governor Winthrop employed his thoughts in penning an excellent treatise on Christian charity. His chief object, in so rational an employment, was to prepare himself and associates for the duties and trials of their pilgrimage. Having discussed the properties of so elevated a virtue, he applies it to the enterprise of the colonists. Relative to this undertaking, he considers the persons, work, end, and means. Of the first he remarks, "Wee are a company professing ourselves fellow-members of Christ, in which respect onely, though wee were absent from each other many miles, and had our employments as farre distant, yet wee ought to account ourselves knitt together by this bond of loue, and liue in the exercise of it, if wee would have comforte of our being in Christ." Of the second, "It is by a mutuall consent, through a speciall overvaluing \* Providence, and a more than ordinary approbation of the churches of Christ, to seeke out a place of cohabitation and consorteshipp, under a due form of government, both ciuill and ecclesiasticall. In such cases as this, the care of the publique must oversway all private respects, by which, not only conscience, but meare civill policy, dothe binde us. For it is a true rule, that particular estates cannot subsist in the ruin of the publique. Of the third, "The *end* is to improve our lives to doe more service to the Lord ; the comforte and encrease of the body of Christe, whereof we are members ; that ourselves and posterity may be the better preserued from the common corruptions of this evill world, to serve the Lord and worke out our salvation under the power and purity of his holy ordinances." Of the fourth, "They are twofold, a conformity with the worke and end wee aime at. These wee see are extraordinary ; therefore wee must not content ourselves with usuall ordinary meanes. Whatsoever wee did, or ought to have done, when wee liued in England, the same must we doe, and more allsoe, where wee goe. That which the most in their churches mainetaine as truthe

\* Probably *overruling* in the original.



in profession only, we must bring into familiar and constant practise." Noble sentiments ; strictly in accordance with the necessities, obligations, and interests of men ! When will the whole of our race imbibe their lofty spirit, and act more for heaven than earth ?

May 30. Warham and Maverick, with their congregation, are landed at Nantasket by Captain Squeb. They are disappointed that he brings them no farther. Had he been more accommodating, it would have afforded them satisfaction, and been no detriment to him. Clap, one of the passengers, observes, that "they came, by the good hand of the Lord, through the deeps comfortably, having preaching or expounding of the word of God every day for ten weeks together." Their vessel was indeed a floating Bethel. The next day, they send some of their number, in a boat, to Charlestown, that they may ascertain whether the company may be accommodated there.

June 1. Others of them go to explore the adjacent country for a location. The following day, they decide to settle at Matapan, afterwards Dorchester. They move thither by the Lord's day, which they hallow with praise to him for his protection, and other appropriate acts of worship. They spend the rest of the week in "setting up cottages, booths, and tents," to shelter their families. The next Sabbath they renew their vows of Christian fidelity by partaking of their sacrament. Thus prepared to enter on the full enjoyment of religious privileges, they commence an experiment of colonial life. The end of their purpose, while embracing subordinate concerns, calls into exercise their best affections and powers, and draws them to the security of their highest welfare.

12. After a long and perilous voyage, the *Arbella* heaves in sight of Salem, and anchors inside of Baker's Island. She is visited by Captain William Pierce, the *Palinurus* of our seas. He comes ashore and carries off Endicott, Skelton, and Levett, to take part in the mutual congratulations of the occasion. On their return, they are accompanied by Winthrop and others. He relates that they are cordially entertained, but go on board at night except several women. This is Saturday. It is probable that they decline to stay and unite in worship, next day, with our people, because Skelton supposes that he cannot conscientiously admit them to his communion,\* nor allow one of their children to be baptized. The reason for such scruple is, that they are not members of reformed churches, like those of Salem and Plymouth.

After the solemnities of the preceding Sabbath, the *Arbella*

\* For confirmation of this, we have extracts, under October 2, from Cotton's letter.

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is warped into the harbor. Most of the emigrants leave her under a parting salute of five cannon. Happy exchange of confined shipboard for the green earth and cordial welcome of countrymen. But there are dark shades in the scene. They find the colonists severely suffering from famine. Their arrival is hailed not only as the means of strengthening the weak, but also of relieving deep distress. They are thus met with another depressing specimen of the hardness to be endured for the sake of religious liberty. Among them are Rev. Messrs. John Wilson and George Phillips.

Wilson was son of Rev. William Wilson, D. D., and born at Windsor, England, 1588. He graduated at Christ's College, of Cambridge, 1605, and had his A. M. there, 1609. Here he obtained a fellowship, but lost it for non-conformity with the national church. After studying law three years, he relinquished its practice, and applied himself to theology. Such a change was allying himself to a cause against which the common opinion was prejudiced and the public vigilance directed. He officiated as chaplain in several families of rank. He settled at Sudbury, in Suffolk. As the hand of authority was hard on those of his dissenting views, and an opportunity offered to exchange the field of his ministerial labors, he consecrated himself to discharge the consequent duties.

Phillips was born in Raymond, of Norfolk county, England. He graduated, 1613, and took a second degree, 1617, in the University of Cambridge. Here he held a high stand for talents and attainments. Influenced by the motives of the gospel, he prepared to become its messenger. Averse to Episcopal ceremonies, he took part in the effort to rectify them. This brought him in conflict with national authority, and was an occasion of his emigration to a transatlantic wilderness.

Winthrop having reached the colony at the head of a new administration, it is noticeable that the three clergymen, two at Salem and one at Charlestown, ceased to be of the assistants, as they had been under Endicott. It is probable that such an alteration was chiefly through the report made by the Browns that Higginson and Skelton had preached and acted for a greater separation from the national church than the company at home could safely and openly sanction. It is also likely that these ministers heartily acquiesced in the change, lest the continuance of clerical members in the court should approach the semblance of the hierarchy in their native kingdom, of which they had little cause to think or speak approvingly.

June 28. With reference to Phillips, Fuller writes to Bradford, he "hath told me in private, that if they will have him stand minister by that calling which he received from the prel-

ates in England, he will leave them." Hubbard relates of the same clergyman, he "was at the first more acquainted with the way of church discipline since owned by Congregational churches ; but being then without any to stand by him, he met with much opposition from some of the magistrates, till Mr. Cotton came, who, by his preaching and practice, did mould all their church administrations into the same form which Mr. Phillips labored to have introduced into the churches before." This diversity of opinion as to ordination by bishops in the mother country becomes a topic of increasing attention and discussion.

The letter of Fuller proceeds in respect to Warcham. He "holds that the invisible [visible] church may consist of a mixt people, godly and openly ungodly, upon which point we had all our conference, to which, I trust, the Lord will give a blessing." Such a speculation, if allowing persons without evidence of piety to be members of the visible church, in full communion, shows that its advocate had not thrown off what the Plymouth and Salem churches considered as a dangerous error of Episcopacy. The letter continues, "Here is a gentleman, one Mr. Cottington, a Boston man, who told me that Mr. Cotton's charge at Hampton was that they should take advice of them at Plymouth, and should do nothing to offend them." It intimates that individuals endeavor to prejudice Winthrop against that settlement, but that both he and Endicott are its friends. It is well for the harmony of this plantation and Massachusetts, destined to exert a great and salutary influence, that leading men in the latter are disinclined to array themselves against the former, and disposed to calm the fomentations of bigoted zeal and promote the cause of humanity on a peaceful current.

July 2. While many of those lately arrived at Salem are busy in preparing to live amid new and impressive scenes, they receive a solemn monition of their mortality in the sudden death of a promising young man. This was a son of Winthrop, who came into port the day before, and is drowned while coming ashore to meet his affectionate parent. In a letter of this afflicted father, dated a fortnight after, to his wife, he says, "Yet for all these things (I praise my God) I am not discouraged ; nor do I see cause to repent or despair of those days here which will make amends for all."

8. In view of relief afforded by the last emigrants to their brethren in distress, and of the preservation experienced by the former on the ocean, a day of general thanksgiving is observed. Together they mingle their oblations of gratitude to Him who is able to make all their changes terminate in good.

In this month, as Salem is not preferred by the new govern-

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ment for the seat of legislation, Winthrop and many others have their goods reshipped and brought to Mishawum, afterwards Charlestown. About fifteen hundred of the last emigrants come with the governor. So large a portion of them are sick, they are unable to bring up their baggage and ordnance, though they intended to settle three miles farther up the river. The authorities occupy a house erected the year before by Mr. Graves. The rest "set up cottages, booths, and tents about the town hill." Here a large number are buried. Those sufficiently well attend on the preaching of Phillips and Wilson. Their place of worship is under a tree. "It was admirable to see with what Christian courage many carry it amidst their calamities."

The large accession of emigrants who came in the fleet with Winthrop are chiefly from London and the west of England. Many of them are persons of high respectability, property, talents, intelligence, and piety. They would have been a rich acquisition to any community, however improved and elevated. Perilous, indeed, must have been the situation of their country whose laws were so formed and administered as to compel such subjects to plant themselves in a foreign land. The most of them had been nurtured in the established church. While these sought to have her ceremonies and discipline simplified, and her doctrines properly interpreted, they had not forsaken her altars. The clerical portion of their number had received ordination from her bishops, officiated in her parishes, and would have rejoiced to continue their labors for her prosperity, had not the persecution of Laud forced them from her threshold. They were called Puritans in England because strenuous for purer modes and faith in the national church. The party who thus distinguished them incorrectly represented the inhabitants of Plymouth as Brownists, because they were followers of Robinson, who, on first going to Europe, renounced all communion with Episcopalians, but, as previously stated, became less rigid in this particular. While the people under Winthrop and Bradford are so viewed by their countrymen at home, those of Massachusetts, having had but little time and opportunity to test the exact alteration to be made, differ some from those of Plymouth, though both are in a way to harmonize.

Among the planters previously located at the Bay are William Blackstone and Samuel Maverick. They were probably of those who accompanied Robert Gorges to settle his patent. Blackstone graduated at Emanuel College, of Cambridge, 1617, and had his A. M. there, 1621. He was a church Puritan clergyman, but not a separatist. When he saw that the colonists

here forsook the national church, he declined to go thus far with them. On an occasion of conversing with such, he remarked, that he left England from his dislike to "the lords bishops," and he was indisposed to unite with them, because he did not approve of "the lords brethren." He resided on a point of Shawmut, afterwards Boston. Maverick dwelt on Noddle's Island, which he subsequently purchased of the company, through the General Court. Edward Johnson remarked of him, he was "of a very loving and courteous behavior, yet an enemy to the reformation in the land."

After the emigrants had been at Charlestown not many days, they begin to disperse. Among the reasons for this are sickness, lack of good water, and a report that the French mean to attack the seaboard plantations of the English.

July 25. Being at Salem, Isaac Johnson receives notice from the governor that, in view of the sickness and mortality among the inhabitants, the 30th will be kept as a season of fasting and prayer. The same communication proposes that, at the close of performances on this day, "such godly persons as know each other" covenant to walk in the ways of the Lord, "not intending rashly to proceed to the choice of officers, or admitting others to their society, but a few well known; promising after to receive in such by confession of faith as shall appear to be fitly qualified." It requires that the day be so observed in "three distinct places;" supposed to be Charlestown, Dorchester, and Salem. It also entreats the church of Plymouth to unite there in similar service "for the same ends."

30. The Magnalia informs us, that at this date the church of Pigsgusset, or Watertown, are organized "as their first work" on the premises. After having attended to the duties of the day, as just denoted, the members enter into covenant. There are forty brethren. They "renounce all idolatry and superstition, all humane traditions and inventions whatsoever in the worship of God," and agree to serve the Lord Jesus faithfully "in all matters concerning our reformation." Here they refer to the forms of the national church, which they had relinquished, and the course which they prefer and purpose to pursue. Of their number is Mr. Phillips, who came with them from Charlestown. As he had, since his arrival in the country, declared that he should not be set over any congregation, unless he disclaimed the validity of his Episcopal ordination at home, it is probable that such a service is performed for him on this condition. He being intelligently acquainted with ecclesiastical concerns, as Mather states, "their proceedings about the gathering and ordering of their church were methodical enough, though not made in all things a pattern for all the rest." Among them is

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the worthy Sir Richard Saltonstall. The author just quoted adds, "In after time, they that joined unto the church subscribed a form of the covenant somewhat altered, with a Confession of Faith annexed unto it."

As previously appointed, another church is formed at Charlestown, by Winthrop, Dudley, Johnson, and Wilson. Their covenant is short, comprehensive, and evangelical. A passage of it follows: "Desirous to unite into one congregation or church, under the Lord Jesus Christ, our head, in such sort as becometh all those whom he hath redeemed and sanctified to himself."

August 1. Increase Nowell and four others subscribe this sacred compact. Soon their number is increased to sixty-four males and half as many females. Thus avouching themselves to be on the Redeemer's side, is one essential compliance with their most reasonable pledge to help build up and spread abroad his kingdom in the new world.

2. Fuller, having been called from Plymouth to Charlestown to attend the diseased, writes home, "Bishop Laud is chancellor of Oxford. Five ministers are to appear before the high commissioners, amongst whom Mr. Cotton, of Boston, is one." The prominent and efficient action of this divine in favor of Puritan colonization could not allow him to expect less than accusation and arraignment.

6. Mr. Higginson, of the Salem church, dies with consumption, aged forty-three. Thus falls one of New England's choicest ministers, and of the reformation's ablest advocates. Winthrop writes to his wife, in reference to this and other deaths, "Thus the Lord is pleased still to humble us; yet he mixes so many mercies with his corrections, as we are persuaded he will not cast us off, but, in his due time, will do us good, according to the measure of our afflictions."

20. A vessel being despatched to Ireland for food, over a hundred of the late emigrants embark in her. Among them is Mr. Bright, who had preached to the people of Charlestown. Morton's Canaan implies that he thus departed because the authorities decline to approve his whole course. Of this and other immediate secessions, Dudley remarked, "whereby though our numbers were lessened, yet we accounted ourselves nothing weakened by their removal."

Captain Smith, referring to the condition of our colonists about this time, observes, "They have common prayer, as I understand, and diligent catechizing." With the feelings of a high churchman, and alluding to their affliction by scarcity of food and disease, he continues, "This small trial of their patience caused among them no small confusion, and put the gov-

error [Winthrop] and council to their utmost wits. Some could not endure the name of bishop ; others not the sight of a cross or surplice ; others by no means the Book of Common Prayer. This absolute crew, only of the elect, holding all but such as themselves reprobates and cast away, now make more haste to return to Babel, as they termed England, than to stay to enjoy the land they call Canaan. Those he found Brownists he let go for New Plymouth. Some two hundred of the rest he was content to return for England, whose clamours are as variable as their humours and auditors."

Such signs, however unpropitious for union and progress, are not to be wondered at, among the unmoulded and unconsolidated elements of a mixed mass, recently emerged from oppression, and not yet learned the wise method of enjoying their new-born liberty. When a multitude break away from what they deem hard restraints, there are always some, who would have a freedom without salutary control, and are constantly restive under any subjection essential to the existence and well being of the commonwealth. Even the history of modern emigration, with all the light of latter ages, is no stranger to excesses of this kind.

The author just quoted, with all his strength of mind, knowledge, and experience, evidently allowed himself to adopt the general phraseology of conformists as to dissenters, which was more of prejudice than candor, of reproach than truth. His twofold manner of mentioning "common prayer" implies that, at least, some of the ministers in the colony read prayers in public worship. But, however he may have been so informed, there appears to have been no real evidence of its being then practised.

August 23. At a Court of Assistants, who feel that pure religion is the main stay of their commonwealth, the subject of clerical support is presented. They provide for Phillips and Wilson. Each of these is to have a house erected. Their salaries follow ; the former is assigned three hogsheads of meal, and one of malt, four bushels of Indian corn, and one of oat-meal, a half hundred of salt fish, twenty pounds for apparel and other provisions, or forty pounds in money. The latter is to have twenty pounds a year till his wife comes over. The inhabitants of the places who attend on their preaching, are afterwards taxed by the government for such appropriations. In this assessment Dorchester and Salem are exempted, because they pay their own ministers. All who do so for the cause of God are repaid a thousand fold in the temporal and spiritual benefits which flow from such action.

27. The Charlestown church keep a fast for the choice of their officers. Wilson is elected teacher, Nowell ruling elder,

William Gager and William Aspinwall deacons. With reference to this occasion, Winthrop thus expresses himself: "We used imposition of hands, but with this protestation by all, that it was only a sign of election and confirmation, not of any intent that Mr. Wilson should renounce his ministry he received in England." The position here taken is opposite to that of the Watertown church. It accords with the address of the governor and others, before they left their native land.

As expressive of his views in reference to such an ecclesiastical transaction, we have his words on a subsequent occasion: "When we first set up reformation in our church way, did not this expose us to as greate an hazard as we could run, both from abroad and at home? Did not our friends in England, many of them, forewarne us of it ere we came away? Did not others send letters after us, to deterre us from it? Did not some among ourselves (and those no meane ones) inculcate our inevitable dangers at home, from no small company left out of church fellowship, and civill offices and freedome?" The difficulties and perils encountered by those who settled this land for the boon of worship, as they desired, can be little realized by their descendants. The call of obligation, stronger than all temporal incentives to action, girded them with power to meet the exigencies of the crisis, and commit their cause to the support of Omnipotence.

August 30. Among the women who came with their husbands on the mission of planting the gospel in these lands, but who, about this time, had fallen in so commendable a cause, before the power of the pestilence, are Mrs. Pynchon, Mrs. Coddington, Mrs. Alcock, Mrs. Phillips, and Lady Arbella. The two last expired at Salem, and their remains were deposited, near together, in Potter's Field. Relinquishing the endearments of native home, and becoming associates in peril, toil, trial, and death, they all counted not their lives dear to themselves, so that they might win Christ. Like their sisters, whose exemplary constancy led them to sympathize with his sufferings on the cross, and to watch his body in the sepulchre, they share in his everlasting remembrance. The eye which looks only on time rebukes their choice as folly. But the eye which dutifully peers into eternity, scrutinizes the nature, wants, and obligations of the soul, the principles and the awards of the divine administration, regards it as a conclusion of the soundest judgment.

As an event to be followed with strong influences and great effects, part of the people of Charlestown, this month, take up their abode at Shawmut, under the direction of Johnson. A principal cause of such removal is to obtain better water, and a



healthier location. The people of both places still sit under the ministration of Wilson.

September 1. Mr. Gager dies of a fever. Dudley remarks of him, "a right godly man and skilful chirurgeon."

7. Concluding that the policy and conduct of Thomas Morton, at Mount Wollaston, call for immediate investigation, the Court of Assistants arraign and pass sentence against him. This orders, that he be set in the bilboes and sent prisoner to England in the ship Gift, have his goods seized to meet charges of his transportation, pay his debts, and satisfy some of the natives for a canoe, which he took from them, and that his house be burned up in their sight "for the many wrongs he has done them." The subject of such a decision represents its chief cause to be his adherence to the national church. Still there can be little question but that the government really believed his example was injurious to the best interests of the colony, and that duty demanded them to deal with him as they did.

To prevent the intrusion of such as they consider him to be, they enact that no person shall settle within their jurisdiction without leave from the whole or major part of their body. This implies that they feel themselves as having a right to exclude any troublers of their peace, either in civil or ecclesiastical concerns. They apply such a rule to some who had planted at Agawam, and command them to leave the place. How they further exercised it, we shall have occasion to notice. They were honestly assured, that having purchased an abode in this wilderness for the express purpose of enjoying their opinions unmolested by opposers, they ought not to be prevented from ejecting those whose conduct counteracted such a design. They looked on prevention of this kind as unreasonable as any man would on his being hindered from closing his door against uninvited and dangerous visitors. As well known, the question whether they were correct in so doing has been long agitated.

Under the date of the same session, Trimountain, or Shawmut, is changed to Boston, then equivalent to incorporation. The reason assigned for adopting this name was out of high estimation for the virtues of Cotton, who lived in Boston, England. Its inhabitants are chiefly from Charlestown. Their tax on the 28th is greater than that of the latter town.

9. In a letter to his wife, Winthrop says, "We see much mortality, sickness, and trouble. I hope that our days of affliction will soon have an end. I do not repent my coming. The Lord is all-sufficient, blessed be his holy name. If he please, he can still uphold us in this estate; but if he shall see good to make us partakers with others in more affliction, his will be done." This is Christian philosophy, tried in the

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furnace of affliction, and found meet to be cherished as a treasure of the heart, and trusted as an unfailing consolation to the soul, in every extremity.

30. Johnson, having survived his beloved companion, Lady Arbella, about one month, closes his earthly career. Winthrop, who knew him well, feelingly remarks, "He was a holy man, and wise, and died in sweet peace, leaving some part of his substance to the colony." This is a more precious eulogy than has ever been truthfully pronounced over the mightiest of our race, whose only aim was earthly glory.

October 2. A letter of this date from John Cotton is addressed to Skelton. The occasion of it is stated under 12th of June. The writer expresses himself in the subsequent terms : It hath "not a little troubled me, that you should deny the Lord's supper to such godly and faithful servants of Christ as Mr. Governor, Mr. Johnson, Mr. Dudley, and Mr. Coddington, whereof the three latter were known unto you to be men of an upright heart and unblameable life, and the first might have been evidenced unto you to be no less by their approved testimony. My grief increased upon me when I heard you denied baptism unto Mr. Coddington's child, and that upon a reason worse than the fact. And that which added wonder to my grief was, that I heard you admitted one of Mr. Lathrop's congregation not only to the Lord's supper, but his child to baptism, upon sight of his testimony from his church, whereas Mr. Coddington, bringing the same from the chief of our congregation, was not accepted. Two things I conceive herein to be erroneous ; first, that you think no man may be admitted to the sacrament, though a member of the catholic church, unless he be a member of some particular reformed church ; secondly, that none of the congregations in England are particular reformed churches but Mr. Lathrop's and such as his." His epistle proceeds : "You went hence of another judgment, and I am afraid your change hath sprung from new Plymouth men, whom I esteem as godly and loving Christians ; yet their grounds, which they have received for this tenent from Mr. Robinson, do not justify me, tho the man I reverence as godly and learned." Cotton further remarks, these grounds of Robinson for "distinguishing all our congregations are three. First, he saith we want the matter of a visible church, which are saints by calling. His second ground is taken from our want of the essential form of a church, which (as he conceiveth) is a right constitution by mutual covenant between pastor and people to yield professed subjection to the gospel of Christ. His third ground is taken from the state of our church government, which he reporteth to put a heavy burden upon God's people." These positions, as applied to the

Episcopal church, are controverted by Cotton, who urges that though she has faults, yet her pious members should be freely admitted to commune with the New England churches. He observes to Skelton, "Till Christ give us a bill of divorcement, do not you divorce yourselves from us."

The author of so interesting a communication, when delivering a sermon at Salem, 1636, confessed that he had retracted the opinions thus given. He also informed his hearers, that Skelton sent him "a large and loving letter" in answer to his objections.

As having an immediate bearing on emigration hither, we quote the relation of Neal: "To make the distance between the church and the Puritans yet wider, and the terms of conformity more difficult, Bishop Laud introduced sundry pompous innovations in imitation of Popery, that had no foundation in the laws of the realm or the canons of the church. These were enforced both upon the clergy and laity, and all the terrors of the High Commission, to the ruin of many families and the raising of very great disturbance in all parts of the kingdom." Referring to so deplorable a state of things, Messrs. Allin and Shepard subsequently hold the following language: "Was it not a time when human worship and invention were grown to such intolerable height, that the conscience of God's saints and servants, enlightened in the truth, could no longer bear them? Was not the power of the tyrannical prelates so great, that, like a strong current, it carried all down stream before it, whatever was from the law or otherwise set in their way? Where was the people found who would cleave to their godly ministers in their sufferings? Many then thought, it is an evil time, the prudent shall hold their peace; and might we not say, This is not our resting-place? It is true we might have suffered if we had sought it; we might easily have found the way to have filled the prisons, and some had their share therein. But whether we were called thereunto, when a wide door was set open of liberty otherwise, and our witness to the truth (thro the malignant policy of those times) could not be open before the world, but rather smothered up in close prisons, or some such wayes, together with ourselves, we leave to be considered. We cannot see but the rule of Christ to his apostles and saints, and the practice of God's saints in all ages, may allow us the liberty as well as others to fly into the wilderness from the face of the dragon. When we look back and consider what a strong poise of spirit the Lord hath laid upon many of our hearts, we cannot but wonder at ourselves, that so many, and some so weak and tender, with such cheerfulness and constant resolutions against the persuasions of friends, discouragements from the ill

report of this country, the straits, wants, and tryals of God's people in it, etc., yet should leave our accommodations and comforts; should forsake our dearest relations, parents, brothers, sisters, Christian friends, and acquaintances; overlook all the dangers and difficulties of the vast seas, the thought whereof was a terror to many; and all this to go to a wilderness, where we could forecast nothing but care and temptation, onely in hope of enjoying Christ in his ordinances, in the fellowship of his people." Here is an original scene described, not fancifully, but to the very life. It portrays how dearly our fathers purchased the heritage of their posterity. It suggests that care should be used to repair the bequest in its waste places, and keep in order its unsubverted premises.

October 19. Among the candidates for being made freemen, or constitutional members of the Massachusetts Company, presented at a General Court of the Assistants, are the several clergymen of the colony.

23. Edward Rossiter, a member of the government, dies. Dudley remarks of him, "A godly man and of a good estate."

25. William Colbron, elected deacon of Charlestown church a week before, is "invested by imposition of hands of the minister and elder."

The governor, believing, from what he had seen of the custom of drinking healths in England, that it was contrary to religious obligation, "restrained it at his own table, and wished others to do the like, so as it grew by, little and little, to disuse."

November 11. As an enforcement of their regulation, the authorities decline to allow two passengers, who came to Plymouth in the Handmaid, a settlement in their jurisdiction, because they lack sufficient testimonials of character.

Most of the principal church members of Charlestown join their brethren of Boston \* about this time, which occasions the remainder to attend worship at the latter place. Thus the location recently strewed with the bones of fallen aborigines who perished in the plague, but destined to be the metropolis of New England, is occupied by strong and cultivated minds, benevolent and sanctified hearts, whose great aim and effort are to continue and spread the Puritan religion. To this chief of all objects which should command the generous sacrifices of human intellect, science, possessions, and exertions, they hold trade, commerce, and every other branch of social industry as comparatively subordinate. True, the verdict of the world, as it is, pronounces not in favor of their judgment; but God, and heaven, and his revealed word approve it well.

\* The first record of baptisms in Boston is 23d of October.

Adverting to the ravages which disease had made among the settlers, Dudley gives the succeeding relation: "Of the people who came over with vs, from the time of their setting saile from England, in Aprill, 1630, vntill December followinge, there dyed by estimacon about two hundred at the least. Soe lowe hath the Lord brought vs! Well, yet they who survived were not discouraged, but bearing God's corrections with humilitie, and trusting in his mercies, and considering how after a greates ebb, hee had raised vpp our neighbors at Plymouth." Great indeed was the proportion of the emigrants, who, in so brief a space, paid the debt of nature. Such a diminution would have prompted the survivors to flee, as from a destroying angel, had they not dutifully eyed the dispensations of Providence, and been actuated, sustained, and strengthened by the faith which they came to profess and practise freely, at any cost of peril and suffering.

The same author informs us, that Thomas Morton, according to his sentence, is embarked on board of the ship *Handmaid* for London, "who had lived here diverse years, and had beene an attorney in the west countryes while he lived in England." Winthrop relates that this person is so dealt with "upon the lord chief justice's warrant." The prisoner affirms that our authorities send letters of credence by the captain of the vessel to their "sect," "since which time mine host has not troubled the brethren, but onely at the counseil table," where his case is under consideration.

This year, a third edition of the *New England Plantation*, by Mr. Higginson, is printed in London. The preface, by Michael Sparke, says, "And for thy part, if thou meanest to be no planter nor venturer, doe but lend thy good prayers for the furtherance" of the colony.

1631, January. With regard to the privations of the planters we have the words of Johnson: "In the absence of bread, they feasted themselves with fish. The women, once a day, as the tide gave way, resorted to the mussells and clam bankes, where they daily gathered their families' food with much heavenly discourse of the provision Christ had formerly made for many thousands of his followers in the wilderness." In the view of irreligion, this may be cant; but to the perception of piety which correctly understands the principles of divine economy in application to the nature and necessities of our race, it fully harmonizes with the dictates of heavenly wisdom.

February 5. As one who is to act a prominent part in the historical drama of New England, Roger Williams arrives from Bristol, in the *Lion*, at Nantasket, with others, being about twenty passengers. He was son of William Williams, of Con-

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wyl Cayo, in South Wales. He was born 1606, and entered Oxford University April 30, 1624, under the patronage of Mr. Edward Coke. He is represented as having studied law with this eminent jurist. He preferred the dispensations of the gospel, and officiated as a clergyman of the national church. Dissatisfied with the forms of his ministry, he united with the Puritans. To escape the sufferings consequent on such a change, he sought a retreat upon our shores. He was accompanied by a worthy wife, Mary, who was yet to know, from experience, the meaning of trials.

By this vessel, the subsequent news is brought, as related by Dudley to the Countess of Lincoln: "To increase the heape of our sorrows, wee received advertisement, that they who went discontentedly from vs the last year have raised many false reports against vs, affirminge vs to be *Brownists* in religion, and ill affected to our state at home, and that theis vile reports haue wonne credit with some who formerly wished vs well. But wee doe desire that our godly friends to whome wee haue been known, will not easily believe that wee are not soe soon turned from the profession wee soe long made in our natiue country. And for our further clearing, I truely affirm that I know noe one person who came over with vs the last yeare to bee altered in judgment and affection eyther in ecclesiasticall or civill respects since our cominge hither; but wee doe continue to pray dayly for our sovereigne lord, the kinge, the queene, the prince, the royal blood, the counsaile, and whole state, as duty bindes vs to doe." This passage refers particularly to those who came over in 1630. As a body they did not renounce communion with Episcopalians, nor disavow the validity of their ministers' ordination by bishops. It is likely that the private communication which Phillips made to Fuller, that he would take charge of no parish here if they insisted on such ordination as correct, had not come to the ears of Dudley; wherefore the latter might truly speak as he did, according to his knowledge. But the Salem church, as well as that of Plymouth, who came previously, while they would not go the whole length of the Brownists in forbidding those of their name to join with members of the national church in any act of worship, did decline to have the latter participate with them in the Lord's supper. The resemblance of our churches, though not all exactly alike, at this juncture, to the Brownists in modes of worship and government, might easily induce persons who had come to abide here, but were disappointed and returned, to assert that there was no essential difference between the former and the latter. Still the colonists considered that there were other points in which they differed so much from the Brownists, that it was injustice to con-

found both as the same. They were very sensitive when they were so associated, because the course of Brown had rendered the name of his followers very odious among the conformists. The charge propagated at home, that the colonists had become disaffected with the state, must have arisen from their avowal of dislike to its acts, so far as they oppressed the Puritans. While they who made it regarded this as enough to justify them, they against whom it was made complained that it not only implied the fact of their dissent from some national orders, but also that they were at heart opposed to the whole royal authority.

February 22. Public thanksgiving for the arrival of provisions, on the 5th, in the Lion. The supplies so brought were obtained at high rates. They came at an acceptable time, when famine threatened desolation. On the day after their coming, a fast was to have been observed; but this was omitted, and thanksgiving ordered at the former date. When affliction presses heavily upon them, men feel their insufficiency, unaided by the power of their Maker, and then, if ever, are disposed to humble themselves under his discipline, and be grateful to him for his mercies.

March 1. Believing that the subsequent individuals are injurious members of the commonwealth, the court order them to take passage for England: Mr. Aleworth, Mr. Weaver, Mr. Plastow, Mr. Shuter, Cobbet, Wormwood, Sir Chr. Gardiner, and Mr. Wright. The two last are to be transported as prisoners. Wright was accused of escaping from London as a counterfeiter of the royal coin. Bradford informs us that Gardiner had been knighted at Jerusalem, came over last year, offered himself as a candidate to several of our churches, but was suspected of immorality. The knight was also thought to be a Roman Catholic, and a spy upon the colonists. Morton's Canaan mentions him as a "judicious gentleman, and a traveler by sea and land."

12. Alluding to the motives which should actuate emigrants hither, Dudley observes, "If any godly man, out of religious ends, will come over to help vs in the good work we are about, I think they cannot dispose of themselves nor of their estates more to God's glory and the furtherance of their owne reckoning."

15. The wife of Skelton dies at Salem. "She was a godly and an helpfull woman, and indeed the maine pillar of her family, hauing left behind her an husband and four children, weak and helpeless, who canne scarce tell how to liue without her. She liued desired and dyed lamented, and well deserues to bee honourably remembered."

22. The court order all who have cards and dice in their houses to destroy them before their next session.

March 30. Being about to embark for England to bring over his wife and family, Wilson bids farewell to his congregation. He meets them at the governor's, prays and exhorts them to exercise Christian affection. He advises them to hear prophecy or preaching from Winthrop, Dudley, and Nowell. The first of these three commends their minister and the rest to God in prayer; and after this they accompany him to a boat for Charlestown, on his way, by land, for Salem, where the vessel lay.\* To this account of Winthrop, an addition is made from Dudley: "There are ready to go abroad, Sir Richard Saltonstall, Mr. Sharpe, Mr. Coddington, and many others, the most whereof purpose to returne to vs again, if God will. In the meantime, wee are left a people poor and contemptible, yet such as trust in God, and contented with our condition, being well assured that he will not faile vs nor forsake vs." Discouraging must have been such a separation to those who remained. It was like severing a right hand. Still, placed on the controlling arm of Providence, it was there left for wise use, with sad but dutiful resignation.

April 12. As Roger Williams had been invited to settle with Skelton at Salem, the Court of Assistants address Endicott on the subject: "That whereas Mr. Williams had refused to join with the congregation of Boston, because they would not make a publick declaration of their repentance for having communion with the churches of England while they lived there; and besides had declared his opinion that the magistrate might not punish the breach of the Sabbath, nor any other offence, as it was a breach of the first table; therefore they marveled they would choose him without advising with the council, and withal desiring him, that they would forbear to proceed till they had conferred about it." Here we have an indication that the Salem church, by calling Williams, coincided with his opinions, just specified, and thus differed from the church in Boston. It shows that the difference as to greater secession of the former of these two churches than that of the latter from the national church, as previously manifested, is still continued.

The colonial government consider themselves as justified in requiring to be consulted in a matter which they deem of the highest importance, because they were appointed by the company, who include all approved inhabitants of the soil, for such a purpose. Their jurisdiction was necessarily much more particular and extensive than that of our modern General Courts. The communication suspends the ordination of Williams. He soon departs for Plymouth, whose authorities harmonize with his opinions, to labor in connection with Mr. Smith.

\* Commanded by William Pierce, she sails 1st of April.



In reference to benefactions sent from England by friends of the colonists, Endicott writes to Winthrop, "Mr. Skelton, myselfe, and the rest of the congregation desire to be thankful to God and yourselfe for your benevolence to Mr. Haughton's child. I think Mr. Skelton hath written to you, whome he thinks stand most in neede of contribution of such provisions as you shall be pleased to give amongst us of that which was sent over." Such exhibitions of charity from brethren in the fatherland is a pledge of their true fellowship, and strengthens the hope of the struggling emigrants.

May 4. Gardiner, having escaped from messengers sent to arrest him, on charge of bigamy in England, and been taken by Indians at Namasket, is sent with his note book, showing him to be a Roman Catholic, by Bradford to Winthrop. The next day, the last, in reply to the former governor, says, "The good Lord our God, who hath always ordered things for the good of his poor churches, direct us in this aright, and dispose it to a good issue."

18. An order is passed by the General Court, that, "to the end the body of the commons may be preserved of honest and good men, no man shall be admitted to the freedom of this body politick but such as are members of some of the churches within the limits of the same." This is one of the most memorable acts of our colonial legislation, in its purpose to continue a religious commonwealth, its effects on the population, its opposition from opposers and defence by advocates, and its final subversion. However combated formerly and reproached latterly for this law, the company had a right to choose such persons for associates as they thought most fitted to secure the great end of their emigration, even the promotion of Christianity, and thus to advance the best welfare of the country. They were assured that, with their principles, purposes, and circumstances, they could adopt no better measure to prevent being speedily overwhelmed by the very evils which they had done and suffered much to escape. They stood on ground equally justifiable, to say the least, with that on which the promoters of our civil independence stood when they proclaimed, that all not for them were against them and must depart. Great emergencies require uncommon remedies.

Among those who take the oath of freemen are Maverick and Wareham, Phillips, Blackstone, and Skelton. In assuming this obligation, they engage to obey the rulers, and discover all conspiracies, which they may know as formed against them.

June 14. "It is ordered, that Philip Ratcliffe shalbe whipped, haue his eares cutt off, fyned forty pounds, and banished out of y<sup>e</sup> lymittes of this jurisdiction for vttering mallicious and scanda-

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lous speeches against the government and the church of Salem, etc." The person so sentenced was in the employment of Matthew Cradock, and, apparently, at a fishing establishment at Marble Harbor. The Canaan of Morton states that he was also condemned to have his tongue bored, his nose slit, and his face branded, but that by the appeal of Gardiner to Winthrop, such punishments were omitted. These primitive items are not contained in the original record of his sentence. This, as executed on Ratcliffe, becomes the source of much recrimination, before the royal council, against our authorities. However severely condemned by many in England, yet it was not so great punishment as was inflicted, the next year, in London, on William Prynne, barrister at law, for writing against stage plays and masquerades.

June 25. Letters to Gardiner and Morton, the former retained in duress and the latter sent home, discover that the author of them is Ferdinando Gorges, and that he still claims the patent granted to his son within the Massachusetts jurisdiction. Such correspondence is calculated to increase the trials as well as the vigilance of our fathers, lest their spiritual privileges should be diminished by the intrusion of Episcopal influences.

July 6. The company of husbandmen arrive from Maine, under which a further account is given.

21. A visit is made to Watertown by Winthrop, Dudley, and Nowell. Their object, as the first of these persons describes it, is to confer with Phillips, and Richard Brown, his ruling elder, about an opinion which the two latter had advanced. This is, that the churches of Rome are true churches. The question on such a point is debated in presence of many from the congregations of the two parties. After discussion, a vote is taken expressive of judgment as to the position considered. The result is, that all but three signify that they hold it to be an error. While Winthrop mentions Phillips as connected with his elder, in maintaining the speculation mentioned, Hubbard represents that it was only the latter individual who took such ground. The result shows that even if Phillips coincided some with Brown, it was not strongly. A conclusion of this sort is favored by the dislike expressed by the first of these persons against Episcopal ordination. It is somewhat remarkable, that Brown, who had been a decided separatist in England, should have maintained such a tenet, which was a favorite notion of high churchmen, and was among the charges against Laud on his trial. True, he was sustained by the fact that "the reformed churches did not use to rebaptize those that renounce the religion of Rome and embrace that of the reformation." It is not unlikely that the preceding investigation was made; in part, from

the report that Gardiner, a talented and scientific man, was a secret agent of the pope, and if so, in his previous intercourse with the inhabitants, may have made some impression on the mind of the ruling elder. The fact that there was occasion for such a conference must have rendered the leaders of the colony, in their weak and unsettled condition, very anxious lest a division of the kind among themselves would throw them still further backward from the attainment of their supreme object.

September 6. Henry Lyn, of Boston, who had been previously punished, is sentenced to be whipped and banished "for writing falsely into England against the execution of justice" and "orders of the churches." The latter part of his sentence seems to have been remitted.

November 2. John Eliot arrives at Nantasket. He was born of pious parents, at Nazeing, Essex, England. He took his A. B. at Jesus College, Cambridge, 1622. He was a teacher of youth, and Professor Leusden, of Utrecht, says he was a minister at Ripen, (Ripon.) His heart being with the preachers of this colony, he came to take his portion with them. He left his intended wife to follow him the next year. He immediately unites with the Boston church, and preaches for them. Among the passengers who come with him are the excellent wife of Winthrop and other members of the latter's family. The day after, she is welcomed to the town with public demonstrations of joy.

11. A day of thanksgiving is kept at Boston. No doubt one important reason for this occasion is the recent arrival of estimable settlers.

23. The Court of Assistants write to the Watertown church, and inquire whether they should not displace Elder Brown for his opinions, and particularly as to that about the Romish church. They also designate the manner in which he adheres to these opinions. The reply of the pastor is, that if the charges against the elder can be substantiated, the church will proceed with him as the truth requires.

December 8. This body, being divided on the subject so brought before them, and having called on the governor for advice, he visits them with Dudley and Nowell, and proposes to them one of three methods, in which he and his associates will consider the case. First, they will do it as magistrates, their assistance being desired; second, as members of an adjacent church; or third, on the merits of the letter which the court received, and with which they were not satisfied. Mr. Phillips prefers the second. Then the Boston delegates hear the parties. After attending to the counter arguments, they prevail on the members to become reconciled, and to designate a fast day for

the renewal of their covenant. At the close of this meeting, so trying to the leaders of the colony, Phillips prays, and the assembly disperse.

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## PLYMOUTH.

1631. Not permitted to become teacher of Salem church by the court, because they could not approve of some sentiments which he had uttered, Roger Williams comes to Plymouth, where he finds less opposition to his belief.

May 5. Winthrop writes to Bradford, certifying that Sir Christopher Gardiner, taken in Plymouth jurisdiction, had been brought safely to Boston. The latter governor stated that a note book of the prisoner, slipped from his pocket, was found, and showed when "he was reconciled to the pope and church of Rome, and in what university he took his scapula, and such and such degrees."

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## MAINE.

1630, January 13. The grant to Plymouth is confirmed and increased, with full exercise of government on the premises. Thus a large extent of soil is brought under the control of non-conformists.

February 12. Two tracts, each four miles on the shore and eight on each side of Swanekadock or Saco River, are conveyed, one to Richard Vines and John Oldham, the other to Thomas Lewis and John Bonython. The consideration, as to Oldham having been in the country six years, is, that he had, at his own charge, transported and settled emigrants in New England, and "hath, for the effecting of that so good a work, undergone great labour and danger." He and his partner agree to be at the cost of having fifty colonists brought over within seven years as inhabitants of the soil. With regard to Lewis and his fellow-proprietor, the patent says, they "do wholly intend, by God's assistance, to plant there for the good of his majesty's realms, and for the propagation of the Christian religion amongst these infidels."

A patent is sold to John Dye and other gentlemen of London. It secures to them forty miles square, named Lygonia, from Cape Porpoise to Casco, though the limits described subsequently show a less area. It not only conveys to them a right

to the soil, but also a legislative jurisdiction. The land so relinquished is intended particularly for agriculture, as well as for fishery and trade. The proprietors send over Bryan Brinkes and others to be its occupants. These come in a vessel called the Plough, as significant of their principal employment. They locate themselves on the south side of the Kennebec, in Casco Bay. They are called "The Husbandmen." Had we the record of their transactions, there is little doubt but that it would give us interesting descriptions of what they did to provide for their temporal and spiritual regulation. But such materials of information have irrecoverably passed away with regard to many settlements on our shores, begun in hope, but soon terminated in despair.

March 13. Another tract,\* between the Penobscot and Muscongus, from the seaboard ten leagues into the country, is conveyed to John Beauchamp, of London, and Thomas Leverett, of Boston, England. The patentees immediately despatch a company to improve the premises. These erect a truck house on the eastern bank of St. George's River, five miles below the head of tide water. Such a propriety was afterwards noted as "the Waldo patent."

According to Edward Godfrey's statement, he commences a settlement, this year, at Agamenticus. From this it seems that the previous occupation of that place had been relinquished.

1631, July 6. The settlers, known as the Husbandmen, having given up hope of success in their enterprise, and embarked on board of their vessel, called the Plough, arrive at Nantasket. One cause which probably induced them to relinquish their plantation was fear of invasion by the French, who claimed and threatened to take their soil, as well as that of other English colonies. They steer for Watertown, and get aground twice on their course. Thus it appears that they intended to sit under the ministration of Mr. Phillips. The record of Winthrop says, "Most of them proved Familists, and vanished away." Our court orders, the subsequent June 5, "that the goods of the company of Husbandmen shall be inventoried by the beadle," and preserved for their use and benefit.

Thomas Commock, nephew to the Earl of Warwick, has a grant † between Spurwink and Black Point Rivers.

A patent is assigned, December 1, to Robert Trelawney and Moses Goodyear, of Plymouth, England. It extends from the

\* A mistake occurred in Collections of the American Statistical Association, p. 61, by having this grant in 1631. It is probable that Commock's grant, on the same page, was in this year.

† Sullivan makes it five thousand acres, and Folsom, fifteen hundred. The latter mentions it in 1631, and Williamson under 1629.

1631.]

mouth of Spurwink River, fifteen miles inland, thence eastwardly to Presumpscot River, and thus down to the sea. The next year, John Winter and others inhabit Richmond Island. He, as governor, employs a large number of hands in the fishery.

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## NEW HAMPSHIRE.

1630, March 12. The adventurers of the West Country in England, who own the upper plantation at Northam, have their patent confirmed by the council. The document for this represents, that Edward Hilton and associates, at their own cost, had transported settlers, built houses, and planted corn on the premises.

This summer, Walter Neal arrives as governor at Piscataqua, or the lower settlement of New Hampshire. His commission is from Sir Ferdinando Gorges, John Mason, and others. Being so empowered, indicates his preference for the established church.

August 14. One of the proprietors in London addresses Ambrose Gibbon, their factor here, and says, "Now we begin to take hearte agayne."

1631, June. Neal, having received a packet of letters from Gorges, directed to Gardiner and Morton, forwards them to Winthrop. They develop a plan for recovering the patent of the writer's son Robert.

October. Thomas Wiggin, as governor of the upper plantation, writes to the chief magistrate of Massachusetts, concerning the murder of Walter Bagnall and another, by an Indian sagamore, at Richmond Island. Though the agent of strong opposers to Congregationalism, he had the charity to live in peace with its advocates.

November 3. The London proprietors of Neal's jurisdiction have it confirmed to them by the council. The conveyance speaks of buildings and salt works there.

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## RHODE ISLAND.

1631, July. We are informed by Winthrop, that he receives a visit from the son of Canonicus, accompanied with John Sagamore. After they had dined, the visitant presents his host with a skin, and the latter returns "a fair pewter pot, which he took very thankfully, and staid all night." Though this may have

been a call of policy on the part of the sachem's son, to gain influence for keeping Massasoit, the friend of Plymouth, in some check, yet, as we have cause to believe, the governor was glad of it, as a means of extending a Christian influence over the prejudiced minds of the Narragansetts.

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## CONNECTICUT.

1631, April 4. An opportunity is offered by Wahginnacut, sagamore on Connecticut River, to the Massachusetts Company, through Winthrop, who gives the account, for extending settlements there. The chief is accompanied by Jack Straw, who had been a servant to Sir Walter Raleigh, in England, and others. He also presents a letter of introduction from Endicott. Though his encouragements are large, and he lays claim to the soil, and thus a means of advancing the cause of religion is afforded, Winthrop is well aware that such territory was also granted by the council of New England, and, as it appears, to the Earl of Warwick. Besides, he knew that in his own jurisdiction there was yet room and to spare for the immigrants who may come under the critical and uncertain circumstances which existed. Of course, he declined the invitation, as inexpedient, with kind hospitality to his visitors.

## CHAPTER VII.

**MASSACHUSETTS.** Taxation denied. — Explosion. — Appeal. — Gold coin. — Wilson donation. — Reformation. — Ministers arrive. — Lynn church. — Questions for advice. — Land granted. — Discipline. — Roxbury church. — Boston meeting house. — People at Mount Wollaston. — Opinions of Mather. — Baptism. — Gardiner. — Protestant success. — Cotton to his wife. — Minister silenced. — Charlestown church. — Excursion to Plymouth. — Worship. — Hue's Cross. — Ordination. — Ruling elder deposed. — Roxbury church. — Morton and others. — Ordination at Boston. — Pastor and teacher. — General governor. — Accusers. — Paintings. — Banished persons. — Fortifications against French Papists. — Complaints. — Friends. — Scituate. — Ipswich. — Order reversed. — Disfranchisement. — Governor general. — Charge of intended rebellion. — Advocates. — Design of emigration. — Trial of authorities. — Cleared. — Advice. — Endicott's laws. — Thanksgiving for deliverance. — Vindication. — Objections. — Russell's bequest. — Arrival of ministers. — Newton church. — Cotton and wife admitted to Boston church. — Support for him. — Rulers from the freemen. — Wages limited. — Idlers. — Thanksgiving. — Reason for numerically designating the months. — Lectures in the forenoon forbidden. — Ordination of Cotton. — Right hand. — Ordination at Newton. — Sabbath sports. — Clerical association. — Extortion. — Support. — Mortality among Indians. — Treatise of Williams. — Precursor of trouble. — Emigrants stopped. — Charter ordered before Land. — Remarks of Gorges. — Punishment for intemperance. — Question about veils. — Charlestown church. — Bearing arms. — Oath of fidelity. — House of Deputies. — Prophecy. — Reception of church members. — New commissioners for New England. — Purpose to overthrow our Puritan institutions. — Sir Ferdinando Gorges to be general governor. — Election sermon. — Company. — Oath of freemen. — Important laws. — Parker and his people. — Nathaniel Ward. — Ship blown up. **PLYMOUTH.** Robbery. — Visit. — Duxbury church. — Fortification. — Pierce shipwrecked. — Gardiner. — Enemies. — Thanksgiving. — Christian benevolence. — Deaths. — Fuller's will. — Truck house at Connecticut. — Williams removes. — Deacon Doane resigns his civil office. — Men killed. **MAINE.** Last grant of the council. — They surrender their charter. — French claims to territory allowed. — French spoliation. — Pirates. — Territory. — Statement of Gorges. — Affray. **NEW HAMPSHIRE.** Expedition. — Patents sold to Lord Say and others. — Emigrants depart and arrive. — Rencontre. **RHODE ISLAND.** Attack by Canonius. — Visit of Miantonomo. **CONNECTICUT.** Warwick's patent purchased. — Dutch purchase. — Fort. — Proposal for a truck house. — Claims to soil. — Plymouth trading establishment. — Threatened attack. — Visit of Oldham.

### MASSACHUSETTS.

1632, February 17. The pastor, elder, and others of Watertown are arraigned before the court in Boston. The first two had objected to the payment of a colonial levy for the purpose



of fortifying Newton, as the chosen capital, lest it should bring "themselves and posterity into bondage." They considered that the authorities had no power from the people to assess such taxes. But after the matter was discussed, and made to appear that these assessments were made by rulers, elected by the freemen, for the general benefit, the accused confess their mistake, sign a retraction, and are required to have it read in church the next Sabbath.

The position has been assumed that the objectors to such a levy were confirmed in their judgment, because the charter did not allow the patentees and their associates to raise taxes. But this instrument certainly gave power to them as a company, represented by the Court of Assistants, "to make ordinances for the welfare and government of the people." Neither of these ends could be obtained without authority to tax the subjects of them, or power to employ the essential means for their attainment.

March 6. Eliot takes the oath of a freeman. While Maverick is drying powder, on the 19th, in the new-thatched meeting house at Dorchester, he narrowly escapes serious injury on its explosion. The place for such employment may seem strange in our day; but it was customary to deposit ammunition and arms there, as defence, on the Sabbath and at other times. against wild beasts and hostile natives.

April 3. The Assistants sentence Thomas Knowler to sit in the bilboes, because, being bound over for trial, on the charge of some offence, he had threatened the court that, if he were punished, he would appeal to the government in England for redress.

May 26. Mr. Wilson returns with his wife, who was "the pious daughter of Lady Mansfield." "Her kinsman, old Mr. Dod, for her consolation under the difficulties" which she might experience in America, "sent a brass counter, a silver crown, and a gold Jacobus, all of them securely wrapped up, with this instruction unto the gentleman who carried it, that he should first of all deliver only the counter, and if she received it with any show of discontent, he should then take no further notice of her; but if she gratefully resented [appreciated] that small thing for the sake of the hand it came from, he should then go on to deliver the silver, and so the gold; but withal assure her, that such would be the dispensations of God unto her and the other good people of New England, if they would be content and thankful with such little things as God at first bestowed upon them, they should, in time, have silver and gold enough. Mrs. Wilson accordingly, by her cheerful entertainment of the least remembrance from Mr. Dod, gave the gentleman occasion to go through with his whole present and the

annexed advice." One important object of Wilson's voyage was to settle a will of his brother, Rev. William Wilson, who gave one thousand pounds for the benefit of New England. This is a generous and seasonable donation, expressive of its giver's attachment to the cause of true religion.

June 5. "The court, taking into consideration the great mercy of God," in the success of the Swedes and German Protestants against the emperor, "appoint the 13th instant to be kept as a day of public thanksgiving throughout the several plantations." The cause of reformation, however distant, is near the hearts of our fathers. They perceive its bearing on their native land, and its consequent effects on their chosen refuge. Like the spirit of their divine Master, their desires are for the extension of his kingdom to the ends of the earth.

The following clergymen come into Boston with other passengers — Stephen Batchelor, Thomas Weld, and Thomas James. The first immediately goes to Lynn. With six members of his church in England, who accompany him, he constitutes a church, and preaches to them without any installation. This is deemed an irregularity by most of the colonists, and becomes the source of considerable trouble.

Weld took his A. B. from Trinity College, Cambridge, 1613, and his A. M. 1618. He was a clergyman of Terling, in Essex county; but attaching himself to the Puritans, he embarked for this land to assist in the promotion of their cause.

James had his A. B. at Emanuel College, Cambridge, 1614, and his A. M. 1618. He was a minister of Lincolnshire, but left his parish and country to sojourn with co-workers for Congregationalism.

July 3. Samuel Sharp, ruling elder of Salem, and Rev. Mr. Wilson, take the oath of freemen. The Boston church address the other churches of Massachusetts and Plymouth for advice on the subsequent questions: Whether a person may be magistrate and ruling elder at the same time. If not, which of the two offices he should resign. Whether there may be divers pastors together in the same church. The first query is answered negatively, but the other two doubtfully. As a result of the decisive answer, Nowell relinquishes his office of ruling elder in the church so advised.

For the encouragement of Skelton, at Salem, the court assign him land there, — a neck\* of two hundred acres, a lot of one acre, on which his house stands, and twelve more in two distinct places. Besides such grants of the government, towns made others, from their common lands, to their ministers.

\* About three miles from Salem, called by Indians Wahquack, bounded on the south by the River Conambsnoocant, on the north and east by another river, Pouomeneucant.

July 5. Individuals who had seceded from Watertown church yield to its advice, except John Masters. His ground of offence is, that a person had been admitted to communion whom he supposed to be unworthy of the privilege. Then he turned his back on the sacrament, and left the assembly. It may have been that the objection of the others was like his. On the 8th, as he declined to give way, he is excommunicated. In a fortnight after, he confesses that he had erred, and is restored to fellowship. Having made his settlement a matter of prayerful deliberation, as several churches had, Mr. Weld is placed over the Roxbury congregation. These had communed at Dorchester. George Alcock, who came over in 1630, and had been deacon here, serves in the same office at Roxbury.

August 3. A contribution had been made of about one hundred and twenty pounds at Charlestown and Boston, to erect a dwelling for Wilson and a house of worship for his congregation in the latter place. The last building is commenced. It "had mud walls and a thatched roof, and stood on the south side of State Street, a little below the place where the old State House now stands." Such provision accorded with the necessities of a new settlement, surrounded with uncertainty of continuance, and with the desire and purpose of its people for a better sanctuary so soon as circumstances would allow and require.

14. Emigrants from Braintree in England, who had commenced a plantation at Mount Wollaston, are required by the court to take up their residence at Newton. Their pastor, Thomas Hooker, had not yet left Holland. Persecution had driven him thither.

15. Richard Mather, who is soon to become a faithful seer among our population, watches the signs of the times. He writes replies to five questions about church ceremonies. This is a subject of importance to men like him, in the mother country, because their theological opponents lay great and increasing stress upon such forms. He states that gospel appointments, like the sacrament and baptism, are always obligatory. But, as to certain modes, he holds them not to be essential. He observes that a preacher is as much in the way of his duty to preach in a cloak as in a gown; that "to kneele in preaching or in administering and receiving the baptisme," is not so proper as to sit or stand.

26. In compliance with the common usage of parents, Winthrop brings his infant son to baptism, and in this rite of consecration, presents him as an offering to God. Though not adhering to the doctrine of the established church that such a service conferred renewal of heart, yet his faith taught him that it was a duty, whence spiritual mercies flowed.

1632]

August. A letter from Thomas Wiggin, dated at Bristol, to Emanuel Downing, has the following about Christopher Gardiner, who had lately arrived there from New England. The report of his leaving two wives in London, one of whom related the fact to Isaac Allerton, and bringing a young woman of bad character to this country, is mentioned. When the reputation of Gardiner became known there, he fled, lest he should be hung for bigamy. He charges the colonists of Massachusetts as "rebels against his majesty, which on my own knowledge is most false." Wiggin thinks it would be well, for preventing the influence of Gardiner's accusation, to have his bigamy proved by his wives, who, he hears, are in London.

September 27. Thanksgiving is observed for the success of the Protestant arms in Germany, and for the late arrival of accessions to the colonists. Our fathers had great cause for gratitude that Gustavus was victorious, for on this it was thought that Protestantism in Europe and America depended. The rallying words of his troops were, "God with us," and of their opponents, "St. Mary."

October 3. John Cotton, whose deep interest in our settlements has been noticed, and who is soon to take a leading part in their affairs, is secreted, in London, from the pursuivants of Laud. He writes to his wife, the faithful sharer of his joys and sorrows, "Though this cup be brackish at the first, yet a cup of God's mingling is doubtless sweet at the bottom to such as have learned to make it their greatest happiness to partake with Christ, as in his glory, so in the way that leadeth to it. Where I am, they desire to see thee here; but I think it not safe yet, till we see how God will deal with our neighbors at home, for if you should now travel this way, I fear you will be watched. But I hope shortly God will make way for thy safe coming."

The Lynn minister is required by the court to "forbear exercising his gifts as pastor or teacher publicly in our patent, unless it be to those he brought over with him, for his contempt of authority and till some scandals be removed."

11. We have the subsequent extract from the Boston church records: "Those members of our church whoe, desireing dismission from the congregation to enter into a new church body at Charlestowne, did solemnly seeke vnto God with the rest of the church for direction herein upon the 11th, and were accordingly dismissed vpon the 14th of the same, being the Lord's day." A chief reason assigned for this separation was the difficulty of crossing the river in winter time, and having an opportunity to enjoy the pastoral labors of Thomas James.

25. Several persons of note set out from Boston on a visit to Plymouth. Among them are Winthrop, the narrator of the

excursion, and Wilson. They sail to Wessagusset, and go the rest of the way on foot. They are met this side of their destination by Bradford, Brewster, and others. They are entertained with Christian hospitality. Though their conferences are about the temporal concerns of their respective jurisdictions as subsidiary to the attainment of better things, yet their great theme is the means to prevent error and iniquity, and to promote truth and righteousness. Such should always be the counsels of our race in every station. Such they will be when the mental desolations of apostasy shall be repaired. But not to lose sight of our Puritan coterie, let us consider their action on the Sabbath. The Plymouth church and their guests, as the highest expression of their fellowship, partake of the sacrament. "In the afternoon, Mr. Roger Williams, according to their custom, proposed a question, to which the pastor, Mr. Smith, spake briefly; then Mr. Williams prophesied, and after the governor of Plymouth spake to the question; after him, the elder; then some two or three more of the congregation; then the elder (according to Acts xiii. 14, 15) desired the governor of Massachusetts and Mr. Wilson to speak to it, which they did. When this was ended, the deacon, Mr. Fuller, put the congregation in mind of their duty of contribution, whereupon the governor and all the rest went down to the deacon's seat, and put into the box, and then returned." This was like the scenes of primitive Christianity. On it angels looked with joy, and of it no mortal should be ashamed. Prince remarks, "This religious exercise in public they had under the conduct of Mr. Robinson, at Leyden, grounded on the practice of the church of Corinth, as described and regulated by the apostle Paul, 1 Cor. xii. and xiv. But growing in knowledge, and I suppose in the apprehension that such a practice was peculiarly accommodated to the age of inspiration, (1 Cor. xiv. 30,) which they never pretended to, they, after, gradually lay it down."

Having closed the object of their journey, Winthrop and his company leave Plymouth on the 31st, in the morning, attended by some principal men of the place, "near half a mile out of town in the dark." On their route, they reach a place known as Hue's Cross. The governor, being displeased at the name, in respect that such things might hereafter give the Papists occasion to say that their religion was first planted in these parts, changed the name, and called it "Hue's Folly." This was the spontaneous expression of Protestant feeling in that day, when the sufferings from Romish policy were fresh in remembrance.

November 2. The form of covenant adopted by members of the Charlestown church differs some, though not essentially, from the first agreed upon before the removal from Charlestown

to Boston. The person selected for their spiritual guide is elected and ordained as their pastor. The particulars of this occasion have not been handed down. It is probable that, as in the case of Wilson, James did not reject the correctness of ordination by bishops.

The difficulty relative to Brown, of Watertown, is not healed. Supposing himself hardly pressed for his opinions, he had uttered improper expressions, as his brethren thought, for which they had admonished him several times. As he had not made concessions satisfactory to them, they depose him from his office of ruling elder. Thus the results of his avowal that the Roman Catholic church is mainly true, cause the withdrawal of his official trust.

November 5. Having been called by Roxbury to be their teacher, Eliot takes dismission from Boston church, who strongly desire him to continue with them, but without avail. His betrothed arrived September 16, and was married to him the next month. On the 6th of November, Weld and James take the oath of freemen. On the 7th, Phillips has a grant from the court, of thirty acres of land, up Charles River.

19. Thomas Wiggan writes to John Cooke, the royal secretary. He speaks of Thomas Morton, "whoe, (as I am informed by his wife's sonne and others,) upon a foule suspition of murder, fled hence to New England, and there, falling out with some of the Indians, he shott them with a fowling piece, for which and other misdemeanors, upon the Indians complaint, his howse by order of Court there was destroyed, and he banished the plantation." He, Gardiner and Ratcliffe, "doe addresse themselves to Sir Ferdinando Gorges, whoe by theire false informations, is nowe projectinge howe to deprive that plantation of the priviledges granted by his majesty to subvert theire government."

22. Preparatory to the ordination of officers for Boston church, a fast, as usual, is observed. Wilson is chosen pastor, and Thomas Oliver ruling elder. The former and two deacons impose hands, in the behalf of the church or congregation, on Oliver. Then the last person and the deacons do the same for Wilson. Thus, though he had been ordained teacher of the same church at Charlestown, he is similarly consecrated as their pastor in Boston. This indicates that considerable distinction was then made between the two offices of pastor and teacher, now and long since merged in one person.

Sir Joseph Williamson remarks, "In this year it appears to be that the first thoughts were taken of sending a governor to New England, which, they said, was to invade and alter their government. Sir F. Gorges was the man resolved on to be

governor, and this, as was said, upon some informations given by Sir Charles Gordon, one Morton, one Ratcliffe, and Bull, etc., as if that colony were ill affected to the king. Those here, which pleaded for the plantation, were one Mr. Downing, one Captain Wiggin, etc. Mr. Secretary Cooke looks to have been a friend to Massachusetts. On December 19, for complaints and information of Sir Charles Gordon of abuses in the government, it was referred to certain of the lords to examine what patents were out."

As an event having special influence with regard to the interests of New England, Laud had recently done much to repair and increase the pictures and paintings in English churches, "which some of the Puritans, venturing to censure in their sermons and writings, were exposed to the severest punishments."

1633, January 3. A letter from Emanuel Downing to Cooke, secretary, says, in reference to Morton and the two others lately sent home from Massachusetts, "I pray God assist your honour that those lewd and scandalous persons may receive their condigne punishment, and the plantation proceed with incouragement."

17. Information being received that emigrants had been sent from France to Nova Scotia, and that more were to follow them, accompanied with a number of priests, produces an alarm among our colonists. These facts, connected with previous efforts of the French to establish themselves and the influence of their church as far as Penobscot River, and also of their endeavoring to secure the trade of the Merrimack Indians, fill them with still greater uneasiness. In view of these considerations, Winthrop assembles the magistrates, elders, and other principal men for advice "in regard to the French are like to prove ill neighbours, being Papists." The result of their deliberations is to finish a fort, already begun at Boston, erect another on what was afterwards known as Castle Island, though Nantasket was the first spot selected for it, and to settle Agawam, subsequently Ipswich.

19. Having received accusations from Gardiner, Morton, and Ratcliffe and others, relative to the government of Massachusetts and Plymouth, the king refers them to his privy council. Another chief ground for such reference is, that letters, sent by some of our settlers, reflecting severely on the ecclesiastical administration of England, fell into unfriendly hands, who exposed their contents. They were forwarded by Captain Levett, who died on his passage, and thus became an occasion of complaint. The body to whom the charges are committed do not condemn the colonists, but commend them to his majesty for further protection, until it can be proved that they have violated their pat-

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ents. Winthrop remarks on this subject of deep importance to those concerned, "The conclusion was against all men's expectation, an order for our encouragement, and much blame and disgrace upon the adversaries." This decision breaks down, for a time, one strong objection for emigrating hither. Among those who assist to obtain it, and thus befriend our authorities in a time of pressing need, are Sir Richard Saltonstall, Humfrey, Cradock, Emanuel Downing, and Thomas Wiggin, governor in the upper plantation in New Hampshire.

February. The ship William, Captain Trevore, which brings the preceding information, arrives, about the 22d, at Plymouth, with men for a settlement at Scituate to carry on the fishery.

March. To guard against the intrusion of the French and their religion, John Winthrop, Jr., and twelve others are empowered to settle Agawam. On the 4th, the Assistants reverse their order, forbidding Batchelor to gather "a church within this patent." They sentence Thomas Dexter to be set in the bilboes, disfranchised, and fined eleven pounds, "for speaking reproachfull and seditious words against the government here established, and findeing fault to dyvers with the acts of the court, sayeing this captious government will bring all to naught." While the authorities regarded this severity as essential to the existence of their infant, tottering, and threatened commonwealth, many, under the changed light of its manhood, strength, and tested freedom, consider it very differently.

April 1. As an expression of kind feeling to Blackstone, the court grant him fifty acres of land, near his house, in Boston. This indicates, that though he did not harmonize with them in all their steps of reform, he so demeaned himself as not to be accounted an opponent. Having resided at Plymouth about two years, Williams returns to Salem near this time.

May. By two vessels, with passengers to Boston, particulars of the continued attempt to impeach the authorities of Massachusetts before the privy council arrive. Not only had Gardiner, Morton, and Ratcliffe, formerly in the employ of Cradock, been influenced by what they deemed their personal wrongs to engage in this matter, but also, by the advice of Sir Ferdinando Gorges and John Mason, stanch supporters of Episcopacy. Winthrop states that these two gentlemen were induced so to interfere for the sake of having Neal appointed as governor-general of New England. This mode of regulating such territory had been, and continued to be, a favorite notion with them. They and their abettors charged this colony and Plymouth with a design to rebel and become independent not only of the church, but also the crown of England. They asserted that "our ministers and people did continually rail against the state,



church, and bishops." Saltonstall, Humfrey, and Cradock offered a written plea in favor of the colonists. After three days' hearing, decision was made for their cause. Some of the council assured them "that his majesty did not intend to impose the ceremonies of the church of England upon us, for that it was considered, that it was freedom from such things that made people come over to us."

Winthrop, writing to Bradford, states that, in view of escape from the snare of opponents to the cause of Puritanism, a thanksgiving is to be observed, and proposes the same in Plymouth colony as equally concerned.

The order, issued 19th of January, at Whitehall, as the result of the trial, relates that accusations had been brought against New England, which, if true, would ruin them and dishonor the parent government; that they had been examined so far as they could be without sending for witnesses from this country, and were not substantiated, though, if requisite, they might be subsequently considered. A passage of it follows: "Their lordships declare that the adventurers had cause to go on cheerfully with their undertakings, and rest assured, if things were carried as was pretended when the patents were granted, and accordingly as by the patents it is appointed, his majesty would not only maintain the liberties and privileges heretofore granted, but supply anything further that might tend to the good government, prosperity, and comfort of his people there." Such a document, though not so decisively favorable to our ancestors as they could wish, still affords them much satisfaction. But its conditional character threw no serious impediment in the way of Laud and his supporters to accomplish their purpose for the overthrow of Congregationalism on our shores.

By the conveyance which brought such an account of the trial, so important for the encouragement of our fathers, there came letters to John Winthrop, Jr., from Edward Howes and Francis Kirby. The former of these writers, under March 18, says, "I am glad that it hath pleased God to show his power and mercy vpon you all in a wonderful manner, beyond the expectation of the great ones of this land, in delivering you, not from a Spanish powder plot, nor an accounted invincible armada, but from a Spanish-like, French infection, which was like to have tainted the halest and best men among you, yea, all of you. Your plantation hath need of some hearty and able friends to back you upon all occasions, which must remain here and have friends at court." The writer says in a note, "Your plantation and planters have often lately been preached against at St. Paul's Cross, etc." The same correspondent remarks, under March 25, "There were presented to the lords, lately, about twenty-

tyo of C. Indicutts [Endicott's] laws." The next day, he writes as follows: "Your friends heer who are members of your plantation, have had much to do to answer the unjust complaints made to the kinge and counsell of your government there. I understand that you are an Assistant, and so have a voice in the weighty affaires of that commonwealth."

A communication from Kirby, under the last date, has the passage, "I know I shall not need to advise you that the prayers for our kinge be not neglected in any of your publique meetings, and I desire that you differ no more from us in church government than you shall find that we differ from the prescript rule of God's word." These passages, embracing cautions of friendships, refer to topics of great concernment to the colonists.

June 19. "A day of thanksgiving is kept in all the churches for our delivery from the plots of our enemies, and for the safe arrival of our friends."

August 15. Captain Thomas Graves sails for England, and carries a reply from the court to the charges of Gardiner and others, accompanied by a certificate from the old planters. Winthrop, who gives this fact, informs us that Dudley was the only one who made exceptions and declined to subscribe the vindication. The points in it to which the latter objected were, that it called the bishops reverend, said the colonists professed the commonly-received tenets of the English church, though they differed from its discipline and from its interpretation of Christ's descent into hell, and styled the king sacred majesty. In rejoining, Winthrop remarked that the title applied to the bishops was merely a quotation from the petition of Gardiner and his associates, that the faithful in England, like the colonists, expounded the descension of the Saviour not as "a local descent, as some of the bishops" did, and that "sacred," as attributed to the king, was only a civil term, proper for him, as one anointed by the Lord. These reasons failed to secure the assent of Dudley, "though they were allowed by divers of the ministers and the chief of Plimouth." His dislike to the use of "reverend," in relation to bishops, so far prevailed in New England, that, for a considerable period, it was not applied to their ministers, to whom they gave the general title of "Mr." and the particular one of "elder."

26. John Russell dies. As expressive of his attachment to the cause of Puritan reformation, he leaves one half of his property to the Dorchester church.

September 4. Of a large number of passengers, who come to strengthen the cause of dissenters, are John Cotton, Thomas Hooker, and Samuel Stone. These clergymen found great difficulty in escaping out of England from the hand of their pur-

suers. The two former were long sought, so that they might be arraigned for their non-conformity, before the High Court of Commission. They were covertly taken on board at the Downs.

Cotton was son of Richard Cotton, of Derby, where he was born December 4, 1585. He took his A. M. at the University of Cambridge, 1606. Of eminent talents, literature, fame, piety, and usefulness, he had been settled at Boston, Lincolnshire. The Earl of Dorchester, being in that place, heard him preach on civil government, and "was so affected with the wisdom of his words and spirit, that he did ever after highly account of him." Complained of for not kneeling at the sacrament, he was prosecuted, and fled. He was secreted in London till he had an opportunity to sail for this refuge of non-conformists. His first wife was Elizabeth Horrocks, and his second the widow Sarah Story.

Hooker was born at Marefield, Leicestershire, July 7, 1586. He took his A. B. at Emanuel College, Cambridge, 1607, and his A. M. 1611. He had been a noted preacher at Chelmsford, of Essex County; was silenced 1630; to avoid fines and imprisonment, fled to Holland. Forty-seven Episcopal clergymen, who had been his neighbors, petitioned the Bishop of London in his favor, but without effect. The Earl of Warwick frequently came from a distance to hear him. A large number of his people, settled at Newton, had requested him to come over and renew his labors among them. He preached a farewell discourse shortly before he embarked. A preface to it, published eight years afterwards, observes, "His opinion about the doctrine maintained in the church of England since the reformation thereof was orthodox; but his conscience about the discipline and ceremonies thereof was scrupulous."

Stone was born at Hartford, England. He had his A. B. at Emanuel College, Cambridge, 1623, and his A. M. 1627. He was a lecturer at Torchester, in Northamptonshire. So highly did Hooker esteem him, that he engaged him to be a co-worker among his parishioners, who had come hither.

Hooker and Stone immediately join the waiting people of the former at their residence. The meeting between the pastor and the flock, from whom he had been forced, was of no ordinary nature. As they clustered around him, he exclaimed, in the words of an apostle, "Now I live, if ye stand fast in the Lord." He was soon chosen their pastor, and Stone their teacher. Cotton remains in Boston. Here, the next Sunday evening, on the 8th, he speaks to a question from Canticles, respecting the various kinds of churches, before "the congregation met in their ordinary exercise." At the close, he and his wife Sarah are propounded for membership. The following Sabbath, as Win-

throp continues, he "exercised in the afternoon, and being to be admitted, he signified his desire and readiness to make his confession according to order, which he said might be sufficient in declaring his faith about baptism, (which he then desired for his child, born on their passage, and therefore named Seaborn.) He gave two reasons why he did not baptize at sea — "because they had no settled congregation there; because a minister hath no power to give the seals but in his own congregation." He testified to his wife's piety, saying that it was against apostolic rule for women to make an open confession in presence of the church, but that they may be inquired of privately. Being asked if she agreed with the belief expressed by her husband, and desired admission, she replied affirmatively. So both were received. The child, presented by its father, was baptized. The opinion of Cotton that no elder should administer baptism and the Lord's supper, unless to his own church, prevailed among the colonists, but was relinquished in a few years.

September 17. The Court of Assistants, all the ministers and ruling elders, assemble in Boston, to consult and advise as to the place of Cotton's settlement. They conclude that it was his duty to abide in Boston, and that, for preaching a Thursday lecture, he should be compensated out of the company's treasury. The last provision was soon repealed by "divers of the council." It was probably adopted because of its exerting a more public influence in the capital than in any other plantation, and rejected because it would bring taxation on all members of the corporation belonging to other towns, as well as the seat of government. Any thing like the *Regium Donum*, which supported the ministry with public funds, received but little quarter from the colonists.

Near this time, Cotton preaches a "discourse about civil government, in a new plantation, whose design is religion." Its object is "to prove the expediency and necessity of intrusting free burgesses, who are members of churches, gathered amongst them according to Christ, with the power of chusing from among themselves magistrates and men to whom the managing of all public civil affairs of importance is to be committed." This was in accordance with the previous and continued usage of Plymouth and Massachusetts. A reason assigned by the preacher for it was, that England and other nations acted on a similar principle.

October 1. At a session of the Assistants, they limit the wages of laborers and mechanics, so that there may be no imposition on the part of employers or of the employed. They require that no person "shall spend his time idly or unprofitably, under pain of such punishment" as they may appoint.

They, "in regard of the many and extraordinary mercyes which the Lord hath beene pleased to vouchsafe of late to this plantacon, viz., a plentiful harvest, ships safely arrived with persons of spetiall vse and quality, etc.," order, "that Wednesday, the 16th day of this present moneth, shalbe kept as a day of publique thanksgiueing through the seuerall plantacons." "This day was solemnly kept by all the seven churches." In noticing how the time of such an occasion was called by our ancestors "the eighth moneth," and implying that a similar numerical method was used by them as to the other months, Johnson observes that it was not done "out of any pevish humour of singularity, as some are ready to censor them with, but of purpose to prevent the heathenish and Popish observation of dayes, moneths, and yeaes, that they may be forgotten among the people of the Lord."

At the same session, the authorities make the subsequent regulation: "Whereas it is found, by common experience, that the keeping of lectures att the ordinary howres nowe obserued in the forenoone, to be dyvers wayes preiudiciall to the common good, both in the losse of a whole day and bringing other charges and troubles to the place where the lecture is kept, it is therefore ordered, that hereafter noe lecture shall begin before one a clock, in the afternoone."

October 10. Accompanied with the solemnities of a *fast*, as Winthrop relates, choice is made of Thomas Leverett, who had been a member of Cotton's church in England, as elder, and of Giles Firmin, an apothecary from Sudbury, as deacon of Boston church, by the imposition of hands. Cotton is elected "teacher of the congregation, and ordained, by imposition of the hands of the presbytery, in this manner: first, he was chosen by all the congregation, testifying their consent by erection of hands. Then Mr. Wilson, the pastor, demanded of him if he did accept of that call. He paused, and then spake to this effect: "that howsoever he knew himself unworthy and unsufficient for that place, yet having observed all the passages of God's providence (which he reckoned up in particular) in calling him to it, he could not but accept it. Then the pastor and the two elders laid their hands upon his head, and the pastor prayed, and then, taking off their hands, laid them on again, and, speaking to him by his name, they did thenceforth design him to the said office in the name of the Holy Ghost, and did give him the charge of the congregation, and thereby (as by a sign from God) indue him with the gifts fit for his office, and lastly did bless him. Then the neighbouring ministers, which were present, did, at the pastor's motion, give him the right hands of fellowship, and the pastor made a stipulation

between him and the congregation." We perceive that the mode of pledging church fellowship, in this instance, by every clergyman present, varies from its being done by one, in their name, as subsequently prevalent. On the next day, there is a "fast at Newton, where Mr. Hooker was chosen pastor, and Mr. Stone teacher in such a manner" as Mr. Cotton's at Boston.

October 18. Exerting an influence on the tide of emigration to our shores, the ensuing particulars are given. King Charles renews his proclamation relative to sports on the Sabbath. It declares that none should endeavor to hinder them as some had, and that whoever refuses conformity with them shall leave the kingdom. Its words are, "Our good people be not disturbed, letted, or discouraged from any lawful recreations, such as dancing, either men or women; archery for men, leaping, vaulting or any other such harmless recreation; from having of May-games, Whitson-ales, morris dances, and the setting of May-poles and other sports therewith used, and that women shall have leave to carry rushes to the church, for decorating it, according to their old custom." Containing allowances of this sort, the proclamation is ordered to be published "through all the parish churches." Neal relates that, for refusing to read this edict to their people, many clergymen were presented. He adds that the Common Prayer Book was rendered by Laud "more unexceptionable to Papists and more distant from Puritanism." He states that these things "made many conscientious non-conformists retire with their families to Holland and New England."

November. With regard to a clerical association for improvement, Winthrop gives the subsequent passage: "The ministers in the Bay and Sagus did meet once a fortnight at one of their houses, by course, when some question of moment was debated. Mr. Skelton, the pastor of Salem, and Mr. Williams, who was removed from Plimouth thither, (but not in any office, though he exercised by way of prophecy,) took some exception against it, as fearing it might grow in time to a presbytery or superintendency, to the prejudice of the churches' liberties. But this fear was without cause, for they were all clear in that point, that no church or person can have power over another church, neither did they, in their meetings, exercise any such jurisdiction." Such diversity of views shows that Skelton still carried his idea of separation from hierarchy, or even any semblance of it, to greater extent than most other principal men in the colony. Such conventions had long been a favorite object with Puritans. Under James I., Dr. Reynolds desired that the clergy might assemble once in three weeks to converse on scriptural and theological topics. The king answered roughly, and in reference to

this and other points of reform, said, "If this be all your party hath to say, I will make them conform or harrie them out of the land, or else do worse." In his election sermon of 1672, Shepard speaks of these "ministers' meetings" as held, when he was a boy, at Cambridge, Boston, Charlestown, Roxbury, and other places, and says that they were accounted to have a beneficial tendency.

An original manuscript of Charles Morton, who, after his ejection from the ministry, came to this country, and was settled at Charlestown, contains the formation of an association. It says, "At Bodmin, the 11th of September, 1655, it is agreed by us whose names are underwritten, that we do associate ourselves for promoting the gospel, and our mutual assistance and furtherance in the great work." It then proceeds to the rules: "That we meet constantly at Bodmin, on every first Wednesday in the month, and oftener if need be." Under the 3d, it mentions the duties of the moderator: "To begin with prayer; to propose matters to be debated and receive the suffrages of the brethren; receive the subscriptions of such as shall join with us, and keep all papers belonging to the association." These facts are presented, as having some relation to a subject, about which, as to its original appearance and exercises in New England, there have been many questions.

November 8. The Court of Assistants, so that "honest and conscionable workmen should" not "be wronged," order that no commodities shall be sold "above the rate of four pence in a shilling more than the same cost or might be bought for ready money in England, upon pain of forfeiting the value of the things sold;" except cheese, on account of hazard in bringing it from abroad, and wine, oil, vinegar, and "strong waters," liable to leak on the voyage, "may be sold at such rates (provided the same be moderate) as the buyer and seller may agree." As linen and other goods, "in regard of their close stowage and small hazard, may be afforded at a cheap rate, we do advise all men to be a rule to themselves, in keeping a good conscience, assuring them, that if any man shall exceed the bounds of moderation, we shall punish him severely."

11. The congregation of Boston meet about pecuniary matters. They contribute sixty pounds towards Cotton's house, he having expended eighty pounds for it, and other charges, which he declined to have reimbursed. They also contribute one hundred pounds towards his support and that of Wilson. On the 26th, the latter, by leave of his church, visits the people of Agawam, afterwards Ipswich, to preach for them, because they had no minister. While there, a great snow fell, December 4, which delayed his return.

December. Among the many Indians to whom small-pox proves mortal, are John, sagamore of Winisimet, and James, sagamore of Saugus. The former, while sick, was brought, at his own desire, among the English to be attended. He died in hope of salvation. Continuing our information from Winthrop, it proceeds as to the natives. "Divers of them in their sickness confessed that the Englishman's God was a good God; that if they recovered, they would serve him. It wrought much with them, that when their own people forsook them, yet the English came daily and ministered to them. Among others, Mr. Maverick is worthy of perpetual remembrance. Himself, his wife, and servants, went daily to them, ministered to their necessities, and buried their dead, and took home many of their children. So did others of the neighbors." Though Maverick was strenuous for Episcopacy, against the wishes of the colonists, yet he harmonized with them in the noble work of philanthropy. Active benevolence is so universally regarded as an indispensable attribute of the Supreme Being, that his revelation, when presented to the heathen and accompanied towards them with deeds of kindness, seldom fails to gain their favorable consideration and confidence. The occasion was one in which Wilson and Winthrop manifested their strong zeal for a great purpose of their emigration, even the conversion of the aborigines.

"It pleased the Lord to give special testimony of his presence in the church of Boston, after Mr. Cotton was called to office there. More were converted and added to that church than to all other churches in the Bay." From his accession to the close of December, there were forty-three, including himself and wife, of those so admitted, who had been members of other churches, or recently professed religion. "Also, the Lord pleased greatly to bless the practice of discipline, wherein he gave the pastor, Mr. Wilson, a singular gift, to the great benefit of the church." Such were the fruits on which the reformation, which our fathers sought, could subsist. They must have strengthened their hands and encouraged their hearts.

Notwithstanding the backwardness of multitudes to appear engaged in the best interests of their souls, and forwardness to approve zeal in every other object of human enterprise, we shall be convinced, in the future world, that Paul's course, after turning to Christ, was the height of wisdom, and had the commendation of all heaven. May the time soon come when the scales of such delusion may fall from every understanding, and our whole race seek first the kingdom of God.

"After much deliberation and serious advice, the Lord directed the teacher, Mr. Cotton, to make it clear by the Scripture, that the minister's maintenance, as well as all other charges



of the church, should be defrayed out of a stock or treasury, which was to be raised out of the weekly contribution, which accordingly was agreed upon." This and other facts, as to each congregation's supporting its preachers, show that the resolve of the colonial company, February 10, 1630, to make their common stock answerable for such charges, had been found impracticable. So far from this kind of property's yielding dividends, as calculated when it was subscribed, we have no intimation that there were any. Most of the adventurers in it appear to have risked their shares, not so much for temporal profit, as for the advancement of a better Christianity. Though the method of clerical support, proposed by Cotton, was for the most part a popular one in New England for a considerable period of years, yet, while continued, it was sometimes found inadequate to answer its purpose, and demanded frequent efforts for its accomplishment. It was based more on what men ought to do than on what they would do. It drew from the covetous too little, and burdened the liberal too much. Experience has long proved that just assessments, backed by public sentiment that it is wrong to refuse the payment of them, is the preferable method, as human nature is, to support the ministrations of the altar.

December 27. At a session of the court, they consider a treatise of Roger Williams, which he had sent them. He laid it before the authorities of Plymouth while he resided there. He maintained in it, that the settlers of this country had no right, either by grant from the king or otherwise, to the soil they occupied, except by purchase from the aborigines. On this subject he had drawn up a letter, "not without the approbation of some of the chief in New England, then tender also upon this point before God, directed unto the king himself, humbly acknowledging the evil of that part of the patent which respects donation of lands." With regard to the fitness of purchasing territory of the natives, there was no essential difference between the views of Williams and those of the company for Massachusetts. These, in 1629, as previously stated, forwarded orders to Endicott for liquidating whatever equitable claims the surviving Indians presented for the lands of their respective tribes. There were three passages in the manuscript to which the court had serious objection. They follow. King James did not state the truth in his patents, when he declared that he was the first Christian prince who "discovered this land." He and others were chargeable with blasphemy for "calling Europe Christendom or the Christian world." Three passages in revelation were applicable to the present King Charles. What these were, the narrator, Winthrop, does not mention. How-

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ever severe they may have been, they could not have been more so than those quoted by others against that monarch when his power was in the wane, and he about to finish his career on the scaffold. Having consulted "some of the most judicious ministers," who disapproved of such opinions as Williams advanced, the court required him to appear before them at their next session. Such were the critical relations sustained by the colony to the authorities in England, and so calculated were his positions to render them much more so, if unheeded by our authorities, they felt themselves under an unpleasant necessity of thus dealing with him.

Had Cromwell been in power, with his republican bias, at this time, the sentiments of Williams would have passed with approbation; but being uttered under one of the Stuarts, they were marked as the expressions of rebellion. It has ever been in accordance with the spirit of human policy, that principles, under circumstances of one period, are accounted patriotism, which, under the same circumstances of another, are denounced as treason.

The governor wrote to Endicott, informing him what had been done about this important matter, and advising him to urge upon his friend Williams a speedy retraction. The former of these Salem gentlemen sent back "a discreet answer." The latter addressed the chief and other magistrates of the court in an acceptable style, and remarked that he composed his treatise for the satisfaction of Bradford and others of Plymouth, and should not have submitted it to those of Massachusetts, had not Governor Winthrop desired it, "withal offering his book, or any part of it, to be burnt."

1634, January 24. The Court of Assistants, with Cotton and Wilson, reconsider the offensive passages in the tractate of Williams, who appears before them and expresses himself to their satisfaction. They agree that its positions are not so objectionable as they had supposed. They conclude, that if he make concessions or take an oath of allegiance to the king, he shall be excused.

February 21. An order, which, in the view of our leading reformists, is most unpropitious to the prosperity of our colonies, and like a death warrant for the political and spiritual privileges of Massachusetts, is passed by the archbishop and other members of the council. Referring to the settlers of this commonwealth, it holds language as follows: "Amongst whom divers persons, knowne to be ill affected and discontented not only with civil but ecclesiastical government here, are observed to resort thither, whereby such confusion and distraction is already growne there, especially in point of religion, as, beside

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the ruin of said plantation, cannot but highly tend to the scandal both of church and state here. And whereas it was informed, that there are present divers ships in the River Thames, ready to saile thither, freighted with passengers and provisions, it is ordered that stay should be forthwith made of said ships untill further order from this board; and that Mr. Cradock, a chief adventurer in that plantation, now present before the board, should be required to cause the letters patents \* for the said plantation to be brought to this board." Here is a full exponent of the motives which swayed the dignitaries of England. Its spirit is, extermination to all liberty and peace for every person who dares deny hierarchal correctness and holiness. It exhibits their strongly prejudiced views of our affairs, which, in the nature of new settlements, could not have all the stability and regularity of older communities, and which, however clogged with such inherent disadvantage, were controlled, to say the least, with as much purity as existed in any administration of the old world. It discovers little sympathy for the sufferers, who, forced to abandon home and kindred by the hardness of conformity, embarked for a refuge of freedom, and for the hundreds already here, who suffered for want of the supplies, which their distressed brethren wished to bring them.

But worse than all for the asylum of the oppressed, it demands back the charter, on which alone it can open its portals to afflicted Puritans. It is a total drawback from the recent encouragement which filled our population with gladness, and our churches with thanksgiving, and which came to them confirmed by a decision at Whitehall, that rebuked the accusations of Gardiner, Morton, and Radcliff. It is enough, without the intrusions of morbid imagination, to fill the strongest hearts of our fathers with deep anxiety, and to cover their hopes of a successful issue to the many painful sacrifices which they had offered, with the thick darkness of despondency. But withdrawing from the reed-like support of human policy and promises, they recline on the arm of Immutability, who often says, in his ever-watchful providence, to the wrathful lashings of abused authority, "Thus far, and no farther, shalt thou come." Such a wise and dutiful preference is not in vain.

With respect to the same subject we have the words of Sir

\* The royal charter here referred to is in the archives of Massachusetts. It is beautifully written on several sheets of vellum, which are in a good state of preservation, except the first, that is some worn at the top. The wax seal of the king, suffixed, has been diminished by the breakages of those who were more curious than decorous. To prevent such cozenage, the document is kept in a case with a glass front. On its last sheet the oath of Governor Cradock is contained. Another is deposited in the Salem Athenæum.

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Ferdinando Gorges, the great promoter of colonization in New England, though with his constant aim and exertion to have it accomplished under the influence and direction of Episcopacy. Speaking of our emigrants, his language is, "Many wanted not love to the honour of the king and happiness of their native country; however, they were mixt with those that had the state of the established church government in such scorn and contempt, as finding themselves in a country of liberty, where tongues might speake without controule, many, fuller of malice than reason, spared not to speake the worst that evill affection could invent, insomuch that the distance of the place could not impeach the transportation thereof to the eares of those it most concerned, and who were bound in honour and justice to vindicate the state."

Among the individuals to whom he refers, Roger Williams most probably holds a prominent position. The treatise of the latter is such as to be speedily reported in the mother country, and bring out against our chief men the suspicion and displeasure of friends to the national authorities. To escape a result of this sort, or to weaken its effects on their colonial interests, our rulers felt compelled to arraign him and discountenance his opinions. The necessity of such action on their part is sadly confirmed by the determination of the council in London to prevent emigration to our coast and withdraw their patents of territory and privilege, and thus sweep away every vestige of civil and religious liberty, for which they had prayed, toiled, and suffered.

March 4. Among the efforts of our fathers to suppress immoralities, we have the following: "Ordered, that Robert Coles, for drunkenness at Roxbury, shall be disfranchised, wear about his neck, and so to hang upon his outward garment, a D, made of red cloth and set upon white; to continue this for a year, and not to leave it off at any time when he comes amongst company, under penalty of forty shillings for the first offence, and five pounds the second, and after to be punished by the court as they think meet; also, he is to wear the D outwards, and is enjoined to appear at the next General Court, and to continue there till the court be ended."

7. A discussion, as Winthrop informs us, takes place at a lecture in Boston, about women's wearing veils. Cotton, though while in England of an opposite opinion, takes the ground that wherever such a custom is not indicative of female subjection, it does not come under apostolic command. Endicott maintains the reverse of this position.

A spirit of jealousy had arisen between "Mr. James of Charlestown, and many of his people, so as Mr. Nowell and some

others, who had been dismissed from Boston, began to question their fact of breaking from Boston; and it grew to such a principle of conscience among them, as the advice of the other ministers was taken in it, who, after two meetings, could not agree about their continuance or return." Whether this difficulty came from preference to the religious privilege, greater under the two ministers of Boston, than that under one of Charlestown, or from a difference of views between the latter and his people about the degree of separation from the national church, we are not assured.

Richard Morris, being an ensign of the Boston company, had applied to the magistrates for a discharge, which they granted. The church, of which he was a member, considered this as a relinquishment of his duty. He gives ear to their statement, "confesses his fault," and receives the commission of lieutenant. In that day of extraordinary peril, by land and sea, for the comparatively weak population of our country, Christians here felt that to bear arms was an undoubted obligation.

April 1. The court order that every man, of or above twenty years old, who has been or shall be a resident here for six months, and not enfranchised, shall take an oath of fidelity to the government. The obligation contains the following passage: "I will always endeavor to advance the peace and welfare of this body politic. I will, to my best power and means, seek to divert and prevent whatsoever may tend to the ruin or damage thereof, and will give speedy notice [to officers of the government] of any sedition, violence, treachery, or other hurt or evil which I shall know, hear, or vehemently suspect to be plotted or intended against them, or any of them, or against the said commonwealth." These words have special signification. They are required and expressed in full view of the decisive action taken by the council in London for the utter prostration of all our colonial authority. Our rulers make such requisition as one means to guard against domestic enemies, to preserve their charter and its privileges.

Aware of their critical situation, and desirous to divide their responsibility with a House of Deputies, who may be more prominent before the public eye than all the freemen composing the company, the Assistants agree that delegates from the "generalty," or people, who also desire the same, may be united with them at the next General Court.

April 3. Interested specially for Ipswich, through his son, one of its residents, the governor goes thither. As they had no minister, the latter prophesies for them on the Sabbath. On the 10th he returned. On the 20th, "John Coggeshall, dismissed from the church of Roxbury to Boston, though he

was well known and approved of the church, yet was not received but by confession of faith."

April 28. As the finishing blow of court policy to crush the existence of Congregationalism, and liberty as its natural attendant, in New England, the king dissolves the council for such territory, and commissions another, more fully suited to carry out his purposes. This new body are composed of Archbishop Laud and ten others. Their commission, as in Hubbard, places all the colonies which are, or may be here, in their hands; allows them to remove and appoint, with royal consent, the governors, judges, and other officers, as they may see fit; and, in fine, so commits all the concerns of the country to their control, that, had their power been equal to their authority, every consistent Puritan would have been driven from the soil, and compelled to seek an asylum in some other land. Cast on the troubled waves of such perilous uncertainty, bitter indeed must have been the cup of our fathers' affliction. As a type of the bearing which so fearful a document had on their church affairs, an extract from it is here presented. "For relief and support of the clergy, and the rule and cure of the souls of our people living in those parts, and for consigning of convenient maintenance unto them by tithes, oblations, and other profits accruing, according to your good discretion, with the advice of two or three of our bishops, whom you shall think fit to call unto your consultations, touching the distribution of such maintenance unto the clergy, and all other matters ecclesiastical, and to inflict punishment upon all offenders or violators of the constitutions and ordinances, either by imprisonment or other restraint, or by loss of life or member, according as the quality of the offence shall require."

The clerical denomination, for whom provision is so made, had it gone into operation, would have been Episcopal. The punishment is prepared for such as may have dissented from them. The council are also authorized to establish ecclesiastical as well as civil courts here and in other colonies, for trying any case of complaint, and to compel those whom they count offenders here to give attendance in England, or wherever they shall order. Could they have complied with the license thus granted them, not a few of our chief men would have been forced to experience severities equal to those commanded by decisions of the Star Chamber. To meet the contingencies of a change so hard upon our non-conformist population, the council are instructed to apply regulations "to new and growing evils and perils." While the instrument thus constituting them the guardians of our country is considered by supporters of the national church as essential to secure the ruin of what they deem

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ultraism here, the friends of Puritanism look on it as a virtual inquisition to stop the mouth of inquiry and the action of reform.

May 1. From a letter, in Winthrop, of this date, written by Thomas Morton to his intimate friend, William Jeffrey, we have this extract: "The Massachusetts patent, by order of the council, was brought in view; the privilege there granted well-scanned upon, and at the council board, in public, and in presence of Sir Richard Saltonstall and the rest, it was declared, for manifest abuses there discovered, to be void. The king hath resumed the whole business into his own hands, appointed a committee of the board, and given order for a general governor of the whole territory to be sent over. I now stay to return with the governor, by whom all complaints shall have relief. So that now Jonas, being set ashore, may safely cry, Repent, you cruel separatists, repent; there are yet but forty days. The king and council are really possessed of their preposterous royalty and irregular proceedings, and are incensed against them; and although they be so opposite to the Catholics axioms, yet they will be compelled to perform them, or at leastwise, suffer them to be put in practice to their sorrow. And as for Ratcliffe, he was comforted by their lordships with the cropping of Mr. Winthrop's ears, which shows what opinion is held amongst them of King Winthrop, with all his inventions and his Amsterdam fantastical ordinances, his preachings, marriages, and other abusive ceremonies, which do exemplify his detestation to the church of England, and the contempt of his majesty's authority and wholesome laws, which are and will be established in those parts, invita Minerva."

This is the natural expression of triumph by a stanch Episcopalian and a decided opponent of Massachusetts and Plymouth, because they combined to expel him from the country. It repeats the idea that royal power had made a clean sweep of all guaranties for our political and religious privileges. It shows that the accusers of our authorities expected free indulgence to break down all the barriers which they had set up for the defence of non-conformity. It denotes that strong displeasure at the experiment of reform here had actuated the executive government at home to take away every support of its continuance. It points to the hard measure which would have been meted to our principal supporters of the Puritan cause had an opportunity presented, as almost every appearance indicated it would be. But He, who, by a ministering angel, struck off Peter's chains, took him from the guard, and brought him out of prison, fixes his eye on the troubles of our ancestors, and purposes to give them deliverance.

To carry out the royal purpose, promoted and sustained by

Land and his friends, in accordance with the plan previously described, all the English settlements from St. Croix, eastward, to Maryland, southward, are divided into twelve provinces, to be under as many lieutenant governors, and these under one general governor. For the last officer, Sir Ferdinando Gorges is appointed. The members of the former council for New England proposed, on the surrender of their charter, to have a city erected in some part of the territory, for the seat of the governor general, with ten thousand acres of land adjacent, to support a church therein and its clergymen.

On the subject just spoken of by Morton the grandson of Sir Ferdinando Gorges gives the ensuing relation. The undertakers of Massachusetts "went on so prosperously, that in a short while after great numbers resorted of all sorts of people, so that which he [Sir F. G.] had laboured to bring about before with so much paines and so little successe, was now effected in a high measure; but the greatest inconvenience was, that this country proved a receptacle for divers sorts of sects and schismes, which contemned the ecclesiastical government of this kingdome, as it stood at that present; whereupon it was ordered, that none should be suffered to passe into New England, but those that should take oaths of supremacy and allegiance, however daily reports were still brought over of their continued opposition to the authority that was then in being, insomuch, that, at last, my grandfather and some others were taxed as the authors of all these disorders, to which he alleadged, that although he had earnestly sought the planting of those parts, yet these things happened much contrary to his expectation, which answer, though it served for the present, yet it could not wipe away the jealousy that was entertained of him, whereupon; according as he was advised, he moved those lords that were the chief actors in the businesse, that they might resign their grand patent to the king, and passe particular patents to themselves." Here we have a representation, which appeared fair to the mind of the author, prepossessed as it was in favor of regal supremacy in the church. But it was very different to the perception of our fathers, who called no man master, who looked to none but Christ as the great head of the spiritual kingdom. While it censures them as filling their respective settlements with sectarian doctrines, they regarded these as the unadulterated teachings of the Scriptures. While it accounted the influence of their principles as a necessity for the relinquishment of the New England charter, and the consequent subversion of their own colonial privileges and existence, and subjection to all the prosecutions and afflictions endured by their brethren at home, they considered these as the results of a fixed purpose with the court



party there to crush the cause of Puritanism in every portion of their dominions. It gives a true version of the readiness and exertions of Gorges to have the whole of North Virginia colonized, and also of his great preference to have it done by sons of Episcopacy, rather than by those withdrawn from its protection and rewards.

May 14. The General Court assemble in the Boston meeting house, under a new and important regulation. A House of Deputies, being all professors of religion, are united with the Assistants of like character. This arises from a law of the colony, previously noticed, which requires every person of the company to be a church member. The sermon on this occasion is delivered by Cotton. He takes the position that no magistrate should be displaced from office without just cause. In the course of this session, a committee are designated to receive from Winthrop an account of what he had out of the common stock. The regulation of this property, though temporary, being a distinctive feature in the affairs of the Massachusetts Company, indicates that the latter corporation is still preserved fresh in the minds of our fathers, as a thing to continue as long as the charter on which it rests is retained.

The court adopt a new oath for freemen. By it these obligate themselves to obey the government of the commonwealth ; to support it with their " person and estate ; " endeavor to preserve its " liberties and privileges ; " reveal all treasonable designs against it, which may come to their knowledge, to " lawful authority ; " and when called to vote on any matter, " wherein freemen are to deal," will give their suffrage as they shall judge in their " own conscience may best conduce and tend to the public weal of the body, without respect of persons or favor of any man." In addition to this, the court agree that none but they have power to choose and admit freemen, to establish laws, to " elect and appoint officers, as governor, deputy governor, assistants, treasurer, secretary, captains, lieutenants, ensigns, or to remove such upon misdemeanor, as also to set out duties and powers of the said officers," and " to raise monies and taxes, and to dispose of lands." Though no cause for these regulations is assigned, yet they are evidently adopted to counteract the plans and exertions of the court party in England, to draw the colonists towards their wishes, and the imposition of a general governor and other officers, from abroad, over this and other colonies of New England.

During election week six vessels arrive with passengers and cattle. Though a fearful uncertainty hung over their liberties, still the population must have been gladdened by such accessions.

Rev. Thomas Parker and his company of about one hundred,

from Wiltshire, with others of the late emigrants, settle at Ipswich. He was son of Robert Parker, a noted Puritan divine, was born in 1595, and admitted to Magdalen College, Oxford, before his father was exiled. After this occurrence, he went to Dublin, and continued his studies under Dr. Usher. Thence he visited Leyden, in Holland, where he was favored with the instructions of Dr. Ames. At Franker, April 1, 1617, he received his A. M. He afterwards returned to England, and continued his theological studies. He settled at Newbury, Berkshire, where he preached as an assistant to Dr. Twiss, and also taught school. To escape from the troubles of non-conformity, he came to cast in his lot with the founders of our commonwealth.

Sewall, in his *New Heavens*, says of him, that he "was much about this time preaching and proving, at Ipswich, that the passengers came over on good grounds, and that God would multiply them, as he did the children of Israel." Such discourses were pertinent to the spiritual consolation of those against whose religious liberty a decree had proceeded from the throne, and while nought but a convenient opportunity delayed the practice of it from being followed with the prosecutions and afflictions of alleged heresy and rebellion. Leaving Ipswich, Parker and his company took up their abode at Quassacumcou,\* called Newbury. The river on which the place was situated was named *Parker* in honor of him, as the first of them, according to tradition, who ascended it in a boat.

James Noyes was son of a learned minister and schoolmaster, and his mother was sister to the distinguished Puritan, Robert Parker. He had his birth at Cholderton, Wiltshire, in 1608, and his education at Brazen Nose College, Oxford. After graduation, he assisted his cousin, Thomas Parker, in teaching a school at Newbury, in Berkshire. Here he professed religion, under the ministry of his colleague and Dr. Twiss. He afterwards became a preacher; but subjected to trials, because indisposed to comply with requisitions of the national church, he embarked for our country. Before this, he married Sarah, the eldest daughter of Joseph Brown, of Southampton. He accompanied his cousin, Parker. They preached or expounded alternately in the forenoon and afternoon of every day, during the whole voyage. For the first year after his landing here, Mr. Noyes preached at Medford, and then he settled at Newbury, with his relative, Parker. United in duties for the highest welfare of all with whom they were connected, they exhibited at friendship remarkable for its faithfulness and constancy.

\* The General Court records of Massachusetts have it *Wessacumcou*, (perhaps the final letter of this word is n,) and Winthrop's Journal *Quasacumquen*.

June. Among those who come to share in the experience of our inhabitants is Nathaniel Ward. He was son of John Ward, an Episcopal clergyman, and was born at Haverhill, in 1570. His mother's name was Elizabeth. He received his A. M. at Emanuel College, of Cambridge, 1603. He studied and practised law. After this he traveled into Holland, Germany, Prussia, and Denmark. While on this tour, he wrote, in 1618, to his brother Samuel. At the University of Heidelberg he became acquainted with the learned Pareus, who prevailed on him to become a preacher. Returning home, he was ordained at Standon, about twenty-seven miles from London. Simplicity's Defence states that he was a lecturer at St. Michael, on Cornhill, of the same city. He was required to appear before the bishop, December 12, 1631, on charge of non-conformity. The day after he wrote to a friend that he was arraigned yesterday, and his trial was put off till the next term, and he remarked, "I expect measure hard enough." Henry Jessey stated, the next January 9, that Mr. Ward was charged with rejecting the ceremonies and Book of Common Prayer. Feeling obligated to retain his opinion and practice, he was finally ejected from his clerical office. He looked to this country as the land of promise for those of his faith, though dark clouds hung over its privileges. He embarked for it in April, and arrived as already stated. He was called to labor at Ipswich.

Hull relates, under this year, "There was one Henry Bull and his companions, in a vessel, derided the churches of Christ, in our harbor, and when they came to Marblehead, in derision acted the gathering of a church; going to sea, were cast away among savage Indians, by whom they were slain."

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#### PLYMOUTH.

1632, June. About this date, some Frenchmen, under the command of a Papist, as Bradford supposes, rob the trading house of Plymouth undertakers, at Penobscot, of four or five hundred pounds' worth of goods. It was a heavy loss to its owners, whose Christian patience had been often tried by various reductions of their property.

October 26. To strengthen the bonds of friendship, and thus advance the great cause of religion in the country, Winthrop and others reach Plymouth on a visit for several days. They saw that tribulations for them were gathering in their fatherland, and that they needed the consolation and strength of Christian counsel to prepare them for the trial.

This year the friends of the first church at Plymouth are fearful lest its light be extinguished. Many move to Duxbury for purposes of farming, where they become a church. For preventing a further diminution at the former place, as Bradford relates, "it is thought best to give out some farms to special persons, that would promise to live at Plimouth, and like to be helpful to the church and commonwealth, and so tie the lands to Plimouth, as farms for the same; and there they might keep the cattle, and tillage by servants, and retain their dwellings here. So some lands are granted at a place called Green's Harbour, where no allotments had been made."

1633, January 2. From apprehensions of invasion, the Plymouth court pass the ensuing resolve: "Whereas our ancient worke of fortification is decayed, and Christian wisdom teacheth to depend upon God in the use of all good meanes for our safety, it is agreed that a worke of fortification be made about said fort, in March or Aprill, by the whole strength of men able to labour in the colony."

April 7. A letter from Captain William Pierce, cast away at Virginia, November 2, is received by the undertakers, who had a large amount of peltry with him, which was actual loss. Winthrop also lost, by the same wreck, nearly one hundred pounds in beaver and fish. The epistle remarks, "My whole estate, for the most part, is taken away, and yours, in a great measure, by this and your former losses, [by the French and Mr. Allerton.] A happy loss if our souls may gain. There is yet more in the Lord Jehovah than ever we had in the world."

May. Bradford writes in his manuscript, "I will give hint of God's providence in preventing the hurt that might have come by Sir C. Gardiner's means and malice complying with others. The intelligence I had by a letter from my much honoured and beloved friend, Mr. John Winthrop, governor of the Massachusetts." He then records this epistle, which, in view of the propitious result, says, "We purpose to express in a day of thanksgiving to our merciful God, (I doubt not but you will consider if it be not fit for you to join in it,) who, as he hath humbled us by his late corrections, so he hath lifted us up by an abundant rejoicing in our deliverance out of so desperate a danger; so as that which our enemies built their hopes upon to ruin us, he hath mercifully disposed to our great advantage." Such was the language of worthies, fit to lead in the founding of religious commonwealths. While diligent to employ all the wise means of free agency for deliverance from evil, their supreme trust for a blessing on their efforts was in the arm of the Almighty

June 24. In a letter from James Sherley, merchant of Lon-

don, to Bradford and the other undertakers, we have this passage : " I pray God to bless you, that you may discharge this great and heavy burthen, which now lies on me for your sakes, and I hope, in the end, for the good of you and many thousands more. For had not you and we joined and continued together, New England might have been scarce known ; I am persuaded not so replenished with such honest English people as it now is. The Lord increase and bless them." Here is Christian experience which rejoices to bear cost and contumely for the benefit of others in the present and future ages. Such a spirit, being rightly cherished and exhibited, is sure to triumph soon or late.

August 15. The answer of Massachusetts authorities to the accusations of Sir Christopher Gardiner and others, now sent to England, had been sanctioned by " the chief of Plymouth." These felt that if the blow, intended for the former more than themselves, should be effectual, it would maim, if not destroy, the great purpose of their emigration.

This summer many are sick at Plymouth with a fever. Upwards of twenty die. Some of these had come from Holland. Bradford adds, " all which cause much sadness and mourning among us, [and move] us to humble ourselves and seek the Lord by fasting and prayer, who was entreated of us." About the close of this season, Dr. Fuller dies with the prevalent disease. His will is proved October 28. According to the religious practice of his time, and long afterwards, he commenced such a document with the words, " First of all, I bequeath my soul to God, and my body to the earth, until the resurrection." While he earnestly and skilfully sought to relieve the colonists of Plymouth and Massachusetts who were afflicted with disease, his great exertion was to promote their spiritual benefit. He was active to preserve them from the impositions of hierarchy, but more so to have them blessed with the freedom of holiness. A passage from Morton thus speaks : " He was not only useful in his faculty, but otherwise, as he was a godly man and served Christ in the office of a deacon for many years, and forward to do good in his place, and was much missed after God removed him out of this world."

October. To improve the resources of the colony, the principal men had, the July preceding, unsuccessfully persuaded those of Massachusetts to engage with them in occupying Connecticut, and setting up there an establishment for traffic. Now they undertake the project themselves. While pecuniary gain is an object with them, the spread of spiritual influence is far greater. Thus actuated, they despatch William Holmes and others, by water, with materials for a trading house on the 25th.

After some resistance from the Dutch, he makes a settlement on premises afterwards known as Windsor.

November. About this time, Williams goes from Plymouth. Bradford makes the subsequent note of him: "He was a man godly and zealous, having many precious parts, but very unsettled in judgment, came over first to the Massachusetts, but upon some discontent, left that place and came to Plymouth, where he was friendly entertained according to their ability, and exercised his gifts amongst them; and after some time was admitted a member of the church, and his teaching well approved for the benefit thereof. He, this year, fell into some strange opinions, and from opinion to practice, which caused some controversy between the church and him, and in the end some discontent on his part, by occasion whereof he left them something abruptly; yet afterwards sued for his dismissal to the church of Salem, which was granted with some caution to them concerning him; but he soon fell into more things there, both to their and the government's trouble and disturbance." The cause for his removal is, as Hubbard informs us, that he had broached his particular opinions, and the fear of Elder Brewster "that he would run the same course of rigid Anabaptistry, which Mr. John Smith, the sebastist of Amsterdam, had done. Such as did adhere to him were also dismissed and removed with him, or not long after him, to Salem." Before Bradford and other principal men, such opinions, regularly drawn up by Williams, were laid for their consideration. Not tolerated here, they met with no better reception with the authorities of Massachusetts.

1634, January 2. Having been chosen formerly deacon of the church at Plymouth, John Doane, at the request of this body, as well as his own, is "freed from the office of an Assistant in the commonweale." This is another indication of a growing dislike among the Congregationalists of New England to have any immediate union between civil and ecclesiastical concerns, through their church officers.

May 15. A letter of this date is addressed by the Massachusetts court to that of Plymouth. It speaks of a sad occurrence, in which two men lost their lives at Kennebec, where the latter colony had a trading establishment. One of the killed, Moses Talbot, belonged to their men, and the other, John Hocking, to a pinnace's company, from New Hampshire, on a voyage of traffic with Indians. It appears that John Alden, a magistrate, was on the premises of such an event, and gave direction in the matter. On his return he stopped at Boston, and was arrested by request of a kinsman to Hocking, who was shot, for having slain Talbot. The Massachusetts' authorities, in their commu-

nication, ask those of Plymouth, if they will do justice in the case, which properly belongs to their jurisdiction. Winthrop remarks, "This we did that notice might be taken that we did disavow the said action, which was much condemned of all men, and which was feared would give occasion to the king to send a general governor over, and besides, had brought us all and the gospel under a common reproach of cutting one another's throats for beaver." The ground of this apprehension was no idle imagination. Already had it been determined, as before stated, by the executive at home, that a viceroy should take charge of the colonies, and thus terminate their independence as guarantied by patents. Every transaction of New England, which could be construed as contrary to their religious profession, and as favorable to violent disorder, was justly feared by the rulers thereof, lest it would hasten on the catastrophe of such a contemplated subversion of Congregationalism and its liberties.

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#### MAINE.

1632, February 29. The last territory granted by the council for New England is the "Pemaquod patent." Its proprietors are Robert Aldsworth and Gyles Elbridge, of Bristol. According to the conditions on which the council held their patent of New England, and on which they disposed of their soil to others, they requested the proprietors of the preceding colonies to have the advancement of religion as the main object of their policy. As Episcopalians, they consistently preferred that such care, so reasonable and essential to the success of new settlements, should be exercised under the forms of their own church. This had been done, except at Kennebec, while in the possession of Plymouth.

The mode in which the council partitioned the lands of Maine was far from what they desired, anticipated, and intended. Pressed by the progress of popular power in Parliament, they were unable to accomplish their first plan for erecting colonies here, with aristocratical grades and other appurtenances, conformable to those of England, so that they might become strong advocates of the crosier and crown. Being assured, as Gorges indicates, how far short Massachusetts had come of their expectations, by going over entirely to Congregationalism, and also driven to the wall by opposition to their charter, they conclude to return this instrument to the king, when suitable arrangements can be made.

A great reason why most of the early settlements in Maine were relinquished after a short trial was, that the emigrants, being members of the established church, were not liable to the reproach, disesteem, and persecution which dissenters suffered at home. Hence, while the latter had one of the strongest incentives to remain in their newly-adopted residence, and buffet the waves of affliction, the former were strangers to such influence, and thus more easily yielded, and hastened back to native land, kindred, and friends.

March 29. A treaty between England and France is signed by the two commissioners, which restores to the latter kingdom its American territories, and thus renders a large part of Maine liable to invasion from its Catholic subjects, as it already had been. Such a restoration is supposed to be brought about by the queen of Charles, — a strong Papist, and sister to the French king, — Laud, and Lord Treasurer Weston, who favor the designs of Cardinal Richelieu.

June. The apprehensions of the English colonists as to the restoration of Nova Scotia and other territory to the Papal King of France, begins to be realized. The truck house of Plymouth, at Penobscot, is visited by a vessel with some of his subjects on board from the quarter so relinquished. Under pretence of distress they are entertained hospitably. Taking advantage of the confidence reposed in them, they surprised the premises and property to the amount of five hundred pounds. On departing, they said to the Englishmen, "Tell your master to remember the Isle of Rhè," meaning the success of the French at such a place about nine years before.

November. As an occasion of alarm to the people at the eastward, are the proceedings of pirates, under Dixy Bull, who rob the fort at Pemaquid, and commit other depredations. Such outlaws are soon driven off by fear of the forces sent from New Hampshire and Massachusetts against them. Bitter experience taught them, that, however they ridiculed the religion professed by the colonists, it would have been far better for them, as a rule of action, even in reference to temporal good alone, than the licentious principles of their adoption.

1633, December 6. The council in London agree to a division of territory "lying on the north-east side of the harbour and river of Piscataway," between Sir Ferdinando Gorges and John Mason. These two proprietors, members of the same body, though greatly discouraged by the persevering and increasing opposition to the charter of the latter in England, still cherish their strong desire for having their respective grants more extensively and thickly populated.



1634. Being called to defend the New England Company against various charges before the House of Commons, Sir Ferdinando Gorges makes the subsequent remark: "I have spent twenty thousand pounds of my estate, and thirty years, the whole flower of my life, in new discoveries and settlements upon a remote continent, in the enlargement of my country's commerce and dominions, and in carrying civilization and Christianity into regions of savages." He cleared his associates from the complaint of monopoly, and also of having enriched themselves, because their disbursements far exceeded their income. As he had turned his attention chiefly to Maine, and expended much of his resources upon its settlements, what he has just remarked relative to his exertions for American colonization has a special bearing on this colony.

May 3. News reaches Boston that a deadly encounter, previously noticed, had taken place between Plymouth men, at their plantation for trade at Kennebec, and the company of a pinnace from New Hampshire. Talbot, of the former, was killed by Hockin, who commanded the latter, and he himself was immediately killed in retaliation. The chief cause of this event was, that those having charge of the truck house considered Hockin as an intruder on their limits, warned him to depart, and, because he would not, sent three persons to cut his cables, whose attempt to execute the order closed in the tragic result. Such a disaster was deeply regretted by the principal colonists, as a reproach to their professed purpose of promoting religious reformation, and an additional occasion for their opponents in England to charge them with fanatical inconsistency.

5. In a letter of Gorges and Mason to their agents, they write, "Wee, with the consent of the rest of our partners, have made a division of all our land lying on the north-east side of the harbour and river of Piscataway." Francis Williams was appointed governor of such divided territory, by its proprietors, as Hubbard represents. The prospect of this new magistrate was far from being unobscured, in both temporal and spiritual concerns.

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#### NEW HAMPSHIRE.

1632, November. The colonists being alarmed by the assurance that pirates, under Dixy Bull, had captured several boats and robbed the fort of Pemaquid, Neal fits out four small vessels, with forty men, in order to take them. The authorities of

Massachusetts coöperate, and send a bark with twenty more hands. The expedition proceeds to the place of the piracy, but finds the perpetrators escaped.

1633, March 25. Edward Howes, of London, writes to John Winthrop, Jr., "There are honest men about to buye out the Bristoll men's plantation in Pascataque and doe purpose to plant there five hundred good people. C. Wiggen is the chiefe agent therein."

Soon after this, Bristol merchants, who had bought the Dover and Swampscott patents of Edward Hilton in 1630, sell them to Lord Say and others for twenty-one hundred and fifty pounds. Massachusetts encouraged the last purchasers to buy them, "in respect they feared some ill neighborhood from them." As these new proprietors were of Puritan preferences and principles, such a consideration must have been very welcome to the Bay authorities, who naturally wished to be surrounded by those who labored for the same great cause of reformation.

August 15. Neal sails with Graves from Boston to visit England, and confer with the company of his patent. Eight of his people go with him.

October 10. The ship James arrives at Salem, in eight weeks from Gravesend. She brings Governor Wiggin, formerly Wiggans, Rev. William Leveridge and about thirty passengers for the jurisdiction of the former, as well as others for Massachusetts and Virginia. Belknap informs us, that the people of Dover soon build a meeting house on the most eligible part of the Neck, and that this edifice "was afterwards surrounded with an entrenchment and flankarts."

Mr. Leveridge received his A. B. at Emanuel College, Cambridge, 1625, and his A. M. 1631. He comes from the port of his arrival to preach at Dover. Here he continues his labors till 1635, in which year, on the 9th of August, he unites with the Boston church. Under May 6 of the same year, he has leave from the Massachusetts court to transport corn for family use to the place of his residence.

1634, May 3. Shortly before this, a rencontre takes place, as before stated, at Kennebec River, between some of the upper plantation and others of Plymouth. The former had gone thither in a pinnace for purposes of traffic. The latter order her commander, Hockin, to leave the premises, but he refuses. They proceed to cut his cables. He kills Moses Talbot, one of their number, and, in retaliation, is immediately killed himself. This was a sad event for the individuals thus untimely cut off, and also for the increase of prejudice against the colonists which would occur on the report of it in England.

## RHODE ISLAND.

1632, April 12. Governor Winthrop, as he relates, is requested by the Plymouth authorities to grant them a loan of powder. By this means, the latter wished to be more prepared to resist forces of Canonicus, who had attacked their trading house at Sowams, so as to capture Massasoit, who had fled thither with his people for protection. These invaders, hearing that their service was needed to encounter the Pequods, soon decamped without effecting their purpose.

August. The chief magistrate of the Bay receives a call from Miantonomo with his large family, consisting of a squaw and twelve sannups. While the sachem was with the governor at a meeting, where a sermon was preached, three of the former's children broke into a dwelling house. The father of these delinquents, untutored in the gospel code, consented that they should be whipped, and then he sent them home. But he and the rest of his family went to the governor's house, and tarried there till the evening. However painful to the parties concerned in requiring such punishment the scene may have been, it is evident that the occasion was employed to honor Christian worship and principle in presence of the sachem.

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CONNECTICUT.

1632, March 19. Prompted by a desire like that of those who founded Massachusetts to secure an asylum for the Puritans of England, oppressed by the measures of Bishop Laud, several persons obtain a patent of Connecticut, as contained in Trumbull, from the Earl of Warwick. This grant extends one hundred and twenty miles on the sea coast, west of Narragansett River, and thence to the "South Sea." Among the grantees are William Viscount Say and Seal, Robert Lord Brook, Richard Saltonstall, and John Humfrey, the two last of whom hold a similar relation to Massachusetts. The subsequently noted John Hampden is also of their number. During this year, the Dutch, in order to secure their trade on the Connecticut, set up the arms of their government at its mouth, where Saybrook was afterwards situated.

1633, June 8. By order of Van Twiller, governor of New Netherland, Jacob Van Curler purchases a tract of land for their company, on this stream, at Suckiag, afterwards Hartford,

from the Pequod sachem, Wapyquart. The object of such a purchase is for a trading establishment secured by a fort. Curler immediately takes measures for its accomplishment. When the post is sufficiently finished, he has two cannon placed there for its defence, and calls it "The House of Good Hope."

July 12. Commissioners from Plymouth, Bradford and Winslow, wait on the governor and Assistants at Boston, with a proposition for both colonies to set up a truck house in Connecticut, to carry on a trade with the Indians for hemp and beaver. A principal object of policy in the matter is to exclude the Dutch from the premises. This people, though of the Protestant faith, were less preferred, for near neighbors, than Englishmen, who felt a deeper interest in the reformation, for which they chiefly adventured their all. Still the Massachusetts authorities make objections, and decline such an enterprise, while those of Plymouth adhere to their purpose.

October 2. The bark Blessing returns from New Netherland to Boston. Her captain relates conversation which he held with Van Twiller, governor of that colony. The former showed the charter for New England to the latter, as embracing Connecticut within its boundaries, and desired him not to occupy it as intended. This appears to have been done by the advice of Winthrop, because he owned the vessel, and Van Twiller, the 23d ult., addressed a respectful letter to him on the subject. The communication observed that the States General had conveyed the same territory to the West India Company, and wished the English here to delay enforcing their claim to it until the question should be settled by their respective governments. The author of it remarked, he wondered that such a step had not been taken before, so that, "as good neighbours, we might live in these heathenish countries."

Near this time, the Plymouth Company send William Holmes and others in a vessel, with materials for a truck house to plant on Connecticut River. Though stoutly threatened by Dutchmen, who had lately occupied a position, afterwards Hartford, which they bought of a Pequod chief, he passed up, and sat down on the premises subsequently known as Windsor. Expecting aggression from such opponents, and to prevent surprise from the natives, he has his position fortified with palisades. As a means of justly claiming the soil thus taken, the company sent, with Holmes, several sachems of Connecticut, who had been forced to flee before the Pequods, who readily sold it to them.

25. The Dutch make a formal protest against the proceedings of Holmes, whose directors could have done the same against theirs with equal propriety. They afterwards despatch

seventy soldiers to eject him and his men from the country. But he averred that, as he had a commission from the Plymouth governor to defend his premises in the name of his sovereign, he should do it to the last extremity. Such decision closed, for the present, the threatened hostilities. These events were very unpropitious for religion among the Protestants concerned in them and for its influence on Indians in their vicinity.

This year, John Oldham and three others, as Winthrop tells us, go from the Bay, by land, to Connecticut. Here they are kindly entertained by the sachems, who give him some beaver, and show him hemp, which is of good quality, and grows there in abundance.

## CHAPTER VIII.

**MASSACHUSETTS.** Maryland emigrants. — Passengers and donations. — Encouragement. — Charter demanded. — Delay to answer. — Earl of Warwick. — Skelton dies. — Thanksgiving. — Government of trade in London. — Benefactors. — Fashions. — Winthrop's generosity. — Emigration. — Lothrop and Symmes arrive. — Commission for the overthrow of the colony. — Stand of F. Gorges. — Land. — Scotch Puritans. — Resistance intended. — Scotch and Irish gentlemen. — Newton people. — Lectures. — Lothrop. — Mrs. Hutchinson. — Advice for Wilson. — Colors deprived of their cross. — Eliot's apology. — Williams revives his opinions. — Emigrants stopped in England. — Cotton. — Ordination. — Lectures. — Baptism of a child presented by its grandfather. — Change of names for months. — Feared detention. — Question of rejecting a general governor, and having cross in colors. — America as Magog. — Council agree to surrender their charter. — Division of their territory. — General governor. — Metropolis. — Church. — Clerical advice. — Stoughton's book. — Foreign vessels. — Preparation for resistance. — Cross. — Neglect of worship. — Maverick put under restraint. — Church discipline. — Lynn church. — Blackstone moves. — Conditions of emigrating. — Accusations against Massachusetts. — Their reasons of action. — Council vote to give up their charter. — Alarm. — Land and other commissioners to control the country. — Williams arraigned. — Permit for other plantations. — Allerton's expulsion. — Report on defacement of colors. — Dealing with Endicott. — Question about the cross. — Fundamental laws proposed. — Stoughton's writing. — Emigrants. — New England charter relinquished. — Quo warranto against Massachusetts charter. — Ship intended to bring the general governor. **PLYMOUTH.** Conference about the collision at Kennebec. — Lothrop's trials. — Accusation of Gorges. — Plymouth trading place in Connecticut. — Ordination at Scituate. — Reyner succeeds Smith. — Blackstone becomes an inhabitant. — Commission to Land and others. **MAINE.** Surrender of New England charter. — Agamenticus. — Reply of La Tour. — Patent of Gorges. **NEW HAMPSHIRE.** Mason's letter. — Communication from Lords Say and Brook. — Patent of Mason. — Privileges. **RHODE ISLAND.** Mortality of natives. — Trade. — Williams negotiates for land in Narragansett. **CONNECTICUT.** Ravages of small pox. — Question about settlements in Connecticut. — Pequods desire an alliance. — Plymouth traders threatened by the Dutch. — Connecticut granted by the council. — Petition for emigration. — Treaty with Connecticut Indians. — Leave to move hither. — Pieces of ordnance granted settlers for defence. — Their journey.

### MASSACHUSETTS.

1634, June. As a matter ominous of evil in the judgment of most among our population, Winthrop mentions the settlement of Maryland, so named by the Queen of England, with emigrants, many of whom were "Papists, and did set up mass openly."

An indication of the extensive desire among the Puritans at home for an abode here is evinced by the arrival of fourteen vessels at Boston and one at Salem, this month, with passengers. Among these are John Humfrey and his wife Susan, a sister to the Earl of Lincoln. He had procured much money for the colony, and the promise of various persons to pay certain sums annually for the same purpose, Richard Andrews, afterwards mayor of London, sent over with him sixteen heifers, then a valuable present. Each of the ministers here is to have one, and the rest are to be divided among the poor. Half of the increase from those given to the former persons is to be reserved for subsequent ministers. Humfrey brings over a donation of "ordnance, muskets, and powder" for the colony. At this point, Winthrop records several passages of important bearing. "For godly people in England began now to apprehend a special hand of God in raising this plantation, and their hearts were generally stirred to come over."

Sympathy of this kind was like balm to the wounded spirits of our ancestors. It confirmed their purpose to keep on their chosen way, though forbidden by the highest of worldly policy, and leave the end thereof to the Disposer of all events. The same author proceeds. "It appeareth further, by many private letters, that the departure of so many of the best, both ministers and Christians, had bred sad thoughts in those behind of the Lord's intentions in this work, and an apprehension of some evil days to come upon England." He also furnishes an answer to the inquiry, How could the hundreds of emigrants, who had recently landed here, clear themselves from their native land, when the council in London had positively laid an embargo on the vessels which were to bring them? He informs us that the restriction was removed on petition of the commanders, who were engaged in the fishery at Newfoundland, and came to Massachusetts for supplies before they returned. "Among others, we received letters from a godly preacher, Mr. Levinston, a Scotchman in the north of Ireland, whereby he signified that there were many good Christians in those parts resolved to come hither, if they might receive satisfaction concerning some questions and propositions which they sent over. Likewise Mr. Humfrey brought certain propositions from some persons of great quality and estate, (and of special note for piety,) whereby they discovered their intentions to join with us, if they might receive satisfaction therein." The latter proposals were made by Lord Say and Seal and Lord Brook; but they were not answered till two years afterwards. The tenth of them suggested that freeholders should be entitled to the civil privileges of the company, without being members of any church. This being opposed to the colonial constitution, which

the principal inhabitants regarded as best suited to their religious commonwealth, it meets with but little approbation. Of the preceding Mr. Levinston, Hubbard remarks, "It is known that himself and many of his friends were on their way hither, but were forced back by extremity of weather; and since, it appeareth God had other work for him to do in his own country."

The letter which Cradock had been charged by the authorities at home to send hither, demanding the surrender of our charter, had come to hand. The governor and Assistants considered this momentous requisition, and, while deciding to acknowledge the receipt of such a communication, concluded "not to return any answer or excuse to the council at that time." They adopted this measure on the salvo, that the subject could be only settled by the General Court, whose session would be the next September. They were aware that delay of this sort could not but offend Laud and his associates, who controlled the king. Still they ran the hazard of it, perceiving the increase of favor to them from many of the best people in the three kingdoms, and the growing dislike to regal power, as exercised in political and religious affairs, augured a revolution, for greater liberty, as at no great distance.

July. A communication is received by Winthrop from the Earl of Warwick, who congratulates him on the advancement of the colony, proffers his aid, and encourages perseverance in its behalf. In the view of our fathers, his nobility was thus greatly ennobled.

August 2. The Rev. Samuel Skelton, of Salem, dies. He leaves a son, Samuel, and three daughters. Johnson says of him, "Skelton for Christ, did leave his native soil." Though called to endure extraordinary trials for the cause of his divine Master, he never faltered from the high duties of his mission. His was the sublime satisfaction of having efficiently aided to plant the tree of life, for the healing of multitudes in the wilds of America. His aim and end were glorious, as God counts glory.

20. Public thanksgiving, as appointed by the General Court, is observed for the arrival of passengers this summer. Our population had cause of special gratitude to God, that he had so controlled the royal injunction for preventing emigration hither, that it was suspended, and kindred spirits suffered to come over and unite with them in their holy enterprise.

September 3. Under a session, begun at this date, the General Court order a letter addressed to George Harwood and others in England, members of the company for trade, and connected with the colony here, entreating them to choose a treasurer "of this plantation," as successor to the said Harwood. This fact is



adduced to show, that though the general impression has been long entertained, that when Winthrop came away from England, all immediate connection of our colony with others there, in a public capacity, ceased, it is not correct, and that our authorities were not so much isolated from influences and correspondence, relative to their temporal and spiritual interests, on the other side of the Atlantic as has been supposed.

The legislature also vote that letters of thanks be forwarded to the Countess of Warwick, Messrs. Paynter, Wood, and other benefactors to this commonwealth. Aid of this sort from the mother kingdom, for building up the cause of religion in a new country, is doubly precious to the receivers, in that it cheered them in their despondency, and helped forward the enterprise so dear to their hearts.

September 3. Fearful lest excessive desire for costly dress and compliance with unstable fashions would tend to injure the commonwealth, the court pass various restrictions upon such inclinations.

4. Having submitted his account of disbursements for the public, by which it is evident that he had expended much more of his own property than he had received, Winthrop makes the ensuing remark: "It repenteth me not of my cost or labour bestowed in the service of this commonwealth, but do heartily bless the Lord God that he hath pleased to honour me so far as to call for any thing he hath bestowed upon me for the service of his church and people here, the prosperity whereof, and his gracious acceptance, shall be an abundant recompense to me." This is the genuine spirit of primitive Christianity. It accords in language and principle with the dictates of infinite wisdom. It differs widely from the most of state parlance in modern times, which seems ashamed to use it, lest met with the charge of weak-headed zeal. To the generous sacrifices of such founders as its author is our commonwealth greatly indebted for its survival when borne down with the heaviest difficulties.

One of the main questions before the court is, whether Hooker and his people may properly leave this colony and settle in Connecticut. After a discussion of much interest to those concerned in it, the matter could not be decided principally, on account of the magistrate's negative vote, which had been allowed to preserve the balance of power between them and the larger number of deputies, but which was soon repealed. That more harmony might prevail on the subject, a fast is kept the 18th, in all the congregations. A considerable number of church members in Dorchester and Watertown cherish the same purpose of emigrating to Connecticut as those of Newton did.

September 18. Among two hundred passengers who arrive about this time are the Rev. John Lothrop and Zechariah Symmes. The former goes to Plymouth colony. The latter was son of William Symmes, born at Canterbury, April 5, 1599, and graduated at Emanuel College, Cambridge, 1620. The next year he was chosen lecturer at St. Anthony or Antholin's, in London. Having been harassed for his non-conformity, he retreated to Dunstable, 1625, where he continued his gospel labors. Still molested, he came to abide here, and, if need be, to suffer with those of kindred views and motives. As a great alleviation of his trials, he had the coöperation of his wife, Sarah, whom Johnson describes as "indued by Christ with graces fit for a wilderness condition, her courage exceeding her stature, with much cheerfulness did undergoe all the difficulties of these times of straites."

As a matter previously known to our authorities, and of the utmost importance to their colonial interests, the document for revolutionizing the whole polity of New England, so far as impressed with the stamp of Puritanism, arrives. Concerning it we have the record of Winthrop. "There came over a copy of the commission granted to two archbishops and ten \* others of the council, to regulate all plantations, and power given them, or any five of them, to call in patents, to make laws, to raise tythes and portions for ministers, to remove and punish governours, and to hear and determine all causes and inflict all punishments, even death itself. This being advised from our friends to be intended specially for us, and that there were ships and soldiers provided, given out as for carrying the new governour, Captain Woodhouse, to Virginia, but suspected to be against us, to compel us by force to receive a new governour and the discipline of the church of England, and the laws of the commissioners, occasioned the magistrates and deputies to hasten our fortifications and to discover our minds each to other."

Here we have cause and effect of no ordinary character—the resolve of the throne to crush the progress and very existence of civil and religious liberty here, and the no less fixed determination of our fathers to defend so precious a boon at the hazard of encountering all the maritime force which England might send against them. The freemen of our soil had endured too much from the hard restrictions of hierarchy to come under them again without a struggle. While they felt themselves bound, by the religion they professed, to commit aggression on none, they were equally conscious that compliance

\* According to the commission in Hubbard's *New England*, page 264, there are two archbishops and nine others, as signified on page 179 of this work.

with its sacred teachings demanded them to protect their spiritual heritage, though at the cost of perilous resistance to the crown. This was indeed a momentous position for men situated as they were. But they carefully scrutinized all its aspects, as they were persuaded, in the light of revelation, and prayerfully committed their cause to the God who "ruleth in the armies of heaven and among the inhabitants of the earth." In relation to this subject, Sir Joseph Williamson noted that Sir F. Gorges insisted on the annulment of the charter of Massachusetts, and said they "grew already troublesome, and usurping on the neighbouring planters." Archbishop Laud endeavors to have universal conformity in the church, but is met with much resistance. The Scotch Puritans begin to entertain designs for changing the government.

September 24. After the recess of a fortnight, the General Court meet under circumstances of the utmost seriousness and responsibility. Before they commence business, Cotton preaches to them from Haggai ii. 4, etc. He lays down "the strength of the magistracy to be their authority; of the people, their liberty; and of the ministry, their purity; and that the ultimate resolution ought to be in the whole body of the people," whose duty and right are "to maintain their own liberties against any unjust violence." The last clause looked to more than a common quarter. Its direction had already been distinctly indicated by the acts of defence for repelling the imposition of agents to carry out the dark details of the royal commission.

As the means of enabling the colonists to prosecute such a purpose, they had recently received from Dr. Wilson, in England, a valuable supply of ordnance and other stores. In accordance with so remarkable a stand, the legislature, at this session, assess an unusually large tax, take measures to fortify Castle Island, Dorchester, and Charlestown; to supply Saugus, Salem, and Ipswich with large guns in addition to what they had; and for other similar and thorough preparation for a contest which requires stout hearts, and, as they believe, self-consecration on the altar of purity and piety.

The same body order, on the 25th, that "the Scottish and Irish gentlemen who intend to come hither shall have liberty to settle in any place up Merrimack River not possessed by any." These are probably the same persons of piety, previously referred to, as desirous to unite in the noble work of securing and extending the gospel on American soil.

For accommodating the Newton people, who were desired not to leave for Connecticut because of the perilous relation sustained by Massachusetts to the mother country, and other considerations, Boston is allowed enlargement at Mount Wollaston and Rumney Marsh.

October 5. On the subject of religious lectures, Winthrop informs us, four of them "did spend too much time, and proved over burdensome to the ministers and people." The former of these, "with the advice of the magistrates and consent of their congregations, did agree to reduce them to two days, viz., at Boston on Thursday, and at Newton the next Thursday; at Dorchester on Wednesday and Roxbury the following Wednesday.

Mr. Lothrop, being at Boston when the sacrament was to be administered, desired, after the sermon, that he might be present, though not to partake with the church. The reason assigned by him for not communing with them was, that he was liable to self-deception, had a dismission from his former congregation or church, and he thought it not fit for him to join another until after a proper time. Having a call to settle as pastor at Scituate, he went thither.

November 2. Mrs. Ann, wife of William Hutchinson, unites with the Boston church. She was daughter of the Rev. Edward Marbury, of Lincolnshire and London. The sentiments she brought with her were to be the occasion of trouble which she little expected.

6. To his son John, who had lately embarked for England, Winthrop writes, "Advise Mr. Wilson," who had gone thither, "to keep close by all means, and make haste back." Such caution was no doubt given lest Wilson should not be sufficiently careful to avoid the officers, who were on the scent for non-conformists.

7. A complaint is made to the Assistants, by Richard Brown, of Watertown, and others, that the colors of Salem had appeared without the cross. The court issue a warrant to apprehend Richard Davenport, ensign, and others of the latter town, who may have been concerned in such defacement. On this matter, a transcript from Winthrop follows: "Much was made of this, as fearing it would be taken as an act of rebellion in defacing the king's colours, though the truth was, it was done upon this opinion, that the red cross was given to the King of England by the pope, as an ensign of victory, and so a superstitious thing, and a relique of Antichrist." The interference of Brown in this matter indicates that he still adhered to his favorable opinion of the Romish church for which he had been disciplined. There is no wonder, considering the attitude of resistance in which Massachusetts stood with regard to the royal commission for the abrogation of all they held most dear, that there was great anxiety lest the disfiguration of the national standard should be construed as treason at home, and bring down on the colonists the swifter execution of so desolating a decree. While,

however, the people of Salem, and the inhabitants in general, had no desire to retain the cross in their colors for any partiality to their sovereign, it seems to have been taken away as an emblem of Papacy. The dissenters here and in England fully believed, from what they perceived in the court policy, that there was a strong bias in the king, swayed by his queen, a zealous Catholic, and in Laud and others of his chief supporters, to favor the Romish faith and forms. Hence it was no strange occurrence, whatever may have been thought of its expediency, that opposition to so dangerous a tendency in both countries, showed itself by displaying an ensign, deprived of the emblem, which, as Congregationalists were persuaded, the Romanists worshipped as an idol, and thus failed to trust in the Saviour of whom it was only a type.

November 27. In view of the probability that exaggerated accounts concerning the removal of the cross from the Salem ensign might reach the ears of the new council for North Virginia, the Assistants decide to forward a letter to Emanuel Downing, a member of the company in England, stating the facts as they were, so that, if occasion required, he might offer a suitable apology.

Winthrop says of the communication, "Therein we expressed our dislike of the thing and our purpose to punish the offenders, yet with as much wariness as we might, being doubtful of the lawful use of the cross in an ensign, though we were clear that fact, as concerning the manner, was very unlawful."

As Eliot had recently, while preaching, complained that the Assistants did not consult the people when they made a treaty with the Pequods, such authorities requested Cotton, Hooker, and Weld to deal with him. On conversation with them, he confessed that he had been mistaken on the subject, and he thus retracted before his congregation the next Sabbath.

Informed that Williams did not abide by his agreement, but had resumed public censures of the royal charter, of the colony's holding their territory under such a tenure, and of the churches in England as Antichrist, the Assistants notify him to answer at the next court. An occurrence of this sort must have been very trying to our rulers. They had recently forwarded to the mother country as favorable an explanation as they could of the Salem colors' being defaced, so that prejudice might not unjustly operate against the colony. Now they are called to meet the renewal of Williams's opinions, who had, as Hubbard affirms, "inspired some persons of great interest" in his parish, "that the cross ought to be taken away," which, together, could be no less than exceedingly offensive to the council for New England, and to the king himself, as a violent

denial of his authority. Though they regretted to interfere with the discourses of Williams, they knew that their neglect to arraign him would increase the great danger of being compelled to defend their soil against the invasion of a fleet, commissioned by the crown to force an arbitrary government over all North Virginia.

December. Perceiving that Massachusetts had not returned their charter as commanded, and that they were otherwise inclined to maintain what they deemed their rights, and that Puritanism here and in Plymouth, if allowed free course, would raise a stronger barrier against the introduction of Episcopacy, Land and other commissioners for this country issue an order to the warden of the Cinque Ports and other haven towns. This document runs thus — that as great numbers had emigrated hitherto, among whom “there are many idle and refractory humours, whose only end is to live as much as they can without the reach of authority,” none shall leave the realm for New England without certificates of having taken the oath of supremacy and allegiance, and of being conformists with the discipline of the national church. This is the second edition of the same purpose. The former was suspended, as already mentioned. The latter goes into immediate operation. It denotes that the court party felt that they must bestir themselves to suppress the liberty exercised here, or else it would soon get beyond their control. Though it was rigidly enforced, so that open dissenters were not allowed by law to have free egress from their sufferings, still many came over under it, who had not seceded from the established church, but who, after their arrival, became useful Congregationalists.

3. To a friend in England, who had written to him, Cotton replies, giving reasons why he and Hooker felt obligated to come hither and be actively useful, instead of remaining in their native land close prisoners.

6. Mr. Symmes and wife are admitted to the Charlestown church. On the 22d, being fast day for the occasion, he is elected and ordained their teacher.

11. “The lectures at Boston and Newton,” as Winthrop writes, “return again to the former course, because the weather was many times so tedious as the people could not travel.”

16. In a reply from the church of Boston to the Dorchester church, we have the following. The question is, whether a grandfather, in full communion, may properly offer his grandchild, whose immediate parents are not professors of religion, in baptism. The answer is, that he may do so, being cautioned that he piously educate such a child, and that its parents do not thereby neglect entering into covenant with God and his church.

1635, January 13. In his journal, Winthrop begins to change the name of the month, expressing this date as follows: eleventh month 13, and thus continues with the other months in their order. This, as previously remarked, is to discountenance a Papal custom. Among the reasons why Boston church observe a fast is, that their pastor and brethren, gone to England, are likely "to be troubled and detained there." By the late order, they, as dissenters, could have no permit to leave the kingdom.

19. All the clergymen of the colony, except Mr. Ward of Ipswich, convene in Boston at the request of the governor and Assistants. The occasion of this session, in one of its bearings, is among the most important which ever came before men. It is related in the words of Winthrop: "These two questions. 1. What ought we to do if a general governor should be sent out of England? 2. Whether it be lawful for us to carry the cross in our banners. In the first case, they all agreed that if a general governor were sent, we ought not to accept him, but defend our lawful possessions, (if we are able,) otherwise to avoid or protract. For the matter of the cross they were divided, and so deferred it to another meeting." The former answer is very explicit. It shows the fixed purpose of our leading colonists. They perceived that their reception of the anticipated governor for the whole of New England would destroy the political and ecclesiastical privileges of Massachusetts and Plymouth, and bring the whole country under the stringent and persecuting policy of Archbishop Laud. Sooner than be accessory to suicidal conduct of this kind, they chose to oppose, at the hazard of life, the landing of such a royally commissioned official, or, at least, if unable to cope with the armament which may accompany him, to delay submission to him as their ruler. They knew full well, that whatever course of this dilemma they should ultimately adopt, it would expose them to the still greater displeasure and severity of the court party, if the latter should triumph in their crusade against the advocates and supporters of reformation. But let worst come to worst, they were resolved, while committing themselves to the guidance and protection of the Almighty, to preserve their commonwealth, with its Puritan institutions, as their own abode, and a refuge for the many in England who suffered for faith like theirs, so long as they had mind to think and physical power to resist.

The decision about the cross, while it was not so important as the preceding, was less conclusive. Some of the congress, though not large in number, yet of vital consequences in their advice, approve the display of such a sign, and others think it should be laid aside. Both parties are fully aware that its omis-

tion is calculated to bring on the colonists a charge of treason against regal supremacy. Mr. Hooker appears, from his treatise on the subject, to have maintained, with others, the lawfulness of such an appendage to the banners. His language was, "Not that I am a friend to the crosse as an idoll, or to any idollatry in it; yet I am not able to see the sinfulness of this banner in a civil use."

January 31. Mr. Mede, who considered America as the Magog of St. John, sends Dr. Twiss his conjecture about this apocalyptic character, as well as Gog, in his millenarian prophecy. The doctor replies to him, 2d of March, in the subsequent terms: "Now I beseech you, let me know what your opinion is of our English plantations in the new world. Heretofore I have wondered, in my thoughts, at the providence of God concerning that world. Sometimes I have had such thoughts: why may not that be the place of the New Jerusalem? I pray, shall our English there degenerate, and join themselves with Gog and Magog? We have heard lately, divers ways, that our people there have no hope of the conversion of the natives. And the very week after I received your last letter, I saw a letter written from New England, discoursing of an impossibility of subsisting there, and seems to prefer the confession of God's truth in any condition in Old England, rather than run over to enjoy liberty there; yea, and that the gospel is likely to be more dear in New England than in Old; and lastly, unless they be exceedingly careful and God wonderfully merciful, they are like to lose that life and zeal for God and his truth in New England, which they enjoyed in Old; as whereof they have already woful experience, and many there feel it to their smart." The representation here adduced by Dr. Twiss is dark indeed. It is made under the greatest discouragements, in view of the fact, that the strong arm of national power was lifted and ready to prostrate all which could reconcile our fathers to their hard lot in a strange land. Though intended as a correct description, it is too deeply shaded, and thus led the doctor to doubt his prophetic speculations more than facts authorized. The reference made to this country as the one where the kingdom of Christ would be set up accords with the preaching of Mr. Parker at Ipswich. With regard to the conversion of the Indians, our ministers had not labored altogether without some encouragement. They kept such duty continually in view, and, though their success had been small, they looked to the Hearer of prayer and Blessor of effort for light to shine upon their prospect.

February 3. In furtherance of the Laudian policy for sub-  
jecting the British dominions in America to the uncompromising  
requisitions of hierarchy, the Plymouth council in England,



being met at the house of Lord Gorges, agree to surrender their charter to the crown. They do this provided that they are allowed to distribute their territory among members of their own body. According to their long premeditated plan, and having divided the soil into twelve royal provinces, they draw lots for each of them in presence of his majesty. The first extends from St. Croix to Pemaquid, and is called the county of Canada, and assigned to the Earl of Sterling. The second, from Pemaquid to Sagadahock. The third, from Kennebec to Androscoggin. The fourth, from Sagadahock to Piscataqua. The two last fall to Sir Ferdinando Gorges. The fifth, between the Piscataqua and Naumkeag Rivers, with Masonia at the mouth of the Sagadahock and the south half of the Isle of Shoals, set off to Governor John Mason. The sixth, from Naumkeag River around Cape Cod to Narragansett. Thus the two Puritan colonies, which greatly disturbed the court party at home, are united for the purposes of a jurisdiction which is intended to blot from their face every line and iota of their religious freedom. So merged, they are appropriated to the Marquis of Hamilton.\* The seventh, from Narragansett to the half-way bound between that country and the Connecticut River, and fifty miles inland, for Lord Edward Gorges. The eighth, from said bound to the Connecticut River, and fifty miles inland, for the Earl of Carlisle. The ninth, from this river along the sea coast to the Hudson, and thirty miles back. The tenth, immediately above this division, between the two rivers, forming a parallelogram of forty miles deep. The two last are set off to the Duke of Lenox. The eleventh, from the west side of Hudson River thirty miles into the country towards the fortieth degree, where New England begins. The twelfth, bordering on and above the latter section, thirty miles on the same river, and forty miles into the land. The two last are for Lord Mulgrave.

The council speak of the "general governor, now presently to be established by his majesty for the whole country," and the mode of his successors being appointed. They state that provision is made that five thousand acres, in each of the twelve provinces, were reserved to quiet claims for former grants to certain persons. They relate that "the lord of every one of these provinces was to send, the same year, ten men with the general governor, well provided." They propose "the building of a city for the seat of government; unto which forty thousand acres may be allotted, besides the division above mentioned," and that, for the erection of such a metropolis, the proprietors of

\* Chalmers and Trumbull assign to him the territory between the Narragansett and Connecticut Rivers. But Sir Ferdinando Gorges, in his description of New England, p. 44, 45, gives the bounds as here stated.

each province shall be at the expense of sending over ten men with the same chief ruler. Further, ten thousand acres are granted for a church and the support of its clergymen in the contemplated city. Thus following out the details for the imposition of a feudal system on the whole land of North Virginia, the council are fully sensible that the grants of the soil, as issued from under their own hands, are serious impediments in their course. Hence, acting as though such assignments made to the companies of Plymouth and Massachusetts had been forfeited by adherence to religious reformation, and that of the latter especially so, by refusing to give up their charter, and as if the whole of them, by the intended change of legislative administration, would be brought under the surer control of hierarchy, the same body petition his majesty as follows: "That the patent for the plantation of the Massachusetts Bay may be revoked, and that all those who have any other grants within any of these provinces, whether they have planted or not upon any part of the same, yet they shall enjoy their lands, laying down their *jura regalia*, if they had any, and paying some reasonable acknowledgment as freeholders to the lord of the province of whom they are now to take new grants of their said lands," except such of the former grants as may be considered too large or deemed "to have been unlawfully obtained," which shall be reduced to fit bounds; and whoever of the grantees refuse compliance with these regulations, they shall lose all title to their territory.

Thus, to the eye of human policy, the foundation of a new empire in the west is laid on the ruins of Protestantism, which denied the supremacy of the king and the authority of his bishops. But in the vision of Him whose knowledge grasps all the events of eternity, whose might controls the boundless works of his hand, whose wisdom often baffles the most sanguine anticipations of oppression, it had been decreed far otherwise.

February 10. As a specimen of the extent to which clerical opinion was regarded, the ensuing fact is adduced: The eleven men of Charlestown are desired by their constituents to ask advice of the pastor and teacher in cases of conscience.

March 4. Mr. Hooker preaches before the General Court. They call Mr. Israel Stoughton to an account for having written a book which had occasioned them much trouble. He desires of them "that the said book might forthwith be burnt, as being weak and offensive." He seems to have taken the position in this work, that "the Assistants were no magistrates." They decide that he shall have no public office in the commonwealth for three years. With increased fear that a new governor would be brought to their shores, forcibly dissolve them, and

carry out the design just explained, they pass the subsequent order: No person shall visit any ship, without leave from some Assistants, until she has been anchored twenty-four hours at Nantasket, or some other harbor, near which are inhabitants, nor then, unless it is evident that the vessel is manned by friends, "under the pain of confiscation of all his estate, and such further punishment as the court shall think meet to inflict." They require that a beacon shall be set up on Sentry Hill, in Boston, a watchman stationed there from April 1 to the last of September. On the discovery of danger, the beacon shall be fired, an alarm given, also messengers presently sent by that town where the danger is discovered to all other towns within this jurisdiction.

To meet the emergency of circumstances caused by the dread of a sudden invasion, they appoint a board of war.\* These are authorized to make every preparation for defence, to exercise martial law, to confine persons suspected of treasonable purposes against the commonwealth, and even put such to death as will not be subject to order. Suspecting some of the inhabitants as favorable to the anticipated revolution in their government, they require all males, resident in the colony six months, sixteen years old, and not enfranchised, to take an oath of fidelity. Against this imposition of oaths Williams arrayed all his influence, because he held it to be universally and always wrong. They call Endicott to answer concerning the cross. But as they are undecided "whether the ensigns should be laid by in regard that many refused to follow them," the matter is deferred to the next session. The board of war require, "in the mean time, that all the ensigns should be laid aside."

Informed that some persons neglect public worship on the Sabbath, the court order each of such offenders to be imprisoned, or pay not above five shillings for one offence. Penalty of this kind was subsequently increased.

The same authorities order Samuel Maverick and his family to move from Noddle's Island and reside in Boston before the last of next December; to entertain no strangers longer than one night without leave from some Assistant, on penalty of one hundred pounds. As he was a strenuous Episcopalian, it is very probable that he was so put under restrictions from fear lest he might have visitors for the purpose of promoting the introduction of the appointed government of New England. The injunction, as to his moving, was countermanded in the September session.

The court desire the churches to agree on a uniform mode of

\* Governor Thomas Dudley, Deputy John Winthrop, Sen., John Humfrey, John Haynes, John Endicott, William Coddington, William Pynchon, Increase Nowell, Richard Bellingham, and Simon Bradstreet.

ecclesiastical discipline in accordance with the Scriptures, and also to consider how far the magistrates are bound to interpose for the preservation of such discipline. This indicates, that however continually expecting the subversion of their liberties, they still looked well to their religious interests, as though there was light to break from the dark cloud over them.

March 15. The churches are represented in a council at Saugus. The question before them is relative to members of Mr. Batchelor's church, who had withdrawn from communion, because they disliked his proceedings and doubted whether they were regularly organized. As they did not send him an account of their grievances when he requested, he moved to deal with them. Having notice of this step while attending a lecture in Boston, the ministers whom he and his friends had desired to give them advice, but whom he wished to delay their visit till the seceding brethren were disciplined, concluded to go immediately, with consent of their churches. They meet, as already stated, and spend three days. Having heard both sides, they conclude that, though the church there had not been properly formed, "yet after consent and practice of a church estate had supplied that defect. So all were reconciled."

About this time William Blackstone leaves Boston, and takes up his residence at Pawtucket, six miles from what was afterwards known as Providence, and within the bounds of Plymouth colony. As an Episcopal clergyman, he did not fully sympathize with the requisitions of conformity in England, nor with the practice of Congregationalism in the colonies. Thus situated, he could not have been inclined to cast in his lot with the people of Massachusetts in resistance to the purpose of the government at home for a radical change in the civil and religious concerns of New England. To have continued here, under these circumstances, would have encumbered him with very serious difficulties. This is most likely to have been the cause why he retired to a secluded spot.

April 8. As a specimen of the strictness and conditions of emigration to this country, the ensuing transcript of this date is given: "Theis parties hereunder mentioned are to be transported to New England. They have taken the oath of allegiance and supremacy, per certificate from the parish of St. Alphage." Other vouchers of this sort testified, that such passengers had been examined "of their conformity to the orders and discipline of the church of England." Here is no permission for the professed dissenter, who called none but Christ the head of the church, to escape from the inflictions which awaited him in every direction.

April 25. The council for North Virginia, still preparing for the return of their charter, give several reasons for such an intention. Among them is, that Massachusetts occupied the patents of Robert Gorges and others, and thus acted the part of intruders. They not only enlarged their limits, "but wholly excluded themselves from the public government of the council authorized for those affairs, and made themselves a free people, and for such hold of themselves at present, whereby they did rend in pieces the first foundation of the building, and so framed unto themselves both new laws and new conceits of matter of religion and forms of ecclesiastical and temporal orders and government, punishing divers that would not approve thereof, some by whipping and others by burning their houses over their heads, and some by banishing, and for the like; and all this partly under other pretences, though for no other cause, save only to make themselves absolute masters of the country and unconscionable in their new laws."

These are the ex parte charges of men who weighed the motives and actions of our ancestors in the balance of prejudice. Taking it for granted that the polity of the national church was law and gospel, they frowned on the plain platform of religion adopted by the latter as far otherwise, and them as no ordinary transgressors, for believing, choosing, and doing as they had. But it was not so with these. They took an opposite view. They felt impelled by the force of moral obligation to seek a far country, where they might throw off more freely the cumbersome trappings of hierarchy, as no less than the inheritance of Papal corruption. Their authority from the throne for such privilege did not require them to fall back on the secondary rules of the council, who now accuse them of slighting their wishes. With regard to the order for consuming the house of Morton, as well as the one for pulling down that of Thomas Gray, at Marble Harbor, they issued them to rid their jurisdiction more effectually of two whom they judged to be dangerous and rebellious subjects. As to the stripes of Ratcliffe, in times when such a mode of punishment was very common, they considered them as due to him for his insolent conduct. The banishing of these and Gardiner they believed to be necessary for the safety of their small and tottering commonwealth. They were prompted by no blind impulse of cruelty. Had they been strong enough to abstain from giving such examples of severity as a terror to others similarly inclined, they would gladly have adopted milder means to prevent public evil. But situated as they were, they felt assured that to deal leniently with those who denied, ridiculed, and trampled on their authority, was the death warrant of their civil and religious institutions.

The charge that our fathers meant to cut loose from allegiance to the crown, let its policy be what it may, is not unconditionally and fully correct. Like multitudes in their native land, they were no disciples of non-resistance and passive obedience, especially when oppression would force them to rob God of their heartfelt attachment to his truth and service. Like them, they were ready to sustain the course of the national government so long as it secured to them their charter rights. Further than this, in essential concerns, they resolved not to go. They studied the document which came from the king's hand, and well knew that it was granted with the express understanding, that they were coming hither with their numerous sacrifices, to establish a Puritan commonwealth, and that it empowered them to enact and enforce laws for the preservation of its peace and the promotion of its prosperity. They had already given proof, that while these privileges were continued to them, they would be loyal, but the moment they were threatened with invasion, even under the sanction of the crown, they would vigorously prepare to defend them with all their means and might. Hence we perceive that their plea was different from that of their accusers before the throne.

The latter, in reference to the individuals who had suffered from the hands of our rulers, continue their declaration — "So as their complaints posting first to ourselves, that had no sufficient means to redress or give satisfaction to the persons aggrieved, they were at last of necessity petitioners to his majesty, who, pitying their cases, referred them to the lords to examine the truths thereof, and to consider the means of reformation; who calling some of us to give account by what authority, or by whose means, these people were sent over, and conceiving us to be guilty thereof, we were called from our houses, far remote in the country, at unseasonable times, to our great charge and trouble; but, as innocence is confident, so we easily made it appear, that we had no share in the evils committed, and wholly disclaimed the having any hand therein, humbly referring to their lordships to do what might best sort with their wisdoms; who found matters in so desperate a case as that they saw a necessity to take the whole business into their own hands, if otherwise we could not undertake to rectify what was brought to ruin. After all these troubles, and upon those considerations, it is now resolved, that the patent shall be surrendered unto his majesty, and that it may please his royal majesty to pass particular grants unto us of such proportions of lands as we have mutually agreed upon and are recorded before in this book, that so we, having his majesty's grants of the same under a settled government, may the more cheerfully proceed in planting of our

several provinces, and with a better courage and assurance prosecute the same to a full settling of the state of those countries, and dutiful obedience to all such as shall come unto us, to his majesty's laws and ordinances there to be established." While giving a history of the causes which induced them to give up their title of New England, the council confirm what has been repeatedly noticed — even the purpose of the government at home to have the whole of such relinquished territory brought under their control; equally stern and afflictive to colonial dissenters from hierarchy, as it was in their own kingdom.

April 26. All the towns are alarmed with the report that two large, strange ships are hovering on the coast. The governor and Assistants meet in Boston, and despatch a shallop to Cape Ann for ascertaining the truth. This was otherwise than the previous representation. The vessels mentioned were small, and belonged to friends. Such an excitement most probably had its origin from the anxious expectation which the public had; that they might be daily attacked by forces from London, to impose upon them the general governor.

30. The Court of Assistants arraign Williams for preaching against the administration of oaths to "unregenerated" men. His objection is, that such an act was communion with impenitent persons in what was a form of worshiping God, and thus inducing them to take his name in vain. He is examined on the subject in presence of "all the ministers." With their impressions of such an obligation, as fitted to secure greater faithfulness of the subject to government, especially in their very critical relation to the crown, there is no wonder that our authorities feared that the opinion, if unrestrained, would have a pernicious effect on the interests of the commonwealth. Endicott, the parishioner of Williams, had adopted views like those of the latter on this topic; but he yielded them to the arguments of such as were differently persuaded.

May 6. At a session of General Court, commencing at this date, the inhabitants of Roxbury and Watertown have leave to settle other plantations, provided they remain under the jurisdiction of Massachusetts. This desire to retain the population, though at a considerable distance, was to command as much available force as possible to resist the introduction of the arbitrary rule already appointed for the asylum of the oppressed.

As a means of more fully occupying the shore of the Merrimack, and thus keeping it from encroachments of the Catholic French at the eastward, as well as to comply with the wants of emigrants, a plantation is allowed at Quassacumcou, or Newbury.

Isaac Allerton, having been ordered by the legislature to leave Marblehead, makes over all his houses, buildings, and stages for

fishery to his son-in-law, Moses Maverick. No other reason can be assigned for his expulsion so likely as that of his adherence to the opinions of Williams, whose parish embraced the precinct of his residence.

The report of a committee is made concerning the defacement of the cross in the Salem colors by Endicott. It states that he had acted in this manner without due authority ; that, while suspecting such a sign as the mark of idolatry, he should have made exertion for its disuse in other plantations ; that he had implicitly charged his associate magistrates with abetting false religion, and had exposed the colony to the still greater displeasure of the government in England. It therefore proposes that he be admonished and left out of public office for one year. At the same time, it recommends him to the charitable consideration, that " he did it out of tenderness of conscience, and not of any evil intention."

The document, thus presented, is complied with. Endicott is reprov'd and omitted, by the freemen, for one year, from their lists of Assistants and military commissioners. While many of the colonists entertained an opinion like his own about the cross, he expressed his in the overt act of cutting it from the standard, and therefore was made an example. State policy rendered it needful for him thus to suffer in order to appease the resentment of the court party in London, for such a seeming denial of the royal supremacy. But for this, there is reason to believe that he would have received applause rather than blame.

As evidence that the same body, while so dealing with him by constraint for the sake of keeping the commonwealth from a far greater evil, sympathized with him in his affliction, they place him on a board of surveyors to run the line between Ipswich and Newbury.

The question proposed to the assembled freemen about "altering the cross in the ensign," is put over to their adjourned session. A motion was made to exchange it for the red and white rose, being a symbol of union between the houses of York and Lancaster. It was recommended that endeavors be made to "still their minds, who stood stiff for the cross," until harmony should ensue concerning the matter. The ministers had engaged to correspond with their friends in England for advisement on the controversy.

The independent influence of Congregationalism in our churches is manifested by their members who constitute the body of freemen. These advise that, seeing there were not sufficient laws for direction of the Assistants, in various cases which came before them for decision, and consequently too much was left to their discretion, a committee be designated to



form a set of rules in resemblance to a magna charta, which, "being allowed by some of the ministers and the General Court, be received as fundamental laws." The work, written by Israel Stoughton, which disparaged the power of the Assistants, and for which he recently apologized, and was disqualified from sustaining any public trust for three years, must have had an influence to promote such a measure.

At the gathering of a church, this year, at Newbury, Mr. Parker preaches a sermon, wherein, as one subsequently testified, he maintains that the power of discipline belongs to the whole church who should give evidence of piety. The discourse being closed, the brethren enter into covenant, and choose Mr. Parker for their pastor, who accepts their call, and joins with them in covenant. On the same occasion, Mr. Noyes is elected teacher. This was on the Sabbath, "in the open air under a tree." The Congregational mode, taught by Mr. Parker at the formation of this church, was afterwards varied to conform with Presbyterian views, which produced long and unhappy discussion.

Thomas Bracey or Brucy is at Ipswich, and probably an assistant to Mr. Ward, in the ministry. Mather places him among those who had been of this profession before coming to New England, and assigns his place of residence at Branford, which was settled 1644, and in Connecticut. He and his wife had seats assigned to them, March 10, 1646-7, in the meeting house of New Haven. The Nonconformists' Memorial, speaking of one who bore his name, as of the ejected ministers, says that "he was noted for a good preacher in the university, and afterwards about Westminster, where he preached privately among his friends."

June 7. As an encouragement in the increase of their numbers and resources for the defence of their liberties, our fathers are favored with the arrival of sixteen ships, in six weeks, having passengers and live stock. Among them, so come to help build up the cause of a better Christianity, is Peter Hobart. As he is affirmed to have arrived the 8th, he may have been in one of the ships which Winthrop says reached the mouth of the bay the day before. He was son of Edward Hobart, and born at Hingham, in England, in 1604. He took his A. B. in 1625, and his A. M. in 1629, at Magdalen College, Cambridge. Unwilling to comply with the restrictions of prelacy, he sought another field of gospel labor. He became freeman the year of his arrival. He resided at first in Charlestown, where he was admitted to the church 30th of August.

11. After protracted discussions and propositions, the council for New England return their charter to the king. They do

this with the knowledge that he had empowered Laud and other commissioners to bring the same territory under a regimen which would be equally abhorrent to the advocate of ecclesiastical reform in Boston or Plymouth as in London. The whole plan was written inside and out, like the prophetic scroll, with implicit woes against the religious freedom of our sires, whose minds and hearts were deeply imbued with the self-denying doctrines of inspiration.

June 13. Such a relinquishment is followed up with immediate and continued proceedings of judicature. At the trinity term, now commencing, as the plantation records in London state, a day is appointed for the proprietors of our charter to appear and answer the accusations laid to their account. A quo warranto is duly issued to render such notice seasonable and lawful. Among the charges which this document brings against the patentees, is that they had kept "a constant councill in England," and another in Massachusetts.

16. By a communication from Lord Say and from the testimony of persons recently arrived, it is evident that a large ship of war, intended to bring over the governor general for the designated provinces and for the execution of the archbishop's purpose, was so injured in launching as to be unfit for service. It was no fanaticism of the patriotic and pious Winthrop, which prompted him, in view of the fact, thus to express himself: "The Lord frustrated their design."

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#### PLYMOUTH.

1634, July 9. Bradford and Winslow, with Smith, their pastor, visit Boston, relative to the unhappy collision at Kennebec. They discuss the subject with Winthrop, Cotton, and Wilson. The conclusion is, that, though Plymouth had a right, from patent, to the traffic there, they regret that their servant killed the other, though in self-defence, and that less violent means were not used to secure their claim, and they determine that more peaceful deportment shall be practised. In accordance with this conclusion, the governor of Massachusetts and Winthrop wrote an apology for the occurrence to the authorities of England.

About this date, Giles Saxton leaves his pastoral office at Scituate, and goes to Boston. To avoid prosecutions for non-conformity, he crossed the ocean in 1630. The next year, he was admitted freeman in the Bay. After relinquishing his

charge, as already stated, he took passage for England. While on the voyage, a storm overtook the vessel, and she was expected to sink. Mr. Saxton said to those around him, "O, who is now for heaven? who is bound for heaven?" When landed on the soil of his fathers, he continued to dispense the doctrines of grace. He was settled as minister of Leeds, Yorkshire. Some have thought that, by a mistake in the Christian name, he may have been the one reported as *Peter Saxton*, who took his A. M. at Trinity College, Cambridge, in 1603. He was "a studious and a learned person; a great Hebrician;" and what is far better, a diligent servant of Jesus Christ.

This year, the notes of Sir Joseph Williamson state, that Sir Ferdinando Gorges charged New Plymouth with using influence to have the Dutch settle on the Connecticut River, and that the reason for such conduct was, the colony wished to retaliate on the government of England, because they were prejudiced against them, and that Edward Winslow, being there next year, was, therefore, committed. The opposition made by the Dutch to planters from Plymouth, located on that river, indicates a very different inclination from what has been just related, one which shows that this colony were far from preferring the New Netherlanders for neighbors to any of their people. The imprisonment of Winslow, as he described the matter, was for his Puritanism and that of his fellow-colonists.

November 23. John Lothrop, having arrived September 18, in the ship Griffin, with about thirty of his people, ~~as dismissed by the church of Plymouth, as he~~ is purposing to become the minister of ~~another~~ Scituate. He had been educated at Oxford, and settled at Egerton, in Kent, as an Episcopal clergyman. In 1624, he, having become a Congregationalist, succeeded Henry Jacob in the Southwark church.\* The latter left his charge, at this time, for Virginia, where he died. On April 29, 1632, Lothrop and sixty of his flock were assembled for worship in a private house. Forty-two of them were seized and imprisoned, and eighteen escaped. He remained so confined over two years, during which time his wife died, and his children were in distressed circumstances, and then he was released on condition that he left the kingdom. The conformity which thus severely exacted obedience from him made itself far less conformable in his sight.

December 22. A letter had been sent to the governor of Massachusetts, giving information that the Plymouth establishment of trade in Connecticut had been visited by an armed force

\* This church is said by some to have been the first Congregational church in England, but the Scrooby church, of the same denomination, was earlier.

1635.]

from the Dutch on Hudson River ; but being prepared for defence, it is left unmolested.

1635, January 8. A church is formed at Scituate, and, 19, John Lothrop ordained their pastor. A part of them are from Plymouth church. When the Plymouth men went to settle at Scituate, as Morton states, " Mr. Timothy Hatherly came out of England with his family, and seated himself there also, and several other godly ones of other places, especially divers out of Kent repaired thither. These all joined together, and became a comfortable and exemplary church of God. The Lord sent unto them that precious servant of his, Mr. John Laythrop, who came to them out of great persecution."

March. Near this time, John Reyner begins to preach at Plymouth. Shortly after the dismissal of Mr. Smith, the next year, he is ordained as his successor. He is supposed to have emigrated from England shortly before he so renewed his labors in this country. He had his A. B. from Magdalen College, Cambridge, 1625. He escaped from the fiery trial for Puritanism, that he might more freely enjoy and promote its privileges.

About this date, William Blackstone, desirous to be free from the anxious responsibilities arising from the perilous condition of Massachusetts, moved into the jurisdiction then claimed by Plymouth, and took up his secluded abode on the east of Pawtucket River.

In reference to a document of the last year, which was intended to seal the doom of our colonial liberties, Morton subsequently furnishes us with the ensuing fact and remarks : He was aware that through it the commissioners were appointed to rule the chosen refuge of our ancestors, with all the severity from which the latter had fled. " By the underworking of some enemies to the churches of New England, the following commission was procured of the king. What the reason was, that it was not put into execution, I cannot learn. I have transcribed it, that after ages may improve it, as an experiment of God's goodness to this poor church at Plymouth, who, with other churches in New England, was in as great danger to share in drinking as deep of this bitter cup as any other, if the Lord had not prevented it."

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MAINE.

1634, April 28. The council surrender their charter to the king, though the decree against it was never fully executed. They had manifested a deeper interest in the prosperity of

Maine than in that of any other part of their jurisdiction in New England. The last entry upon their records is in epicurean style. "We have been bereaved of friends; oppressed with losses, expenses, and troubles; assailed before the privy council again and again, with groundless charges, and weakened by the French and other foes without and within the realm; and what remains is only a breathless carcase: we, therefore, now resign the patent to the king, first reserving all grants by us made, and all vested rights — a patent we have holden about fifteen years."

July. Still mindful of his colony at Agamenticus, Gorges sent supplies to the people there, which arrive about this time. Though selected for governor general of New England, he perceives that there is no certainty of his appointment's being carried into operation, and his plans for the advancement of Episcopacy through so large a jurisdiction's being executed.

November. A depredation is made by La Tour and his men on an establishment of Isaac Allerton and others, at Machias. Meeting with opposition, the assailants killed two of the guard, captured the rest, with four or five hundred pounds in merchandise, and returned to Port Royal. Allerton soon took a voyage to see La Tour and obtain satisfaction. The latter replied, "My authority is from the King of France, who claims the coast from Cape Sable to Cape Cod; I wish the English to understand, if they trade to the eastward of Pemaquid, I shall seize them." Thus received, the former came back, without accomplishing his purpose, to relate the substance of his conference.

1635, February 3. Having concluded to resign their charter to the king, the Plymouth council in London assign their territory to members of their own body. In such a division, Sir Ferdinando Gorges has the tract from Kennebec to Piscataqua. This change is intended to fall in with the purpose of the royal party for retaining Maine under the influence of the national church, and bringing the whole of North Virginia to sustain a similar relation.

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#### NEW HAMPSHIRE.

1634, July 10. A letter from Mason is received by Ambrose Gibbons, accompanied with emigrants and provisions for the establishment of two mills, under the direction of Henry Joselyn. The writer regrets that their company, except Gorges and himself, are disinclined to adventure more for strengthening the colony. His language is, "I am sorrye in that so good a busines (albeit hitherto it hath bene unprofitable)

should be subject to fall to the ground. Therefore I have strayed myself to do this at this present, and could have wished that the rest would have joined." He mentions the division between him and Gorges, with consent of the other partners, as to territory on the north-east side and harbor of Piscataqua. He adds, "I have disbursed a great deal of money in your plantation, and never received one penny."

August 6. In reply to him, Gibbons speaks of his oppressive service and his destitute condition. But he adds, "God's will be done."

October 14. Under this date, Winthrop writes, "The Lords Say and Brook wrote to the governor and Mr. Bellingham, that howsoever they might have sent a man-of-war to beat down the house at Kennebeck, for the death of Hockin, yet they thought better to take another course, and therefore desired that some of ours might be joined with Capt. Wiggin, their agent at Pascataquack, to see justice done." Such forbearance, on the part of these noblemen, accorded with their friendliness to the cause of the Puritans, and was very important in promoting a peaceable adjustment with Plymouth, and thus preventing ground for further accusations against New England before the council, who had the administration of its affairs.

1635, April 22. In accordance with the division of their territory of New England, February 3, and with their policy to have such country brought under a government favorable to regal supremacy and hierarchal domination, the Plymouth council grant a patent\* to John Mason, of his partition. This embraces the area between Naumkeag and Piscataqua Rivers, sixty miles into the country, with the south half of the Isles of Shoals, which is to constitute New Hampshire. It also includes ten thousand acres at the entrance of the Sagadahoc, south-east part, with the islands on its seaboard, to be known as Masonia. It grants him all the privileges of government over such territory as the council had possessed, reserving the right of appeal for all its inhabitants to proper authorities in England. It further requires him and his heirs and assigns to furnish "four able men conveniently armed and arrayed for the warre to attend vpon the governor of New England, for the publick service of, within fourteen dayes after any warneing given."

\* Before such a document was taken in the name of Mason, it was drawn a few days previously, April 18, in the name of his brother, John Wollaston, citizen and goldsmith of London. The king was to have one fifth of the gold and silver mines, as usual, and the council "one peppercorn" annually.

## RHODE ISLAND.

1634, January 20. Of the small-pox, which prevailed far westward among the Indians, seven hundred of the Narragansetts are stated to have died.

November 5. John Oldham arrived at Boston with a cargo of five hundred bushels of corn from the Narragansetts. This and the next year, Roger Williams negotiates\* with Canonicus and Miantinomo about lands for a plantation. He seems to have anticipated removal for his opinions, and to have made preparation accordingly. Of the Narragansetts' inclination to part with their territory, we have an instance, as mentioned by Prince, under October of 1630, wherein a company from Massachusetts, trading for corn, learned that Indians upon an island, which he thinks was Rhode Island, would sell this place for a small sum.

## CONNECTICUT.

1634. January 20. Winthrop informs us that Hall and two more, who went to Connecticut, November 3, after being lost and suffering much, return to Massachusetts with a report that the small-pox had spread far west among the Indians, and that so many of them had died, that they had no disposition for traffic.

September 4. The question previously agitated respecting the removal of Hooker and his church from Newton to Connecticut, comes before the General Court of Massachusetts, as a matter of superior importance. For the accomplishing of such a purpose, six of his people come hither, in July, to find a fit location. Reasons for their change of abode are, that they have not land enough for their cattle, and consequently are deficient in means to support their ministers, and unable to accommodate any more of their friends, who may emigrate to them; that the place to which they propose to move is convenient and productive, and in danger of being occupied by others, either of Dutch or English; and that they are very desirous to live in this quarter. Objections to these arguments are, that they are bound by their oath to seek the good of the commonwealth where they live; that, in view of state policy, they should not withdraw, because Massachusetts is weak and "in danger to be

\* See his deed to Providence, in 1661.

assailed ;" such a departure would not only take away many from them, but also turn aside those who would otherwise come to them ; that Hooker's company, if settling here, would be in peril from the Dutch, Indians, and the authorities at home, who would not suffer them to occupy territory without a royal patent ; that they had opportunity to be accommodated with more land in the jurisdiction where they dwelt, and that "the removing of a candlestick is a great judgment, which ought to be avoided." Being unable to agree on this matter, the court adjourn to the 24th. Prior to their separation, they order the land of Boston about Muddy River to be for the use of Newton people, if they do not move away. Having met as agreed on, they conclude that such change of residence should not take place, and they who wished to make it accept the enlargement of their bounds, as made by Boston and Watertown.

November 6. The Pequots have agents at Boston treating with the authorities for an alliance, because they have war with the Narragansetts and with the Dutch.

December 22. The Plymouth trading establishment had been recently visited by a hostile party of Dutch from Hudson River, but showing itself prepared for defence, it is left unharmed.

1635, February 3. As a portion of New England, intended to be under the jurisdiction of a general governor, and subject to the orders of Laud and other commissioners, Connecticut is lotted\* out to meet such an arrangement.

While a settlement on this soil is liable to so disastrous a change, the emigrants in Massachusetts, who had sought for it, still cherish a wish to make the trial. Accordingly they renew their petition to the General Court.

March 12. Winthrop is represented by Morton as writing the subsequent facts to the governor of Plymouth, relative to the treaty made with Connecticut Indians the preceding November : "To let you know something of our affairs, you may understand that the Pequots have sent some of theirs to us, to desire our friendship, and offered much wampam and beaver, etc. The first messengers were dismissed without answer ; with the next we had divers dayes conference ; and taking advice of some of our ministers, and seeking the Lord in it, we concluded a peace and friendship with them, upon these conditions—that they should deliver up to us those men who were guilty of Stone's

\* Trumbull states, that this division, from Narragansett to Connecticut River, was granted, April 20, 1635, by the New England council, to the Marquis of Hamilton. Sir Ferdinando Gorges (*Description of New England*, pp. 44, 45) represents that such territory, the preceding February 3, fell within the assignments of Lord Edward Gorges and the Earl of Carlisle, and that its bounds, beyond the Connecticut River, came within the soil appropriated to the Duke of Lenox.



death, etc., and if we desired to plant in Connecticut, they should give up their right to us, and we would send to trade with them as our friends, which was the chief thing we aimed at, they being now in war with the Dutch and the rest of their neighbours. To this they readily agreed, and that we should mediate a peace between them and the Narrhagansetts."

May 6. In the session commencing now, individuals who had petitioned the Bay authorities for leave to occupy this soil are granted the privilege, if they continue under their jurisdiction. In view of their exposure to compulsory efforts from the Dutch, who claim the land, and attacks of Indians, who may become hostile towards them, the authorities of that colony, under 3d of June, pass the subsequent order: "Three pieces are granted to the plantations that shall remove to Connecticut, to fortify themselves." Such encouragement seems to have been given according to a treaty of the Bay authorities with the Pequots, the year before, who conceded their right of soil in this state, to the former, so far as they should need it for their settlers.

This summer, as Trumbull states, a company of about one hundred men, with women and children, mostly from Dorchester, with a few from Newton and Watertown, set out for a residence here. After a difficult journey of fourteen days, they reach Mettaneug, afterwards Windsor. Still cherishing the sentiments of piety which brought them from their native land, they are actuated mainly with the wish to spread the blessings of their religion wherever they dwell. On their way, they are careful to worship God, in whom they trust for protection. In this service, they sing psalms and hymns, which attract the attention of Indians, who "looked on with silent admiration."

Influenced by similar motives, people from Watertown gradually depart, and form a settlement at Pyquag, or Wethersfield. They put up a few huts, in which several men lived through the winter. Those at Newton prepare for emigration, the next spring, to Suckiaug, or Hartford.

## CHAPTER IX.

**MASSACHUSETTS.** Weymouth and Hingham settled. — Charges against Williams and his supporters. — Salem offended. — Letters for admonition. — Shipwreck of Avery and Thacher. — Williams withdraws fellowship from his church. — Richard Mather. — Visit of Gorges. — Mand, Fower, and Burdet. — Salem deputies. — Restraint on Maverick taken off. — Bulkley and others have a grant of Concord. — Fortifications. — Ordination at Hingham. — Peters. — Shepard's interview with Laud. — Jones. — Flint. — Carter. — Walton. — Vane. — Friends of New England. — Smith excluded. — Williams arraigned. — Order for his banishment. — Reasons for this measure. — Cotton's views. — Notice to Elder Sharp. — Apology of Salem church. — Reception of inhabitants. — Cotton's change of opinions. — Process against the charter. — Ordination. — Vane joins Boston church. — Dr. Pratt called to an account. — Care of Boston to exclude bad inhabitants and prevent litigation. — Abundant immigration. — Intention to send Williams to England, but he had escaped. — J. Q. Adams's opinion. — Peters. — Decision of Batchelor's difficulty. — Deliberation as to the mode of government. — Church formed at Newton. — The number essential to constitute a church. — Decease of Mr. Maverick and Mrs. Shepard. — Wish of dissenters. — Fast proposed by the churches. — More stringent administration. — Legislative grant to Shepard. — Cross for ensigns. — Council for life. — Orders for the promotion of public good. — James leaves his people. — Norton. — Objections to gathering a church at Dorchester. — Shepard's letter. — Royal purpose. — Questions of Salem church. **PLYMOUTH.** Profanity. — Proposal to recover Penobscot trading plantation. — Winslow's imprisonment in London. — Account of Norton. — Connecticut land. **MAINE.** Reproach. — Aggression of the French. — Desire for the help of Massachusetts. — Gorges' plan. — General Court at Saco. **NEW HAMPSHIRE.** Mr. Leveridge leaves Dover. — Mason dies. — Hampton plantation. — Vaughan's letter. **RHODE ISLAND.** Mr. Williams escapes to Seekonk. — His friends. — Advice of Winthrop. — Letter of Sir William Martin. **CONNECTICUT.** Immigrants arrive. — Complaint. — Claims of Plymouth and the Dutch. — Massachusetts appoints a constable for the settlements. — Winthrop, Jr.'s commission. — Vane's instructions. — Defence. — Colonists suffer. — Settlers for the mouth of Connecticut River. — Men cast away. — Scarcity of food. — Immigrants. — Davenport. — Inhabitants return to the Bay. — Massachusetts legislature appoint rulers for the plantations. — Members of Dorchester church come hither. — Loss of property. — Roxbury company. — Orders of commissioners as to sale of arms, and a church of members from Watertown. — Higginson preaches at Saybrook.

## MASSACHUSETTS.

1635, July 8. Twenty-one families are allowed to settle at Wessagusset, called Weymouth. They are accompanied by a minister, Joseph Hull. He appears to have continued with

them until May 5, 1639, when the journal of Hobart remarks, "Mr. Hull gave his farewell sermon." After this he continued his ministerial labors in different places. Bear's Cove, or Hingham, is mentioned on the General Court records, as an organized town. It was settled by persons from Hingham, and places adjacent, in England, some of whom are supposed to have been located there as early as 1633. Thus another attempt was made for a permanent tenancy of these premises. Its basis was religious reformation, as sanctioned by the gospel, and therefore it prospered. Thirteen years before, Weston's company occupied the spot. A main object with them was to rival Plymouth in trade, prevent the spread of their Puritan influence, and build up the cause of Episcopacy. Their motive was not sufficiently strong to preserve their union and insure their success, and therefore they failed in their purpose.

Mr. Williams is again tried by the General Court. The rest of the ministers are in attendance. The charges against him and members of his church are contained in a letter of admonition sent by the Boston church, and preserved in Morton's Memorial. Though part of them have been previously named, still it is thought best to have the whole presented here. The communication follows: "Errors in doctrine maintained by some of the brethren of the church of Salem, tending to the disturbance of religion and peace, in family, church, and commonwealth, viz.: 1. That it is not lawful to call upon an unregenerate man to pray for himself; 2. for a regenerate man to pray with his carnal family; 3. for magistrates to take an oath of fidelity from unregenerate men; 4. for magistrates to take an oath of fidelity from the body of their subjects, though regenerate and members of churches; 5. to punish the breaches of the first table, unless thereby the civil peace of the commonwealth be disturbed." Winthrop informs us, that, in addition to these, Williams maintained that thanks should not be rendered "after the sacrament, nor after meat;" and that while the other churches were on the point of requesting the Salem church to admonish him for such speculations, the latter invited him to become their teacher. During the investigation, there is much debate, in which Hooker takes a prominent part. The magistrates and ministers decide that such opinions are wrong and dangerous, and the calling of Williams to office is "a great contempt of authority." As requested by the court, the ministers give their judgment, that whoever persists in uttering such doctrines, "whereby a church might run into heresy, apostasy, or tyranny, and yet the civil magistrate could not intermeddle," should be excluded from the jurisdiction, and the other churches should desire the magistrates thus to exercise their power.

1633.]

Cotton Mather relates, that the court intended to act against Williams immediately, but that the elders advised a delay, so that their churches might persuade the Salem church to use appropriate means for the reform of their minister. Though Governor Haynes thought that such a step would be ineffectual as to Williams, still the suggestion was allowed.

July 12. Salem, as Winthrop says, was denied a confirmation of land at Marblehead Neck, by the last General Court, because the church of that town had called Williams to be their teacher, "while he stood under question of authority." The members of this church, believing that they were thus unjustly dealt with, sent letters to the other churches, requesting them to admonish their members who belonged to the legislature. Such division in the colony was injurious to its spiritual progress, and a source of alarm to its best supporters.

August 15. As several families, consisting of twenty-three souls, are passing in a vessel near Cape Ann, they are cast away in a violent storm. They are from Newbury, bound to Marble Harbor, where they intended to aid in the formation of a church. Among them is John Avery, who was to be their minister, and Anthony Thacher, his cousin. Except the latter and his wife Mary, they are all lost. This couple, while bereft of their children, are remarkably enabled to reach an island, since called Thacher's Woe. Their arrival to our shores was probably in 1634. He had been a curate\* to Peter Thacher, probably his brother, of New Sarum, an exemplary Puritan. He was there April 27, 1634, when his son Benjamin was baptized. His coming to dwell with our people is an indication that his Puritanism had taken the form of secession. The epitaphs of Alden show that, after the shipwreck, he had two sons, Judah and John, and that he died, aged thirty, at Yarmouth, in Plymouth colony. Avery arrived the last year, from Wiltshire, to help sustain the experiment of a religious commonwealth. He was loath to leave his residence at Newbury; but persuaded by the elders and magistrates, he consented. The reason assigned for this choice was, that the men of Marble Harbor were principally engaged in the fishery, and needed the ministrations of the gospel on the premises. Actuated by the desire to comply with such a call, he is lost, with his wife and eight children. The place where he perished received the appellation of Avery's Fall. The names for the location of his sufferings and for that of his relative's are familiar to our navigators, and often suggest the mournful associations whence they are derived. The last expressions heard from the mouth of Avery, amid the perils of shipwreck, were, "I can

\* Vol. x. of 3d series, p. 137, of Massachusetts Historical Collections.

lay no claim to deliverance from this danger ; but through the satisfaction of Christ, I can lay claim to heaven. This, Lord, I entreat of thee."

Unable to address his church verbally, Williams writes them that he shall withdraw communion from the churches of the Bay, or Boston and vicinity, and also from them, unless they coöperate with him in such a step. But a majority of these decline to sustain this measure, and the opinions for which they and he had been already admonished by other churches. As a result, he complied with his declaration to the very letter. He absented himself from the Salem congregation, and would not unite in religious service with any who joined in their worship, insomuch, as Hubbard says, "he would not pray nor give thanks at meals with his own wife, nor any of his family, because they went to the church assemblies."

Among the various reasons for his singular stand, Williams, as Cotton asserts, "suspected all the *status conventus* of the elders to be unwarrantable, and such as might, in time, make way to a Presbyteriall government."

August 17. Richard Mather, according to his journal, lands in Boston. He was son of Thomas and Margaret Mather, born at Lowton, in the parish of Winwick, Lancashire, 1596. When fifteen years old, he began to teach school at Toxteth. In his eighteenth year, he professed to be a disciple of Christ. He entered at Oxford in May, 1618 ; but several months after, he was ordained minister of the town where he had taught school. Here he continued to labor faithfully for fifteen years. At the end of this period, he was suspended for non-conformity, but, by the intercession of friends, was restored in six months. The next summer of 1634, information was lodged against him that he did not wear the surplice. For this he was deposed. Perceiving no field of labor for him at home, he resolved to seek one in the western world. Escaping the pursuivants, who watched for him, he embarked at Bristol, 23d of May, and sailed 4th of June. Mr. Mather relates in his journal, that while the ship lay in King Road, below Bristol, May 27, Sir Ferdinando Gorges came on board, and asked if any of the passengers were bound for Massachusetts. Being answered in the affirmative, he desired to see some of them. Rev. Daniel Maud and Barnabas Fower were accordingly requested to appear before him. He was particular in his questions to Maud, professed favorable wishes for the people here, and remarked, that if he came hither he should deal with them kindly. He undoubtedly had heard of the determined resistance with which the colonists resolved to oppose the landing of himself as gen-

eral governor, or any other sent to exercise this office, on the subversion of their charter privileges.

Maud, who came with Mather, took his A. B. in 1606, and his A. M. 1610, at Emanuel College, Cambridge. On the passage, in "serving God morning and evening daily," he performed the duties every other day, and Mather the rest, while the Sabbath exercises were divided between them. He was admitted freeman 1636, and for several years taught school in Boston.

September 2. At a session of the General Court, now beginning, George Burdet is made freeman. He was chosen lecturer\* to the curate of Yarmouth, England, 1627. He was summoned July, 1634, before the chancellor of Norwich, charged with an omission of the canon requiring him to bow at the name of Jesus. He was suspended, though this was removed the next month. The April after, he was alike sentenced by the High Commission Court. He soon departed from Yarmouth, and took passage for this country. He left a "wife and family," for whom the corporation allowed twenty marks a year. When admitted a member of the company, he abode at Salem. Being an able scholar and of popular address, he had united with the church here, and had been employed to preach for them.

The legislature give an early attention to the difficulties of Salem. They order the deputies of that town back, and bring satisfaction for their letters to several churches, wherein the government were severely handled, "or else arguments of those that will defend the same with the subscription of their names." As Endicott protests against this measure, he is committed; but on making suitable explanation, he is released. The court further propose, that if the major part of the freemen at Salem, and, of course, a similar proportion of the church there, will disclaim the letters missive, they shall be allowed a representation among them by their deputies.

They grant forty marks to Mr. Thacher on account of his great losses. The suspicion against Samuel Maverick, as a staunch Episcopalian, having lessened, the injunction for his removal to Boston is repealed.

Rev. Peter Bulkley and others, who came with him, have the grant of a township at Musquetequid, named Concord. They are to be free, three years, from all public charges, except trainings, and be supplied, one year, on application to two magistrates, with pressed teams to carry their goods thither at the cost of the owners. His father was the Rev. Edward Bulkley,

\* History of Yarmouth in England.

D. D., of Woodhill, Bedfordshire, where he was born January 31, 1583. He received his A. M. at St. John's, Cambridge, 1608. His father left him a large property, and he became his successor. His first wife was daughter to Thomas Allen, of Goldington, by whom he had eleven children. His second was daughter of Sir Richard Chitwood, by whom he had three sons and one daughter. For twenty-one years he attended to the high duties of his profession, without interruption. But omitting some ceremonies of Episcopacy, he was silenced. An occasion thus presented for uniting his interests with those of the dissenters here he embraces, and lands upon our shores to follow out the plan of his ministration.

As the peril of invasion from England still continues, uncommon exertions are made to forward the fortifications at Boston and the Castle.

September. A church is formed at Hingham, and Peter Hobart soon becomes their pastor.

October 3. Wilson returns\* to Boston with Rev. Messrs. Thomas Shepard, John Jones, and other ministers, who are supposed to be Henry Flint, Thomas Carter, and William Walton. As to passengers, coming at this date, Winthrop adds, "Amongst others, Mr. Peters, pastor of the English church in Rotterdam, who, being persecuted by the English ambassadour, who would have brought his and other churches to the English discipline, and not having had his health these many years, intended to advise with the ministers here about his removal." Such treatment as Peters and his friends received shows how much the zeal of hierarchy in England was imparted to their high political official in Holland.

This clergyman was born at Foway, in Cornwall, in 1599; took his A. B. in 1617, and his A. M. in 1622, at Trinity College, Cambridge. He received an Episcopal license. His subscription of conformity, dated August 17, 1627, was found among the papers of Archbishop Laud. He preached in London and Essex county, where he "married with a good gentlewoman," who was the widow of Colonel Read, and whose daughter became the second wife of John Winthrop, Jr. This accounts for Roger Williams's calling Peters a father of the younger Winthrop, a fact long doubted by some, but, of late, confirmed. The labors of Peters were remarkably acceptable and beneficial. He was an early and liberal member of the Massachusetts Company. Having scruples of conformity with the established church, he avoided the legal penalties of publicly

\* Winthrop puts it under 6th of October, but Shepard says he reached Boston 3d of the same month.

carrying them out, and went to Holland near the close of 1629. He settled over a church at Rotterdam, where Dr. William Ames was his colleague. Being there molested, as before expressed, he secretly embarked for this country. His wife, with others from Rotterdam, followed him, and united with the Salem church.

Shepard was the son of William Shepard, and his mother a daughter of Mr. Bland. He was born at Towcester, near Northampton, in Northamptonshire, November 5, 1605. He had his A. B. 1623, and his A. M. 1627, at Emanuel College, Cambridge. In the latter year he took orders, and preached at Earles-Colne, in Essex. His labors were greatly blessed. Among those benefited by them was Roger Harlakendine, who came over with him. He continued them above three years, when, December 16, 1630, he was summoned to appear before Archbishop Laud in London. The account he gave of his examination by this prelate manifests the strong antipathy which the latter cherished against non-conformists. Shepard proceeds: "He fell to threaten me, and withal to bitter railing, calling me all to naught, saying, 'You prating coxcomb, do you think all the learning is in your brains?' He pronounced his sentence thus: 'I charge you that you neither preach, read, marry, bury, or exercise any ministerial function in any part of my diocese; for if you do, and I hear of it, I'll be upon your back, and follow you wherever you go, in any part of the kingdom, and so everlastingly disenable you.' I besought him not to deal so in regard of a poor town. And here he stopped me in what I was going on to say — 'A poor town! You have made a company of seditious, factious bedlams. And what do you prate to me of a poor town?' I prayed him to suffer me to catechize in the Sabbath days in the afternoon. He replied, 'Spare your breath. I'll have no such fellows prate in my diocese. Get you gone, and now make your complaint to whom you will.'"

Though silenced, his parishioners cheerfully supported him about six months, when Laud arraigned him again 1631, and commanded him to depart. Having had an invitation to reside in the family of Sir Richard Darley, of Buttercrambe in the North Riding of Yorkshire, he accepted the call. His endeavors to do good soon produced beneficial effects. In 1632 he married Margaret Tuteville, a kinswoman to the knight. He was soon obliged to leave Buttercrambe, because his friends could obtain no permission for him to preach, unless he subscribed. He went to Heddon, in Northumberland, where the same impediment followed him, though he continued his ministrations about the country. The next year he concluded that,



for the fuller discharge of his duty, he ought to seek for a residence in New England. Being delayed at Yarmouth on a voyage hither, and after an escape in a very destructive gale, he loses his son, November 3, 1634, and has him buried there. On this sorrowful occasion, he remarks, "I durst not be present, lest the pursuivants should apprehend me, and I should be discovered, which was a great affliction to me and my dear wife." Thus tried, and in view of several circumstances, he concluded to remain secretly in England till the next year. In the mean while his friends appeared, and showed him and his wife special kindness. A pious lady furnished them with a house at Bastwick, where they lived six months, as he observes, "far from the notice of my enemies." In the spring, they went to London, where they were secreted, and she delivered of her second son, the 5th of April. They removed to another place in the city. He remarks on this event, "The very night we were all come away, then came the pursuivants and others to search after us. But the Lord delivered us out of their hands." Having embarked, August 10, for this country, Mrs. Shepard took cold on the passage, which terminated in a consumption. Such particularity is given as an example of the great suffering which was experienced by the ministers who stood for reformation in the national church, and who were compelled to seek protection among those of kindred sympathies and motives on our shores. Having friends at Newton, Shepard and his wife go thither, on the 5th, by invitation.

Jones was the son of William, of Abergavenny, in Monmouthshire. He entered Jesus College, Oxford, 1624, aged seventeen. After his landing here, he is soon called to preach at Concord. Flint united with Boston church, and was admitted freeman in 1636, and afterwards became minister of Braintree. Carter received his A. B. 1629, and his A. M. 1633, at St. John's, Cambridge. Walton received his A. B. in 1621, and his A. M. in 1625, at Emanuel College, Cambridge. He was from Seaton, in Devonshire, where two of his children were born. His wife's name was Elizabeth. He was immediately invited to preach at Hingham.

Of the laymen who enter Boston as passengers is Henry Vane. He was "son and heir to Sir Henry Vane, comptroller of the king's house." He possessed superior talents and was acquainted with foreign affairs, having been employed in them with his father, who had been abroad as ambassador. He adopted the cause of the Puritans, and was very desirous to live with those of them in this country. His father was much averse to such a change, but obtained a license from the king for his son to abide here three years. He brought propositions

from Lord Say and associates, concerning the emigrants from Massachusetts who had taken up townships in Connecticut.

Messrs. Wilson and Winthrop, Jr., having, on their late voyage, been driven by tempest on the coast of Ireland, met with religious people there much interested in the welfare of New England, and cordially answered their inquiries as to its condition and prospects. The latter called on Sir John Clotworthy "the evening before the day when divers godly persons were appointed to meet at his house, to confer about their voyage" to this country. On his route thence through Scotland and the north of England, "all the way he met with persons of quality whose thoughts were towards" our land, "who observed his coming among them as a special providence of God." Thus we have an illustration of the fact, that the cause of ecclesiastical reform received strong accessions of public approbation in the kingdom of Charles, and that many were ready to risk their all in coming hither and taking part in the contest between the colonists for its advancement, and the royalists for its destruction.

This month, believing themselves bound to exclude persons who, they suppose, entertain principles subversive of their civil and ecclesiastical polity, the General Court\* engage in so unpleasant a service. They require John Smith to leave the colony within six weeks "for divers dangerous opinions which he holdeth and hath divulged." It is likely that this person had espoused the cause of Roger Williams, who is again required to appear before the same authorities.

At this arraignment, "all the ministers in the Bay" were invited to attend. The letter, sent to the churches, and advising them to discipline the magistrates, in which Williams had a principal hand, he still approves. So he does concerning his own letter to the Salem church, requiring them to cease communion with the churches of Boston and vicinity, "as full of anti-Christian pollutions." Besides such justification, he maintains "all his opinions." He is offered a month to prepare his answer to the charges against him for these positions. But he declines the proposal, and chooses to discuss the subject immediately. The court appoint Hooker as his respondent, but it has no effect to alter his views. The next morning they pass the following resolve: "Whereas Mr. Roger Williams, one of the elders of the church in Salem, hath broached and divulged divers new and dangerous opinions against the authority of the magistrates, as also writ letters of defamation, both of the magistrates and churches here, and that before any conviction, and yet maintaineth the same without any retraction, — it is there-

\* Their session, begun September 2, is continued into October, when Winthrop mentions the trial and sentence of Williams.

fore ordered, that the said Williams shall depart out of this jurisdiction within six weeks now next ensuing ; which if he neglect to perform, it shall be lawful for the governor and two of the magistrates to send him to some place out of their jurisdiction, not to return any more without license from the court." Here a sentence is passed which disturbs the benevolent feelings of every heart. It is painful to him on whom it falls, and to those from whom it comes. It is regretted as a serious impediment to the peaceful and prosperous progress of the commonwealth, and a dark omen that its hopes of spirituality and duration may be soon scattered on the whirlwinds of discord. Still what less can our government do ?

Williams accuses the past and present king as unworthy of any confidence, and, expressly and implicitly, as destitute of all right to make grants of territory either in North or South Virginia. This charge evidently indicates that England had no just claim to the soil as acquired by discovery, and, in accordance with the laws of civilized nations, is a rejection of their control over its population, and, consequently, an expression of independence of their laws altogether. Had our colonial authorities countenanced it, had they not treated it as a high misdemeanor, they would have subjected themselves to the gross inconsistency of putting forth all their energies to keep the charter, as sanctioned by the royal seal, as the basis of all their civil and religious rights, as their protection against enforcement of claims to their soil, on the one hand, by the Dutch of New Amsterdam, and, on the other, by the French of Nova Scotia — and at the same time, of allowing it to be assailed among themselves, as the cause of no obligation, and as even worse than so much blank parchment. Let us look at this matter in the relations which they sustained to the authorities in London.

The commissioners for a new modification of administering the affairs of New England still proceed to carry out their hierarchal plan ; the royal injunction for the surrender of our charter is still in force ; a writ against its patentees had been issued, and a suit commenced at the Trinity term for its nullification. There is no reasonable doubt but that the stand taken by Williams had greatly contributed to such a formidable array of adverse circumstances. For our rulers to pass him by, and not require him to apologize for his treatment of the national sovereigns, on pain of exclusion from the colony, would have been interpreted against them at home as though they were partakers with him in the deed. Such neglect would have accumulated the resentment of their adversaries, and, had opportunity presented, would have rendered the dissolution and ruin of their social compact more swift and sure. With these considerations before us, it is not easy to perceive how our General Court

could have abstained, consistently with their solemn engagement to seek for the preservation and highest good of the state, from dealing with Williams as they had.

Respecting his excommunication of the churches. Had our rulers permitted him to exert his power and zeal, in this direction, undisturbed, they would have encouraged direct means to ruin their ecclesiastical order. Indulgence on their part, of this kind, so far as reaching the established churches of England, would have been seized on by Laud and his supporters as an additional and strong argument why he should forthwith attempt the abolition of all Congregationalism on our territory. Concerning the oath of allegiance. Our authorities, in a season of extreme peril, deemed it of great importance to render the faithfulness of the inhabitants more certain by a solemn obligation. They were convinced that Williams's refusal to engage himself in such a manner, and his strenuous efforts to have all others imitate his example, was an absolute violation of the implicit contract on which the commonwealth had promised to cover him with the shield of its protection. Taking all the charges in their collective capacity and bearings on our domestic and foreign relations, Williams must have felt conscious that the highest tribunal of the colony acted consistently with what they really believed to be requisite for securing the benefit of the public, even though at the cost of his personal banishment. True, as was very natural, he entertained and expressed his doubts and queries, whether they correctly tested his case by the standard of justice. On the contrary, they were fully assured that they did him no wrong, however they deeply regretted to have their decision the source of affliction to himself or his family. It was not the man, they had the least desire to hurt, but to hinder the effects of his speculations on the community. While they earnestly wished Endicott so to consider his position about the cross as to confess that he meant no treason against the crown, they would have felt themselves constrained, if he had made no such apology, not only to exclude him from the magistracy for one year, but entirely so, and even from their jurisdiction. The same rule they applied to Williams, and would have rejoiced had he seen his way clear to make a similar retraction. But he did not, and consequently subjected himself to the lamentable alternative. To them it was like the excision of an arm from the body, distressing but necessary.

As we reflect on this and other incidents of our early history, we sometimes are not sufficiently careful to take cognizance of the great difference between the circumstances of our commonwealth, with only a few hundreds of population, and most criti-

cally situated in reference to the mother country, and those of it now, with hundreds of thousands, of conservative principle and example, strong enough to bear back every wave of wild theories and extravagant attacks, and with entire independence of all foreign power. The toleration of our day, however desirable, where it can be indulged, would have been speedy and utter destruction to our commonwealth in its commencement. The injury which retains the athletic man scarcely an hour from his daily duties would have been death to him in his infancy.

To show that the grounds of judgment in the case of Williams have been correctly given, we may cite the testimony of Cotton. In the subsequent answer of the latter to the publication of the former, entitled "The Bloody Tenet," two main causes of such a sentence are adduced, and then two others, of minor importance, which hastened its enunciation. The two first are his strenuous opposition to the patent, and also to the oath of fidelity. The next two are comprised in the letter of admonition, and in his renunciation of the churches. These last were viewed by the court as mere collateral evidence of Williams's resolution to carry out his persuasions to their utmost limit, in the face of all the reasons and warnings of banishment, presented by the authorities. They showed that he had made up his mind not to yield his position with regard to the principal counts brought against him, and that further forbearance would not produce such an effect, and therefore it was time to pronounce the decision.

In his *Bloody Tenet Washed*, Cotton informs, that at this period he received a letter, purporting to be from a prisoner at Newgate, on the subject of 'persecution for conscience' sake, and that he sent a reply to this anonymous communication, which subsequently appeared to have been from Williams. The former avers that he laid down the following propositions in such an answer, though the latter afterwards construed them differently: "1. That no man is to be persecuted at all, (much less for conscience' sake,) because all persecution is oppression for righteousness' sake. 2. That none is to be punished for his conscience' sake, tho' erroneous, unless his errors be fundamental or seditiously and turbulently promoted, and that after due conviction of conscience, that it may appear he is not punished for his conscience, but for sinning against his conscience." This implies that our government, among whose advisers on the occasion Cotton held a preëminence, did not consider themselves, in their conclusion against Williams, as persecuting him, but as inflicting on him the penalty of sedition. It was based on the maxim that the cause, and not the punishment, constitutes the martyr.

The General Court send the following notice : " Mr. Samuel Sharp is enjoined to appear at the next particular court, to answer for the letter that came from the church at Salem, as also to bring the names of those that will justify the same or else to acknowledge his offence under his own hand for his own particular."

Stating that all the ministers except one approve the sentence of Williams, Winthrop adds, " His own church had him under question for the same cause ; and he, at his return home, refused communion with his own church, who openly disclaimed his errors, and wrote an humble submission, acknowledging their fault in joining with Mr. Williams in that letter to the churches against them."

Immediately on the refusal of Williams to worship with his church, and even with his wife, because she met with them, he preached, as Hubbard relates, on the Sabbath, at his own house, to those who assembled there.

At the session in which Williams was required to leave the jurisdiction, the legislative authorities pass the ensuing order : " None but freemen (or church members) shall have any vote in any town in any action of authority or necessity, or that which belongs to them by virtue of their freedom, as receiving inhabitants and laying out lands, etc." This seems to have been meant as a bar particularly to the continuance of emigrants in the territory, whose faith, discipline, and deportment would be likely to disturb its ecclesiastical and civil relations.

October 5. Cotton writes to England concerning his alteration of views in some ecclesiastical points. His letter is employed, by the Rev. Robert Baylie, to bring a charge of inconsistency against him, and to say that he was persuaded " to the New English way, as soon as he had tasted the New English aire." In reply, Cotton observes, " Two whole years and more giveth a man more than a taste of New English air ; nor is that act done incontinently, which is done upon two years' deliberation."

23. Ten of the Massachusetts Company in England, appearing to answer at the Michaelmas term, disclaim their charter. But Cradock, " making default," has judgment given against him. Thus the process goes on to bring our ancestors under the crushing weight of judicial power. On the 26th, Richard Mather answers some objections to the imposition of hands in ordination.

November 1. Decided to enjoy the spiritual privileges, which he preferred above others, Vane unites with the Boston church.

3. Dr. John Pratt, of Newton, is called to an account by the Assistants, for writing several particulars to England, which they construed as incorrect. Among the items complained of,

two are here noticed. They are that "the gospel would be as dear here as in England, and that there was more than common danger of piety's decaying in a new country." To the former of these the accused replied, "I did it to this end, to put some which intended to come hither only for outward commodity to look for better grounds, ere they look this way." To the latter he answers, "I did it only in regard of the manifold occasions and businesses which here at first we meet withal, by which I find in mine own experience (and so I think do others also) how hard it is to keep our hearts in that holy frame which sometimes they were in, where we had less to do in outward things, but not at all intending to impute it as necessary to our condition, much less as a fruit of our precious liberties, which we enjoy, which rather tend to the quickening of us, we improving the same as we ought." The respondent so explained his language, and so owned his imputed mistakes, as to be excused. The evident purpose of such admonition was to prevent communications, loosely expressed, to the mother country, lest they be turned so as to misrepresent the dissenting system here, increase the prejudice of conformists in England against it, and thus promote the purpose for its overthrow, and lessen the number of friendly passengers to our shores.

November 30. The Boston town records have the succeeding transcript: "Att a generall meeting upon publique notice, it is agreed that noe further allotments shall be graunted unto any new comers, but such as may be likely to be received members of the congregation; that none of the members of this congregation, or inhabitants amongst us, shall sue one another at the law, before that Mr. Henry Vane and the two elders, Mr. Thomas Oliver and Thomas Leverett, have had the hearing and desyding of the cause iff they can." The former of these compacts shows the vigilance which the capital purposed to exercise in allowing no permanent dwellers among them who possessed neither the reputation of Puritan Christians nor the disposition to unite with their church. The latter indicates their intention to conform with the apostolic rule for settling social difficulties by compromise rather than by litigation.

This year is remarkable for the arrival of numerous emigrants. They number nearly three thousand, of whom eleven are ministers. Such an increase is proof that however this colony is threatened by the national power, it is preferred, for a home, by many of the non-conformists in England.

1636, January. A session of the Assistants is held at Boston. Its chief occasion is the painful case of Roger Williams. A paragraph from Winthrop gives the particulars. "They are credibly informed, that notwithstanding the injunction laid upon

him (upon the liberty granted him to stay till the spring) not to go about to draw others to his opinions, he did use to entertain company in his house, and to preach to them, even of such points as he had been censured for, and it was agreed to send him into England by a ship then ready to depart. The reason was, because he had drawn above twenty persons to his opinion, and they were intended to erect a plantation about the Narragansett Bay, from whence the infection would easily spread into the churches, (the people being, many of them, much taken with the apprehension of his godliness.) Whereupon a warrant was sent to him to come presently to Boston, to be shipped. He returned answer (and divers of Salem came with it) that he could not come without hazard of his life; whereupon a pinnace was sent with commission to Captain Underhill, etc., to apprehend him, and carry him aboard the ship, (which rode at Natascutt;) but when they came at his house, they found he had been gone three days before; but whither they could not learn. He had so far prevailed at Salem, as many there (especially of devout women) did embrace his opinions, and separated from the churches, for this cause, that some of their members, going into England, did hear the ministers there, and when they came home, the churches here held communion with them."

Thus closed a dangerous and lamentable controversy. The policy which excluded Lyford and his supporters from Plymouth, the Browns, Morton, and others from Massachusetts, was brought to bear on Williams. It was construed by him and his friends as religious persecution, but by those who applied it to him, as a justifiable course for the utterance and spread of opinions which greatly imperiled the peace and welfare of the commonwealth. Both sides were alike sincere in their belief and position, however diverse the results. Among the crowded incidents of the past, those which relate to difficulties between good and great men always fill us with regret, not only as the source of unhappiness to themselves and many connected with them, but also as evidence that the best of our race, in matters of high import, are often unable to "see eye to eye," to be "of one heart and one soul."

A statesman, John Q. Adams, whose opportunity for judging of men and things, whose knowledge of governments and their proper policy, were rare, asks,\* with emphasis, "Can we blame the founders of the Massachusetts colony for banishing him [Williams] from within their jurisdiction? In the annals of religious persecution, is there to be found a martyr more gently

\* J. Q. Adams's Address before the Massachusetts Historical Society, 1843.



dealt with by those against whom he began the war of intolerance?"

In the exhibition of his usual zeal for general welfare, Peters visits the different towns,\* and successfully endeavors to raise up men to a public frame of spirit.

Mr. Batchelor appears before the magistrates at Boston. The occasion of this arraignment follows: With six or seven persons, who had accompanied him from England, he had taken a dismission from the church at Lynn, because of difficulty between them, on the supposition of his moving elsewhere. Instead of this, however, he remains, and forms another church of his friends. "The most and chief of the town" judge that such a step would hinder their obtainment of Mr. Peters or any minister to settle with them, and therefore they enter a complaint to the Assistants. These, "fore-seeing the distraction which was like to come by this course," forbid him to proceed until the subject is considered by other ministers. Still he goes on. For such neglect, the magistrates require his attendance before them. Delaying to obey, they send a marshal for him. Brought to their presence, he submits and agrees to leave the town within three months.

Thus another ecclesiastical trouble is terminated. Such trials, though hazardous in experiment, and to be deprecated rather than desired, show that, however the founders of this colony intended it as an asylum of liberty, yet it was for a liberty consistent with what they accounted order and the benefit of community.

January 18. On the proposal of Peters and Vane, a meeting of Winthrop, Dudley, Haynes, Bellingham, Cotton, Hooker, Wilson, and themselves, is held in Boston. The object is twofold. One is to secure reconciliation among some of the leading men. Another is to suppress a factious inclination in the people, some of them being strenuous for the lenient course pursued by Winthrop towards offenders, and others for one more stringent, as adopted by Dudley. The deliberations are opened by prayer for direction. Winthrop and Dudley remark that, however they may have differed in some points, they are well affected towards each other, and wish to hear the free expressions of their friends present. After the interchange of opinions, the ministers are desired to consider the question, with regard to what the public welfare demanded, as to those who disregarded the colonial authority, and bring in their result the next morning. This is done. The conclusion is unanimously adopted, "that strict discipline, both in criminal offences and in martial affairs, are

\* Winthrop, vol. i. p. 176.

more needful in plantations than in a settled state, as tending to the honour and safety of the gospel." This convention, to agree on a plan for controlling the incidental evils of new communities, and advancing the civil and religious welfare of the colony, was conducted with Christian spirit. Though Haynes and Hooker intended to join the emigrants for Connecticut, they were personally interested in the subject, because it applied to the portion of that colony where they expected to reside, and which was still under Massachusetts. They wished to carry, as well as leave behind them, regulations which they deemed essential to preserve and promote the interests of Congregationalism.

February 1. As the church at Newton are preparing for removal to Connecticut, Mr. Shepard and his friends purpose to form another church there. For this object, they had obtained permission from the magistrates, and a council from the adjacent churches are assembled. The transactions on this occasion are minutely given by Winthrop. Mr. Shepard and two others, intended to hold offices, are in the elder's seat. The elder of them begins with prayer. Shepard follows in a like service and exercises out of Eph. v. The elder asks the delegates what number is requisite to constitute a church, and how this act should be done. After conference, some of the ancient ministers answer as follows: The Scripture does not give any special rule. They suppose three too few, because, in Matt. xviii., an appeal is made from such a number; but they believe seven to be enough. They advise that the individuals proposed for church fellowship make a confession of their faith, and "declare what work of grace the Lord had wrought in them." This is done by Shepard and seven other brethren. The covenant being read, they give it their assent. The elder then desires the council, if satisfied with their being thus formed as a church, to proffer them the right hand of fellowship. Mr. Cotton performs this duty. Shepard exhorts "the rest of his body about the nature of their covenant," and their obligation to keep it, and offers a prayer for them. The elder informs the assembly that they intend to elect Mr. Shepard for their pastor, and desires, if they have any objection, to mention it before the day appointed for his ordination. He thanks "the churches for their assistance."

Referring to the change of residence contemplated, as already mentioned, Shepard states, in his memoir, that the people of Newton, who were on the point of moving away, sold their houses to persons of his company. He adds, that the latter concluded to remain, "because of the fellowship of the churches; they thought their lives were short, and removals to new planta-

tions full of troubles ; they found sufficient for themselves and their company."

February 3. John Maverick, teacher of the Dorchester church, dies, aged nearly sixty. Winthrop says of him, "He was a man of a very humble spirit, and faithful in furthering the work of the Lord here, both in the churches and civil state."

15. Of the excellent women, to whom we are much indebted for the encouragement they gave their husbands to build up the spiritual heritage which we have derived from them, is the wife of Shepard. Of her he wrote, "My dear wife Margaret died, being first received into church fellowship, which as she much longed for, so the Lord did so sweeten it unto her, that she was hereby exceedingly cheered, and comforted with the sense of God's love, which continued until her last gasp."

18. The subsequent quotation shows the wish, entertained by many of the dissenters at home, for an abode in New England. It is from a letter \* of Owen Rowe, in London, to the elder Winthrop. It runs thus : "My hearte is with you. I shall, I hope, be glad if the Lord make mee a waye, which I hope hee will, that I may come, see your glory, and behould the bewttyp of our God in those goweings of his in his temple."

25. On account of the troubles with Williams at Salem, Batchelor at Lynn, removal of churches to Connecticut, and scarcity of corn, a fast is observed.† This service, as the court was not convened to appoint it, was proposed by elders of the churches, and agreed on by the ministers. The Boston church renew their covenant, consider its claims, and confess their deficient compliance with them.

March 3. At a session of the General Court, several acts are passed, some of which accord with the late conclusion of distinguished colonists, for a more stringent policy in the common wealth, as essential to its preservation and progress. For the encouragement of Mr. Shepard in his pastoral labors, they grant fifty pounds to him.

An order is passed, referring to the late question about the cross in ensigns, that "the commissioners for military discipline shall appoint every company what colours they shall have." Concerning the persons so appointed Winthrop remarks,‡ "who did accordingly, and left out the cross in all of them, appointing the king's arms to be put into that of Castle Island."

That immediate and strenuous measures may be adopted, when no legislature is together, either with regard to important

\* Hutchinson's Collections, p. 59.

† Winthrop's Journal, vol. i. p. 181.

‡ Though this is in his journal under February, it appears to have been later, and to have had reference to the order under March.

events here or in reference to decisions of the national authorities, it is ordered, that a council for life shall be elected at the court in May.

In order to avoid the trials of the disorderly, and the perils of the inimical, they require that no person shall take up his abode in any of their new plantations without the leave of magistrates.

That no church nor community may be annoyed with such as may injure them, each town is empowered to demolish the houses built in their bounds without their consent, and eject such offenders from their limits. A still more important rule is adopted, as follows: "Forasmuch as it hath been found by sad experience, that much trouble and disturbance hath happened to the church and civil state by the officers and members of some churches which have been gathered within the limits of this jurisdiction in an undue manner, and not with such public approbation as was meet, — It is therefore ordered, that all persons are to take notice, that this court doth not, nor will hereafter, approve of any such companies of men as shall hereafter join in any pretended way of church fellowship, without they shall first acquaint the magistrates and the elders of the greater part of the churches in this jurisdiction with their intentions, and have their approbation herein. And further it is ordered, that no person, being a member of any church, which shall be hereafter gathered without approbation of the magistrates and the greater part of the said churches, shall be admitted to the freedom of this commonwealth." It may seem, at first sight, as if no sufficient cause existed for the General Court to interpose in such a manner. But they knew the evil to be corrected, for they had felt it severely. Had they granted unrestrained indulgence for churches to be organized, ministers settled and retained evidently against the public peace and safety, it would have nourished elements among them fitted to burst the bonds of their union, and scatter their dearest hopes to the winds. The prohibition that all church members, who violated their rule, should be debarred from the privileges of freemen, was an efficient means to promote its enforcement and keep the power of the colony from unsafe hands.

March 11. A council having been called, as Winthrop states, in view of some difficulty between Mr. James and his colleague with most of the church at Charlestown, they advise the former minister and his supporters to ask a dismission, which was accordingly done. Thus separated from his charge, he subsequently moved to New Haven, where he became engaged "in teaching."

29. A letter of this date is sent from Sir William Marsham

to the elder Winthrop. Some extracts follow : " I am glad to hear of Mr. Norton's safe arrival, and should have been more glad if it had been at your Bay. I hope he will settle with you : his abilities are more than ordinary, and will be acceptable and profitable to your churches."

April 1. As a great portion of the Dorchester church had departed for Connecticut, Richard Mather and others, as Winthrop says, proposed to a council, now met for the purpose, to form another church in place of the one gone. For this object, the requisite permission had been obtained of the churches and magistrates. But the council, on examination, perceive that the candidates, except Mr. Mather and another, though they gave " proof of their gifts," and " made a confession of their faith, which was approved," are defective in religious experience. On this account, it is decided that the intended embodiment be deferred. The particular reason of this is, that some rested their hope of salvation " upon dreams and ravishes of spirit by fits ; others upon reformation of their lives ; others upon duties and performances, etc., wherein they discovered three special errors. 1. That they had not come to hate sin because it was filthy, but only left it because it was hurtful. 2. That, by reason of this, they had never truly closed with Christ, (or rather Christ with them,) but had made use of him only to help the imperfection of their sanctification and duties, and not made him their sanctification, wisdom, etc. 3. They expected to believe by some power of their own, and not only and wholly from Christ." This occasion must have been one of deep interest to our ancestors, who rested their hope of salvation on the foundation of Christ and his apostles. To them it was a momentous concern, that repentance and faith should be correctly understood and experienced by all the churches of the commonwealth, as one of the best means for its continuance in right spiritual knowledge and its consequent advance in temporal welfare.

2. Shepard writes to Mather, of Dorchester, that he deeply sympathizes with him for his disappointment in the gathering of a church there ; hopes that it may be sanctified to the candidates, and that he will not be disheartened, and be greatly prospered in the work of the Lord.

As a specimen of the mode in which the king determines to control his American settlements, we have an extract from his commission\* to John Harvey, governor of Virginia : " Wee, being willing to give all good encouragement to that plantation, and minding that our colonies and people there should be regulated as well in the ecclesiastical as temporal government,

\* Hazard. Rymer.

according to the laws and statutes of our realm of England, which we purpose to have established there." The evident signification of this is, that as the government at home did not tolerate Congregationalism there, they were resolved to show it no more favor here.

The influence \* of Mr. Williams still remains in the Salem church. One effect of it is, that "the most of them" hold it to be wrong for a person "to hear in the ordinary assemblies in England," as being on an "antichristian foundation." Some of them are ready to leave the church on this account. In view of this matter, the church send two brethren with "a letter to the elders of other churches for advice in three points. 1. Whether (for satisfying the weak) they might promise not to hear in England any false church. This was not thought safe, because then they would draw them to the like towards the other churches here, who were all of opinion that it was lawful, and that hearing was not church communion. 2. If they were not better, to grant them dismission to be a church by themselves. This was also opposed, for that it was not a remedy of God's ordering; neither would the magistrates allow them to be a church, being but three men and eight women; and besides, it were dangerous to raise churches upon such grounds. 3. Whether they ought then to excommunicate them, if they did withdraw, etc. This was granted, yet, withal, that if they did not withdraw or run into contempt, they ought, in these matters of difference of opinion in things not fundamental nor scandalous, etc., to bear each with other."

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#### PLYMOUTH.

1635, July 5. Thomas Williams, the servant of widow Warren, is accused of uttering profane speeches. The court judge that as he spoke them in a passion, they may let him off with reproof and his humbly acknowledging his offence. Governor Bradford would have had him receive corporal punishment.

September. Plymouth, having had their place for trade at Penobscot again seized by the French, and been unsuccessful in an attempt to recover it, propose to Massachusetts, that a common cause be made against the intruders, as "very dangerous" neighbors. But the latter colony, on the 3d, not having sufficient provisions for the men intended, agree that they will assist

\* Winthrop's Journal.

in recovering the premises, as the property of Plymouth, at their charge. This causes a delay until it is too late.

November. Mr. Winslow arrives\* from a voyage to England, memorable for his extraordinary prosecution and imprisonment in London. On this subject, Morton supplies us with the subsequent information. His mission related to complaints, before the council board, against Plymouth, but especially Massachusetts, and also encroachments of the French and "other strangers." He laid his statement, by petition, before "the lords commissioners for the plantations in America." With most of them, his plea was favorably entertained. "But this crossed Sir Ferdinando, Captain Mason, and the Archbishop of Canterbury's ends, by them aimed at; for Sir Ferdinando Gorges, by the archbishop's favor, was to have been sent over general governor into the country, and to have had means from the state for that end, and was now upon despatch and conclusion of the business; and the archbishop's purpose by his means and some he should employ for that purpose to be furnished with Episcopal power to disturb the peace of the churches here in New England, and to overthrow their proceedings and further growth, which was the thing he aimed at." These three opponents to Winslow introduced Thomas Morton, who testified that he taught publicly in the church of Plymouth, and performed the marriage service. The accused confessed both of these charges. He replied that "he did exercise his gift to help the edification of his brethren, when they wanted better means;" that, as a magistrate, he had married some, as a civil ordinance, which "he found nowhere in the word of God that it was tied to the ministry; they were necessitated so to do, having no minister at first; it was no new thing, for he had been so married himself in Holland, by the magistrate in their stathouse. For these things, the bishops, by vehement importunity, procured their lordships' consent to his commitment. So he was committed to the Fleet Prison, and lay there seventeen weeks, or thereabouts, before he could get a releasement." This is a practical comment on the spirit and purpose with which the proposed government of New England would have begun and continued, had not the royal commissioners been arrested in their progress by the civil commotions of their own kingdom. The hand of Providence, by staying the execution of their plan, protected the non-conformists here in the enjoyment of their liberties.

A passenger with Winslow was John Norton. He was born at Stortford, Hertfordshire, May 6, 1606. He entered Peter House, Cambridge, where he received his A. B., 1623, and his

\* Morton's Manuscript says it was "the setting towards winter."

**A. M. 1627.** Here he was highly distinguished for talents and attainments. The property of his father becoming embarrassed, he left the university, and engaged as usher of the school and curate of the church in his native town. Though his mind was richly stored with earthly learning, his heart was a stranger to heavenly wisdom. But ere long, he became enlightened with spiritual understanding. A marked change was manifest in his ministry, and he was soon numbered with the dispensers of the gospel. Promotion in the church and at the university was proffered him. But his sincere scruples, as to corruption in forms and doctrines of Episcopacy, prevented. He looked to this land as the sphere of his free and conscientious action. He embarked with Shepard in 1634, but delayed by tempestuous weather, he put off his second attempt till the present. When departed, an aged divine remarked, "He believed that there was not more grace and holiness left in all Essex than what Mr. Norton had carried with him." Before his embarkation, he married a lady of considerable wealth, of estimable character, and of qualifications meet for a helper in the duties of his calling. The church of Plymouth being earnest to have him abide with them, and Mr. Smith vacating his place for him, he engages to preach for them on trial. Thus one of the ablest watchmen on the walls of Zion begins his eventful career, for a short period, among disciples of Robinson, whom he much resembled in talents, learning, character, and usefulness.

**1636,** February 24. Mr. Winslow visits Dorchester about the land which their men had occupied at Connecticut. He endeavors to make a compromise with them for the claim which Plymouth have there, but the matter is deferred, and subsequently settled.

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MAINE.

**1635,** August 4. John Holland and others testify, that, being at the eastward, they heard Mr. Thomas Wonnarton speak very reproachfully of the Bay authorities, and that he wished to see them put to death. These authorities order Wonnarton to give bonds for good behavior, and, in the mean time, to be held in durance.

This month, a French ship, under D'Aulney, from Nova Scotia, captures the Plymouth trading establishment at Penobscot. The commander bids the prisoners assure the colonists to forty degrees, that his countrymen would come with a fleet, next year, and seize all their settlements. But he writes to the



governor of Plymouth, that, by a commission from Razilly, at Fort La Heve, he is empowered to eject the English settlers up to Pemaquid. The authorities of Plymouth immediately hire the large ship *Hope*, of Ipswich,\* Captain Gurling, with her company, to sail and eject such intruders. They also send a bark with twenty men to assist in the enterprise. But the French had so fortified themselves, that the force is not sufficient to dislodge them. The bark is sent to Massachusetts for help.

September. The General Court of the Bay, being assembled, agree to give the desired assistance. But on conference with the Plymouth commissioners, who wished to have the matter prosecuted at the charge of "the whole country," they defer the subject for further advice. The chief reasons for such delay are, that the property taken by the French belongs to Plymouth, and that Massachusetts has not provision enough for the men required. As the captain of the ship could not wait for the settlement of the question, he retires without effecting the object of his expedition. This was the occasion of serious disappointment to the principal men of Massachusetts and Plymouth, who feared the Catholic influence, which might be expected by the French on the English in proportion to their proximity.

About the latter part of this year, Sir Ferdinando Gorges prepares to send over his nephew, William Gorges, to be governor of his province, as last settled by the council for this country, and called New Somersetshire. His plan for administering the laws here is extensive. In the mean while, Richard Vines is continued governor and Richard Bonython his assistant, with renewed hope that the present arrangement, as to the colony, would advance its several interests.

1636, March 28. Having arrived at the seat of his authority, William Gorges commences a General Court in Saco, at the house of Bonython. The latter, with Thomas Commock, Henry Josselyn, Thomas Purchas, Edward Godfrey, and Thomas Lewis, attend as members. Several cases came before them for settlement. At this time, Saco contained about two hundred inhabitants.

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#### NEW HAMPSHIRE.

1635, August 9. Having found that his salary was incompetent for the necessities of life, which were scarce and dear,

\* Of Ipswich, in England. She came over with passengers.

Leveridge had been obliged to leave Dover. At this date, we find the following entry on the Boston church records, denoting that he became a member of it — “ Wm. Leveridge, of Puscattua.” The manuscript of Morton says of him, after this time, that he preached at Duxbury, and then moved to Sandwich. More of him will be mentioned, as an indefatigable servant of the cross.

November. While the proprietor of such an allotment of soil has a fair prospect of becoming its lord, with all the honors of a feudal system, and being accounted by the court supporters as an efficient agent in subverting the Puritan cause of our fathers, mortal disease arrests him. Before he died, as the statement of Hubbard implies, he confessed regret for the part he had taken in the accomplishment of such a purpose. Conduct allowed to control the conscience, amid the smiles of health and worldly ambition, very often loses its sway in the honest reflections of approaching death, and becomes the source of poignant grief. Wisdom cries, Live dutifully, that you may die happily.

A few days after Mason made his will, dated November 26, he expired. This instrument bequeaths one thousand acres of land in New Hampshire, “for the maintenance of an honest, godly, and religious preacher of God’s word, in some church or chapple, or other public place appointed for divine worship and service, within said county of New Hampshire,” where his wife and brother, John Wollaston, should prefer.

1636, March. Steps are taken for a plantation at Winnacunnett or Winicowett, afterwards Hampton. As a sign of our colonial possession, a building is erected there, this year, usually called the “Bound House.” Thus our authorities continue to provide for the increase of their townships, though liable to be despoiled, by their opponents at home, of all their official rank and power.

April 10. George Vaughan, in London, writes to Ambrose Gibbins. He had taken a voyage thither to see Mason, and the vessel put into Ireland, where he was detained by sickness. When he reached London, he was informed that Mason had died. He applied to Sir Ferdinando Gorges, who told him that his attention was turned towards obtaining a patent from the king for the territory between Piscataqua and Sagadahoc, and that he had left Mason to look after what lay within Merrimack and Piscataqua. Vaughan concludes, “I suppose the affairs of Laconia are dead.” There is no matter of surprise, that the writer despaired of further efforts to revive this section of the colony, since its most efficient proprietor was deceased, and the lords commissioners, who were disposed to promote his plan, were encumbered with serious difficulties.

## RHODE ISLAND.

**1636**, January. To avoid being sent to England, after his sentence of exclusion from Massachusetts, Mr. Williams leaves Salem secretly, and hastens to Seekonk, within the country of Massasoit. Cotton states, that some of his friends "went to the place appointed by himself, beforehand, to make provision of housing and other necessities for him against his coming." Among those who were with him at this place were six men, five of whom were William Harris, John Smith, Joshua Verin, Thomas Angell, and Francis Wickes.

With the chief just named Williams had been acquainted, and had conversed about purchasing land for a settlement. He had a grant from him, very likely, before his flight, where he "began to build and plant." The location so chosen was on Seekonk River, and afterwards known as Manton's Neck. Writing afterwards of selecting this spot, Williams remarks, "On the express advice of your ever honoured Mr. Winthrop, deceased, I first adventured to begin a plantation among the thickest of these barbarians."

March 29. In a letter of this date from Sir William Marsham to the elder Winthrop, we have this passage: "I am sorry to hear Mr. Williams's separation from you. His former good affections towards you and the plantations were well known unto us, and make us wonder now at his proceedings. I have written to him effectually to submit to better judgments, and especially to those whom formerly he revered and admired; at least, to keep the bonds of peace inviolable. This has been always my advice, and nothing conduces more to the good of plantations. I pray show him what lawful favor you can, which may stand with common good. He is passionate and precipitate, which may transport him into error; but his integrity and good intentions will bring him at last into the way of truth, and confirm him therein. In the mean time, pray God to give him a right use of this affliction."

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## CONNECTICUT.

**1635**, June 16. A bark arrives at Boston, with twenty men, who were sent over by Sir Richard Saltonstall, to reside on the patent of Lord Say, himself, and others. This demonstrates a purpose on their part to preoccupy the soil of their patent, though otherwise assigned and placed under the control of royal

commissioners, before the latter shall have opportunity to execute their purpose, full of blight to the hopes for New England as an asylum for Puritans. Saltonstall, in a letter of the next year to John Winthrop, Jr., complains that Francis Styles and others whom he sent over, at great expense, to form a plantation on the river, between the Plymouth truck house and the falls, were prevented from impaling ground where they were directed by Roger Ludlow and others of Dorchester, who preferred the same location.

August. Dissatisfied with the planters of Windsor for what they count an intrusion on the bounds of their trading establishment, the Plymouth government expostulate with them by letter. The Dutch, also aware of the design to people the colony with English, sent to their company in Holland for authority to maintain their claim against such emigration.

September 2. At a session of this date, the legislature of Massachusetts appoint William Westwood constable for the plantations here. Thus they show their intention to hold, for the present, settlers in this colony subject to their regulations, according to previous stipulation. By such an adhesion of those who went from them to live in their vicinity, they felt themselves better able to withstand the conspiracy of court influence at London against their charter, already remanded, and its privileges.

Wishing to follow his flock, who occupy Windsor, Mr. Wareham joins them in the course of this month, and leaves his colleague, who intends to do the same next spring.

October 3. John Winthrop, Jr., arrives at Boston with a commission, of July 18, from Lords Say and Brook and others, to be governor of their territory here, to build a fortification at the mouth of the river, and houses for immediate emigrants and men of rank expected from England. This is a palpable demonstration that the company, who grant such power, do not mean to yield the soil in compliance with the policy which would extirpate Puritanism from the whole country, nor with the menacing demands of the Dutch.

Henry Vane, who came to Boston when the younger Winthrop did, had instructions from the same company. These are, "that either of the three towns gone thither" from Massachusetts "should give place, upon full satisfaction, or else sufficient room must be found there for the lords and their companies, or else they would divert their thoughts and preparations some other ways." The last was a serious consideration, and the need of collecting here all in England who favored non-conformity, and who desired a residence in this colony, required that it should be prevented by friendly compromise.

Near this time, the Massachusetts authorities loan more large guns, with powder and shot, for the defence of the settlements here. They empower each of them to elect a constable, who shall be sworn into office by a magistrate of the former body.

October 15. A party of about sixty men, women, and children had come from the Bay, after much suffering. They bring their swine, cows, and horses. The cold weather setting in upon them before they were prepared for it, they were reduced to great distress. But the consolations of religion, for the sake of which they had bid adieu to their native country, and which they still strive to honor in their example, bear them up, and prompt them to look for better days.

November. In conformity with his instructions, the younger Winthrop sends a bark and twenty men, with provisions, to commence a plantation at the entrance of Connecticut River. A few days after they reached their destination, a vessel, with men from New Netherland, appears off the harbor for the purpose of expelling them. They had prepared themselves for such a visit, and are successful in driving away the assailants.

9. Six men from this quarter, on their return to Massachusetts, in an open pinnace, are cast away, about this date, in Manomet Bay. After wandering ten days in severe cold and deep snow, they reach Plymouth, where their wants are supplied.

26. Twelve men had reached Boston in ten days from this colony. On their journey, they lost one of their number, who broke through the ice and was drowned. They were almost starved, when they found relief at an Indian wigwam.

The departure of these two companies was to escape the sufferings of famine, which had begun among the emigrants from the Bay. As the most of their provision and furniture had been shipped for the river, they were either delayed or cast away. The cold weather came on so suddenly and severely, they were unable to get many of their cattle across the river, and thus lost the use of them. So situated, necessity forced them to seek for help.

28. A bark with passengers, being an engineer, David Gardiner, and eleven other men and two women, also with goods, arrives at Boston, bound to the plantation at the mouth of the Connecticut River. She was sent over by the proprietors of this settlement. Among the non-conformists in England, who favor the peopling of Connecticut, is the Rev. John Davenport, who had experienced enough of the severities of hierarchy there to know the importance of freedom from it here.

December 5. Seeing no prospect of escaping death, through want of food, if they continue at their plantations on the river, Massachusetts emigrants, to the number of about seventy men

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and women, who had come down for their expected supplies, but without finding them, embark on board of the Rebecca. In five days, they reach the Bay, where their friends gladly receive them. Though thus driven from the land of their choice, they did not give up all hope of reoccupying it, and being made partakers of its bountiful productions, in the rich enjoyment of civil and religious liberty. While they so escape from trials in prospect, their connections, whom they left behind, endured much distress from scarcity of food and clothing, and extreme cold of winter. Still the sufferers meet their lot with due submission, as part of the price they were ready to pay for an open Bible and a free gospel.

1636, March 3. In the exercise of their jurisdiction over those who prefer to leave Massachusetts and dwell in Connecticut because of greater accommodation in lands, the General Court of the former colony, at their session, beginning at this date, pass an order, of which is the subsequent extract: "Whereas upon some reason and grounds, there are to remove, from this our commonwealth, divers of our loving friends and members of Newton, Dorcheser, Watertown, and other places, who are resolved to transplant themselves and their estates unto the River of Connecticut, there to reside, and to that end divers are there already, and divers others shortly to go; we, in this present court assembled, on behalf of our said members and John Winthrop, Jr., governor, appointed by certain noble personages and men of quality interested in the said river, who are yet in England, on their behalf, have had a serious consideration thereon, and think it meet, that where there are a people to sit down, there will follow upon occasion some cause of difference, as also divers misdemeanors, which will require speedy redress; and in regard of the distance of place, this government cannot take notice of the same, as to apply timely remedy or to dispense equal justice to them; and in regard to the said noble personages and men of quality have something engaged themselves and their estates in the planting of the said river; and by virtue of a patent do require jurisdiction of the said place and people, and neither the minds of the said personages (they being written unto) are as yet known, nor any manner of government is yet agreed on; and there being a necessity, as aforesaid, that some present government may be observed;—we, therefore, think meet, and so order, that Roger Ludlow, Esq., William Pynchon, Esq., John Steele, William Swaine, Henry Smith, William Phelps, William Westwood, and Andrew Ward, or the greater part of them, shall have full authority to hear and determine, in a judicial way, by witnesses upon oath, examine, within the said plantation, all those differences

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which may arise between party and party, as also, upon misdemeanor, to inflict corporal punishment or imprisonment, to fine and levy the same, if occasion so require, to make and decree such orders for the present that may be for the peaceable ordering the affairs of the said plantation, both in trading, planting, building, lots, military discipline, defensive war, (if need so require,) as shall best conduce to the public good of the same." The commissioners are also empowered to take measures "to convent the inhabitants of said towns by way of court, to proceed in executing the powers aforesaid." Their office is limited to one year. It may be recalled, at any time, if the Bay authorities have sufficient cause.

Such an arrangement discovers a due degree of respect for the claims made by the company of Lord Say and others, whose coöperation for the continuance of ecclesiastical reform here was highly important. It was specially needful to preserve order and insure efficiency to counteract the plan at home for the overthrow of our religious privileges.

April 1. A large portion of the Dorchester church had set out for their township, of the same name at first, but afterwards Windsor. Their surviving minister, Warham, went with them, but did not move his family thither till next September. Of those who became partakers with him in this new enterprise, were Roger Ludlow, Henry Wolcott, William Phelps, and John Mason. Before they undertook the journey, they were called on, February 24, to make an allowance for land embraced by their settlement, but claimed by the Plymouth authorities as included in their truck-house establishment on Connecticut River. The applicant, Mr. Winslow, failed to have the matter compromised then, though it was afterwards.

While some of the cattle, which the settlers here had moved from the Bay before winter set in, lived through it, yet the rest perished to nearly the amount of two thousand pounds. The people who remained through the cold season "were put to great straits for want of provisions. They eat acorns, malt, and grains."

13. Mr. Pyncheon and his company from Roxbury, having located themselves at Agawam, afterwards Springfield, then considered as in Connecticut, adopt regulations for their township. George Moxon,\* soon after joining the Dorchester church, next August, becomes their minister. He was born in Yorkshire, and had his A. B. in 1623, at Sidney College, Cambridge.

26. The commissioners hold their first court. They take

\* His house, having a thatched roof, cost forty pounds. His salary was forty five pounds.

order against the sale of arms and ammunition to Indians, and for the defence of their infant settlements. They pass the following : "Whereas there was a dismission granted by the town of Watertown, in the Massachusetts, dated 29th of March last, to Andrew Ward, Jo. Sherman, Jo. Stickland, Robert Coe, Robert Reynold, and Jonas Weed, with intent to join anew in a church covenant, in this River of Connecticut, the said parties have so accordingly done, with public allowance of the rest of the members of the said churches, as by certificate, now produced, appears. It is, therefore, in this present court, ratified and confirmed, they promising, shortly, publicly to renew the said covenant, upon notice to the rest of the churches." These persons settled in the township afterwards Wethersfield. Their pastor, Mr. Philips, tarried behind. They elected Henry Smith, who came from England, for their minister. This person was one of the men appointed by Massachusetts to govern the people of Connecticut.

In the course of this month, John, son of Rev. Francis Higginson, of Salem, deceased, enters on the duties of preacher to the inhabitants at Saybrook. For such service, he is supported by the proprietors of the soil, who judge aright that no community can be prepared to enjoy the purer and higher experience of life without the gospel.



## CHAPTER X.

**MASSACHUSETTS.** College proposed. — Cotton on government. — Care about strangers. — Proposals of Peters. — Flag struck. — Council for life. — Fine. — An edition of laws. — College founded. — Objection to Wheelwright. — Neal and Rushworth. — Advice that the term "person" be not used as to the Holy Ghost. — Vane desires leave of absence. — Luxuries. — Wine for the churches. — Elders invited by the legislature to convene and advise them. — Rebuke of Peters to Vane. — Wilson's review. — Cotton's sermon. — Covenant of Salem church. — Controversy in Boston church. — Experience of Winthrop. — Occasions for a fast. — Wheelwright's sermon. — Extracts. — Request of persons bound to England. — Attendance on lectures for controversy. — Antinomians and Legalists. — Mr. Knight. — Wilson justified. — Opinion of elders. — Wheelwright; petition of his friends; his trial; sentenced as seditious. — Protest of Vane. — Gorton's arrival. — Ordination at Concord. — Call of ministers in England. — Pequods hostile. — Soldiers raised. — Charter nullified. — Patentees outlawed. — Dedham church officers. — Nine positions. — Non-conformists. — Thirty-two questions. — Emigration forbidden. — Suggestion to throw off subjection to England. — Passengers detained. — Cromwell and others. — Puritan ministers prevented from coming to America. — Remarks of Neal. — Order for the charter to be demanded. — John Yonge. — Stormy election. — Discussions published. — Chaplain for Pequod expedition. — Disaffection of Boston. — Wheelwright respited. — Greensmith. — Offensive acts. — Controversy. — Taking lower seats. — Castle. **PLYMOUTH.** Wrecks. — Sabbath violation. — Complaint of Pequod expedition. — Ralph Partridge arrives. — Leveridge. — Duxbury and Scituate churches. — Code of laws. — Oath of freemen. — Cage, etc. — Fasts. — Witchcraft. — Scituate petition. — Strangers. — Guard. — Pequots. **MAINE.** Supplies for Agamenticus. — Saco minister. — Population. — D'Aulney at Penobscot. **NEW HAMPSHIRE.** Mason's decease. **RHODE ISLAND.** Williams goes to Providence. — His remarks. — Toleration. — Letter to Vane. — Murder of Oldham. — Conference with Canonics. — Treaty with the Narragansetts. — Purchase of Aquednec. — Capture of a Pequod fort. **CONNECTICUT.** Colonists for Connecticut. — Watch. — Ammunition. — Commission for Winthrop, Jr., at Saybrook. — Expedition. — Boast of the Pequods. — Attack. — Torture of prisoners to death. — Tilly. — Court's Message. — Order as to young men. — Pequods still hostile. — Threats. — Synod. — Private things here publicly known in England. — More persons taken and tormented. — Victims redeemed. — War declared against the Pequods. — Forces march. — Mr. Stone chaplain. — Enemy defeated.

### MASSACHUSETTS.

1636, May 2. On the discussion of the question in Salem about dividing Marblehead Neck into lots, it appears from arguments of Mr. Endicott, that a portion of it had been

reserved for the erection of a college. Thus early provision for supplying the country with a continuation of learned clergymen and magistrates, on a Puritan basis, indicates the public purpose, and speaks much for the wisdom of its advocates.

About this time, Mr. Cotton writes, as in Hutchinson, to Lord Say and Seal, in reference to the government which he thought best for the colony at Saybrook, as well as for the other colonies. It is evident from his remarks that he highly approved of the principles manifested in the civil and ecclesiastical administrations of Plymouth and Massachusetts. Some of his remarks follow: "When a commonwealth hath liberty to mould its own frame, I conceive the Scripture hath given full direction for the right ordering of the same, and that in such sort as may best mainteyne the *eueria* [welfare] of the church. It is better that the commonwealth be fashioned to the setting forth of God's house, which is his church, than to accommodate the church to the civil state. When your lordship doubteth that this course will draw all things under the determination of the church, (seeing the church is to determine who shall be members, and none but a member may have to doe in the government of a commonwealth,) be pleased (I pray you) to conceive, that magistrates are neyther chosen to office in the church, nor doe governe by direotions from the church, but by civill lawes, and those enacted in General Corts and executed in corts of justice by the governor and assistants. Nor neede your lordship feare that this corse will lay such a foundation, as nothing but a mere democracy can be built upon it. Nor neede we feare that this corse will in time cast the commonwealth into distractions and popular confusions. For (under correction) these three things doe not undermine, but doe mutually and strongly mainteyne one another, (even those three which wee principally aime at,) authority in magistrates, liberty in people, and purity in church. Purity preserved in the church will preserve well-ordered liberty in the people, and both of them establish well-balanced authority in the magistrates."

Though, at first glance, these positions seem to favor ecclesiastical influence too much, still, when carefully examined, they are consistent with sound philosophy, the rights of man, and equitable government. The experiment made of them by our ancestors, till the reign of Charles II., though necessarily imperfect as the test of human fallibility, proved them to have all the credibility which their author claimed.

May 9. It is ordered by Boston, that "no townsmen shall entertain any strangers in their houses for above fourteen days without leave from those that are appointed to the town's busi-

ness." One evident purpose of this was to keep the inhabitants clear from such as were unfriendly to their principles.

May 15. "Mr. Peters, preaching at Boston,\* made an earnest request to the church, that they would spare their teacher, Mr. Cotton, for a time, that he might go through the Bible, and raise marginal notes upon all the knotty places of the Scriptures; that a new book of martyrs might be made where the other had left; that a form of church government might be drawn according to the Scriptures; that they would take order for employment of people, (especially women and children, in the winter time,) for he feared that idleness would be the ruin both of church and commonwealth."

The ship *St. Patrick* arrives.\* She belonged to Sir Thomas Wentworth, the lord deputy of Ireland and afterwards the Earl of Strafford. When she approached the Castle, the lieutenant of the latter, though with no ensign unfurled, made her master strike his flag, probably because it bore the sign of the cross, then very much disapproved by many of the colonists, as a remnant of Popish idolatry. The matter was amicably adjusted, lest the owner of the ship should be displeased with such an act, as discourteous to himself, and, it is likely, still more so to his royal master.

25. On the council for life, previously ordered to be chosen this session,† John Winthrop, Sen., and Thomas Dudley are elected, and the president of it, from his office of governor, is Henry Vane. This body were continued three years, and then they had a new modification in consequence of popular jealousy, which contended, that their continuance, as first chosen, might imperil the general liberty.

The voters of Newbury are fined sixpence each, because they elected and sent a deputy to the court who was not a freeman.

A committee of several laymen and clergymen are appointed. The latter are Cotton, Peters, and Shepard. The object of their being chosen is "to make a draft of laws agreeable to the word of God, which may be the fundamentals of this commonwealth," and present the same to the next legislature.

As a means to lessen the prejudice against them in England, our rulers order, that, in the places where Quarterly Courts, just instituted, are to be held, "the king's arms shall be erected so soon as they can be had."

Shepard's Memoir says, "The whole country" is exercised "with the opinions of Familists, begun by Mrs. Hutchinson, raised up to a great height by Mr. Vane, and maintained too obscurely by Mr. Cotton, and propagated too boldly by mem-

\* Winthrop.

† General Court Records.

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bars of Boston, and some in other churches." It remarks, that "the principal opinion and seed of all the rest" is, that a Christian has evidence of grace only "by immediate revelation in an absolute promise." It states that the elders deal with Cotton, and publicly preach against the errors so sent forth on community. Shepard writes, "I account it no small mercy to myself that the Lord kept me from that contagion, and gave me any heart or light to see through those devices of men's heads; although I found it a most uncomfortable time to live in contention."

May 26. John Wheelwright arrives at Boston. He had his A. B. in 1614, and A. M. in 1618, at Sidney College, Cambridge. He became a preacher in Belleau, Lincolnshire, but was silenced for his non-conformity. He and his wife Mary joined the Boston church, June 12, some over a fortnight after he landed. He soon adopted his sister-in-law Hutchinson's opinions, which brought him into serious difficulty.

Samuel Whiting came with Wheelwright. He was son of John Whiting, mayor of Boston, Lincolnshire, where he had his birth November 20, 1597. He received his A. B. 1616, and A. M. 1620, at Emanuel College, Cambridge. He was settled in the ministry at Lynn and then at Skirbeck. His first wife and two sons died in England; she left a daughter. His second wife was daughter of the Right Honorable Oliver St. John. Desirous to flee from severe persecution and labor where his sentiments could be met with more congenial sympathy, he left the land of his fathers for an abode upon our shores.

30. Difficulty still continuing, at Salem, between advocates for Roger Williams and others, a warrant, as contained in Winthrop, is sent by magistrates from Boston to the constable there. The tenor of this instrument is as follows: "Whereas we are credibly informed, that divers persons (both men and women) within your town, do disorderly assemble themselves both upon the Lord's day and other times, and contemptuously refusing to come to the solemn meetings of the church there, (or being some of them justly cast out,) do obstinately refuse to submit themselves, that they might again be received, but do make conventions and seduce divers persons of weak capacity, and have already withdrawn some of them from the church, and thereby have caused much disturbance, not only in the church, but also disorder and damage in the civil state, so as if they be suffered to go on, your town is like to be deserted by many of the chief and most useful members, to the great dishonor of God." It further requires the constable to call on the individuals complained of, accompanied by witnesses, expostulate with them, and assure them that if they do not conform with the law

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of the colony, the civil authorities will adopt compulsory measures.

May 31. In speaking of Mason's death and of his being a prime mover in policy ruinous to this country, the same author says "all the business fell on sleep" through his decease. This expression seems to bear on the immediate fitting out of a ship with the governor general for New England. Though it may give an impression that our fathers had weathered the storm, and were peacefully moored, facts prove that the hierarchal purpose at home was strong to sink and destroy their civil and religious freedom as soon as it could be accomplished.

June 1. Richard Jennings, born at Ipswich, England, sails for this country with the Rev. Nathaniel Rogers. At this time he had taken his first degree at Cambridge University. He had a pious mother, who, while desirous to have him properly taught in the wisdom of this world, was still more so that he might become wise unto salvation. Hence, at times, he had deep religious impressions. The reason why he accompanied Mr. Rogers was to enjoy his spiritual instructions. They reached Massachusetts, November 16, after a voyage of many storms and difficulties. In the spring of 1637, he obtained, after severe struggles against his unbelief, a consoling hope in Christ. He embarked for home, in December, 1638, and on the 31st of this month, he, with the rest of the company, had a very narrow escape from shipwreck, at St. Michael's Mount. On his return, in 1639, he began his ministry in Northamptonshire. He then preached in Huntingdonshire, and afterwards at North Glemham, Suffolk. He was ordained in London, September 18, 1645, and settled at Combe, in 1647, where he remained till 1662. He continued in the parsonage house till 1678, when he moved to London. He finished his days at Clapham, September 12, 1709. He was able to preach "without notes at ninety-two" years old, was learned, "of a good invention and strong memory," and, what is far better, was actuated by Christian principle, which rendered him perseveringly and extensively useful.

7. Thomas Millerd, mate of the ship Hector, is committed \* for "saying, we are all rebels and traitors, and he would justify [it] to the governor's face; that he had been twice to the council table, and [would] go again, and doubted not but to bring some to scourge us." This confession and threat accord with the exertions, still continued by the lords commissioners for terminating all the power of dissenters in our country. Their author gave utterance to them, because the royal colors were not displayed "at Boston Fort."

\* General Court Records.

**June 9.** Having been arraigned for his language, Miller, or Millerd, as he signed his name, apologizes to the satisfaction of our authorities.\* These informed the English commanders in the port of Boston, that they "were fully persuaded that the cross in the ensign was idolatrous, and therefore might not set it in our ensign." Still they allowed that, as the fort was the king's, and maintained in his name, his colors might be suspended there, as the captains desired, because, if this were any longer omitted, they should be summoned to state the fact on their return home.

In this month, Cotton preaches at Salem on the perpetuity of Abraham's covenant. His discourse had application to the separatists from the church in that town, relative to Mr. Williams's difficulties.

**July 5.** Messrs. Bulkley and Jones, as in Winthrop, designated this time for gathering a church at Newton, which is to be located at Watertown. Three days previously they invited the governor and his deputy to attend. But these officers were not pleased that they had proceeded so far without consultation of the churches and magistrates, and thus disregarded the law on this subject. For this reason, they declined to take any part in the council.

**9.** Taking an active interest in the welfare of seamen, and desirous to impress those bound for England with the true character of our religious institutions, Mr. Peters goes down to Nantasket, where a fleet lay, ready to sail, and preaches to a collection of them on board of the Hector. It was well to have a friendly parting with the men who had been recently offended, because the royal flag was not hoisted at the Castle, and from whom, when landing in the mother country, many would be eager to catch any report which would swell the charges against New England.

**17.** As an instance of ecclesiastical communion, we have the following from the Boston church records: "Thomas Matson, formerly received by communion of churches, but now as a member upon the confession of his faith and repentance, and professed subjection to the Lord Jesus Christ, according to the covenant of the gospel."

**August.** The inhabitants of Mount Wollaston, then a part of Boston, finding it inconvenient to worship with the first church, endeavor to have one formed in their own district. But an objection to this was, that the farms at Mount Wollaston were granted to Boston for helping to meet its municipal and ecclesiastical expenses. To obviate such a hinderance, the proprietors

\* Winthrop's Journal.

of the farms agree to pay sixpence an acre yearly if within a mile of the water, and threepence, if further off. Such acquiescence shows a very different disposition towards the colonial authorities from that of Morton, who, in the maintenance of Episcopal principles on the same premises, refused to obey their laws.

August 15. The settlers of Contentment, afterwards Dedham, enter\* into a covenant. This has the subsequent passages: "We promise to profess and practice one faith, according to that most perfect rule, the foundation whereof is everlasting love. We engage by all means to keep off from our company such as shall be contrary-minded, and receive only such into our society as will, in a meek and quiet spirit, promote its temporal and spiritual good." The trials, which the subscribers of this contract experienced in their native country, and what they feared from the same source, as well as to carry out the purpose of their immigration hither, even the enjoyment of civil and religious liberty, were the main cause of such an agreement. This, though restrictive, was, from the circumstances around it, necessary, proper, and reasonable. Any intruder, who, for the sake of gratifying his individual wish at the expense of detriment to the peace and welfare of the covenanters, forced himself into their community, and was immediately repulsed, had no just cause to blame them, but his own presumption. The policy of Dedham was that of all the plantations, and, consequently, of the commonwealth.

23. By the permission of the magistrates and elders, a new church,† on the second trial, is organized at Dorchester. Richard Mather becomes the pastor.

25. Having consulted with the magistrates and ministers, the standing council send ninety volunteers, under Endicott, against the Block Island Indians† and others concerned in the murder of John Oldham, and the capture of his vessel. The result of the expedition on the island was the destruction of the enemy's property, one killed, one taken, and others of them wounded; and among the Pequods was, that their wigwams, and canoes, and mats were burned, thirteen of them were killed, and forty wounded; and one of the English lost an eye. A more serious conflict was to ensue. Then, as always, warfare was a hindrance to the spread of plantations and reformation.

September 6. For aggravated profanity, Robert Shorthose is sentenced by the Court of Assistants "to have his tongue put into a cleft stick, and to stand so by the space of a half hour." A woman is ordered, at the same time, to be punished in a

\* Dedham Records.

† Winthrop, Trumbull.

similar manner for the like, though not so heinous, offence, connected with "railing and reviling." Peter Bussaker is sentenced to receive twenty stripes, "sharply inflicted," for drunkenness, and is fined five pounds for slighting the magistrates.

October 21. Mrs. Ann Hutchinson attracts public attention on account of her religious speculations. She was the wife of William Hutchinson, merchant, who joined the Boston church July 26, 1634, and she united with it the next November 2, though some objection was then made to her opinions. The following Sabbath, two of her sons, Richard and Francis, and a daughter, Faith, and on the 28th of December, another daughter, Bridget, became members, and her husband chosen deacon, November 27, 1636, of the same church. She observed, shortly before her embarkation for this country, to Henry Bartholomew, as they passed through St. Paul's Churchyard, in London,\* "that she had never had any great thing done about her but it was revealed to her beforehand." This she still held to after coming hither. Governor Winthrop says, that she "brought over with her two dangerous errors; that the person of the Holy Ghost dwells in a justified one; that no sanctification can help to evidence to us our justification. From these two grew many branches, as our union with the Holy Ghost, so as a Christian remains dead to every spiritual action, and hath no gifts nor graces other than such as are hypocrites, nor any other sanctification but the Holy Ghost himself."

From the same author and Weld we learn that she subsequently made the ensuing statement: "I was troubled in England that the churches and ministers did not hold Christ aright. After twelve months' prayer, I saw how I had trusted in a covenant of works. After our teacher, Mr. Cotton, and my brother Wheelwright were put down, there was none in England, that I durst hear. After this the Lord carrying Mr. Cotton to New England, it was revealed to me that I must go thither, also, and that there I should be persecuted and suffer much trouble."

25. This subject collects the ministers of the colony, as Winthrop informs us, at Boston, to consult with members of the legislature about it, and whether they should write concerning it to Mr. Cotton's church, and try to prevent its influence there and in other churches. At the conference, this clergyman and Mr. Wheelwright expressed their belief that sanctification was evidence of justification. The former added, that he, with other ministers, did not hold to the personal union of the believer with the Holy Spirit, as Mrs. Hutchinson and others did, though they believed that the same Spirit dwelt in the sanctified.

\* Mrs. Hutchinson's examination, in the 2d volume of Hutchinson.



Mr. Cotton, as head of the committee for drawing up a body of laws, though he had prominent assistance from Nathaniel Ward, presents them to the General Court. Winthrop calls them "a model of Moses his judicials, compiled in exact method, which were taken into further consideration till the next General Court." The evident design of the code was to regulate the commonwealth essentially as it had been, so that the cause of Congregational religion should be made the paramount object of all other interests, whether public or private. It mentions, as one obligation of the legislature, "the maintenance of the purity and unity of religion, and accordingly to set forward and uphold all such courses, as shall be thought fit for that end, by the advice of the elders, with the consent of the churches, and to repress the contrary." It retained a distinguishing feature of the system, as already practised, namely; that none but members of the churches here should be freemen, and none but these should either choose or be chosen officers of government. Another clause of it follows: "Forasmuch as all civil affairs are to be administered and ordered so as may best conduce to the upholding and setting forward of the worship of God in church fellowship, it is therefore ordered, that wheresoever the lands of any man's inheritance shall fall, yet no man shall set his dwelling house above the distance of half a mile, or a mile at the farthest, from the meeting of the congregation, where the church doth usually assemble for the worship of God." It is adduced, as an instance of the care exercised by our fathers to secure attendance at the sanctuary, which they wisely considered as an important means for the preservation of their civil and ecclesiastical liberties.

As well known, the laws so prepared were not formally adopted. Excepting some parts, as before intimated, they had been in practice, and continued so to be, until the most of them were incorporated in "the Body of Liberties," received and passed by the General Court. Because largely drawn from the system of Moses, many have taken it for granted, without examination, that they must have been too irrelevant to New England, and therefore injudicious, rather betraying weakness and ignorance than strength and intelligence of mind. But this is the sheer conclusion of prejudice. Few men, either in the old or new world, could boast of better intellectual powers, or greater stores of knowledge, than those possessed by Cotton and Ward. The main principles of jurisprudence, inculcated by the law-giver of Israel, have an application to human society in all ages and nations. So long as the world remains in its fallen condition, the administration of them will be essential for its good order and equitable government.

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A reason, at first, why Cotton and Ward's code failed to be adopted, was that leading colonists feared it might be construed as exceeding the power granted by the charter, which might hasten its nullification, as threatened by the judicial course against it still pursued by its opponents in England. An edition of it was printed in London, 1641. Fourteen years after, William Aspinwall, who had been a resident in the capital of Massachusetts, had another edition of it published there. Referring to its being considered by our legislature several years, he remarked in his preface, "which had they then the heart to have received, it might have been better both with them there and us here."

October 28. The following conclusion of the legislature indicates that the purpose of founding a college, as an essential auxiliary to the advancement of the end for which the colony was settled, and, as previously suggested at Salem, was still cherished and matured. It is agreed "to give four hundred pounds towards a school or college, whereof two hundred pounds to be paid next year, and two hundred when the work is finished, and the next court to appoint when, where, and what building." This was a demonstration of the Protestant principle, which requires the light of knowledge as the warrant for its claims and rule of its action. Shepard informs us that one reason for erecting the college at Newton was, that the place had been kept clear from the opinions of Mrs. Hutchinson.

30. As the advocates of Mrs. Hutchinson's doctrines had proposed to have her brother Wheelwright united in the ministry with Cotton and Wilson, the matter is brought before the church for consideration. Winthrop, who states these facts, objects to the movement, because they had ministers enough, and their peace might be disturbed by calling Wheelwright, who did not harmonize with them in certain points. These he represents to be, as delivered in a recent exercise, that the believer is more than a creature, and that the Holy Ghost and a believer are united. Upon this Governor Vane expresses his surprise, because Mr. Cotton had lately approved of Mr. Wheelwright's doctrine. Cotton observes that he does not remember that Wheelwright advanced the first of the ideas imputed to him, and desires him to explain the matter. Wheelwright does not deny but that he had expressed them on a particular occasion. There being an endeavor to explain away the difference of views between him and Winthrop, the latter remarks, that though this is likely to be done, and he highly esteems the abilities and piety of Wheelwright, still he is indisposed to sit under his ministry, "seeing he was apt to raise doubtful disputations." From

these considerations the church vote\* as follows: "Our brother, Mr. John Wheelwright, was granted for the preaching for a church gathering at Mt. Wallystone, upon a petition of those that were resident there."

As some brethren of the church to which Winthrop belonged† were offended at his objections to Wheelwright, he gave his reasons for them the next day, and soon communicated his mind on the subject to Cotton.

November 8. A church is gathered at Saugus after the deliberation of two days. The council admit only six members and Mr. Whiting, who was to be their pastor. This experiment was the beginning of better things for the people there, who had suffered from ecclesiastical difficulties.

17. As evidence of continued desire with many dissenters of England, two ships came into Boston from London, and one the week previous, full of passengers. Among these is Nathaniel Rogers. The exact date on which he reached the port is uncertain. He was son of John Rogers, minister of Haverhill, and then of Dedham, and of Elizabeth, his second wife, whose surname was Gold. He is represented by Hutchinson, in a note of his decease under 1655, as a descendant from John Rogers, the martyr in the reign of Queen Mary, though this is doubted by some. He was born in 1598, and had his A. B. 1617, and his A. M. 1621, at Emanuel College, Cambridge. He officiated as chaplain in a family of high rank, and then as curate at Bocking, in Essex county. While here, in 1627, he was troubled with objections to Episcopal conformity. On this account, his labors were transferred to Assington, of Suffolk, where they were abundant and successful for five years. Not seeing his way clear to subscribe "the articles of visitation," and being threatened with consequent penalty, he prepared to seek a refuge in this country. Having married a daughter of Robert Crane, of Coggeshall, this gentleman offered to support him and his family if he would stay in England. Though inclination for ease might bid him accept the generous proposal, his perception of duty led him to forsake the strong ties of kindred and country.

In reference to the departure of him and others of like spirit, Neal contains these remarks: "The [national] church was now in the height of its triumphs, and grasped not only at all spiritual jurisdiction, but at the capital preferments of the state. Great numbers of the most useful and laborious preachers in all parts of the country were buried in silence, and forced to abscond from the fury of the high commission." Rushworth

\* First Church records of Boston.

† Winthrop's Journal.

gives a passage on the same subject: "The severe censures in the Star Chamber, and the greatness of the fines, and the rigorous proceedings to impose ceremonies, the suspending and silencing multitudes of ministers for not reading the Book of Sports to be exercised on the Lord's day, caused many of the nation, both ministers and others, to sell their estates and set sail for New England." Such facts indicate the fiery furnace prepared for the prominent supporters of Congregationalism here who should remain steadfast to their principles, in case the undiminished resolution of the crown party for controlling our colonial affairs should be accomplished. One light, amid the shadows which came over our ancestors while thus threatened, was, that they received larger accessions of desirable immigrants, the more power at home was so applied as to drive them hither, and that, with physical and spiritual strength so increased, they were better able to stand by their privileges, with greater prospect of success, to the last extremity.

Vane, Cotton, and many others, of Boston, favorable to Mrs. Hutchinson's scheme, hold\* to "the indwelling of the person of the Holy Ghost in a believer." The first also goes "so far beyond the rest as to maintain a personal union" with the same Spirit. But Winthrop, Wilson, and others deny both. A discussion on these topics is continued, and, for the sake of peace, in writing. "At length they could not find the person of the Holy Ghost in Scripture, nor in the primitive churches three hundred years after Christ, so that, all agreeing in the chief matter of substance, viz., that the Holy Ghost is God, and that he doth dwell in the believers, (as the Father and Son both are said to do,) but whether by his gifts and power only, or by any other manner of presence, seeing the Scripture doth not declare it, — it was earnestly desired, that the word 'person' might be forborne, being a term of human invention, and tending to doubtful disputation in this case."

November 27. "Our brethren,† Mr. Wm. Hutchinson and Jacob Elyott, were chosen to the deacon's office." The former, as before stated, was husband to Mrs. Hutchinson, whose doctrines were increasingly attracting public attention.

December 7. Governor Vane convenes the legislature, so that he may have their consent for him to visit England, on account of his property, as letters from his friends there desired.‡ While this subject is considered, an Assistant regrets the occasion of his departure, because of danger "from the Indians and French." Vane mentions an objection to him among the peo-

\* Winthrop's Journal.

† Boston church records.

‡ General Court records. Winthrop's Journal.

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ple, that his religious speculations had disturbed the peace of the churches. The court consent to his leave of absence. The Boston church are averse to his going home, which delays his embarkation. Many of the colonists are desirous of his reëlection.

December 13. To prevent "immoderate expense of provisions brought from beyond the seas, it is ordered, that whosoever (after three months from the date hereof) shall buy or receive out of any ship any fruit, spice, sugar, wine, strong water, or tobacco, shall pay to the treasurer one sixth part of the price or value thereof, and every person who shall buy or receive any of the said commodities, with intent to retail the same to others, shall pay to the treasurer one third part of the value or price thereof." As an exception to these restrictions, deacons may purchase wine for the use of their churches.

During this session of the court, the elders, being invited by them to attend and advise about the differences of opinion in the churches, are present. So convened, they met before the subject came up in the former body, and wrote down the points in which they thought Cotton differed from them, and to which he agreed to return an answer. Vane, hearing of this procedure, expressed his dislike to it, in court, for which Peters reproved him, and added, that the ministers were saddened by his jealousy of their deliberations, and his apparent inclination "to restrain their liberty." The governor apologized; Peters continued his advice to him, and related his observation as to the origin of erroneous speculations in "the Low Countries."

Wilson reviewed the sad condition of the churches in consequence of Mrs. Hutchinson's opinions. This was approved by the elders and the legislature, except Vane and four others, who were probably William Coddington of the Assistants, and John Coggeshall of the deputies, and Cotton and Wheelwright of the clergy.

On the day of this discussion, Cotton preached, and took the position "that evident sanctification was an evidence of justification." On debating this doctrine, its author and Vane argued against its objectors.

The remarks advanced by Wilson offended his colleague and others of the church, so that they proceeded to deal with him. He replied that, he was not conscious of having said more than the time and occasion required, and that he intended to apply his language no more to Boston church than to other churches. Still he could not satisfy them.

This year, as Johnson informs us, a man from England was desirous to hear Shepard preach, who, a follower of Mrs. Hutchinson told him, was a legalist. As he entered the parish of Shepard, he heard a drum, which gave notice that he was

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them to deliver a sermon. The stranger took a seat in the meeting-house, "where having stayed while the glass was turned up twice," was deeply impressed with the matter and manner of the speaker, and formed a high opinion of him, as an able messenger of Christian truth.

December 21. Hugh Peters becomes the pastor of Salem church. They renew their covenant,\* somewhat altered from the first. It evidently had reference to events of the time. One passage of it is, "Resolving to reject all contrary ways, canons, and constitutions of men in his worship." This evidently bears on the experience of the dissenters in England, who had refused compliance with Episcopal requisitions. Another, "We will not in the congregation be forward either to show our own gifts and parts in speaking or scrupling." It was common in our ancient congregations for persons to rise after the sermon, and express approbation or the contrary to its different parts. A further passage, "No way slighting our sister churches, but using their counsel as need shall be; not laying a stumbling-block before any, no, not the Indians, whose good we desire to promote." There had been several cases, wherein much difficulty had arisen because such advice was not seasonably sought. The great object of evangelizing the original inhabitants is still cherished. The last extract, here taken from the covenant, runs as follows: "We do promise to carry ourselves in all lawful obedience to those that are over us, in church or commonwealth." This relates to the troubles occasioned by the stand of Roger Williams and his advocates, and to those arising from the controversy about Mrs. Hutchinson's doctrine.

81. The Boston church,† except Winthrop and one or two more, desire Wilson to answer publicly for his remarks in General Court. He wisely replied to them. They were earnest to have him censured. Cotton, though he did not consider the excuse of his colleague sufficient, declined to do it, but "gave him a grave exhortation."

1637, January 1. Wilson preached so acceptably, that Vane "gives public witness to him." The preceding occurrences opened a correspondence between Winthrop and Cotton with regard to the position of Wilson.† "Upon these public occasions, other opinions brake out publicly in the church of Boston, as that the Holy Ghost dwelt in a believer as he is in heaven; that a man is justified before he believes; and that faith is no cause of justification. And others spread more secretly, as that the letter of the Scripture holds forth nothing but a covenant of works; and that the covenant of grace was the

\* Mather's Magnalia.

† Winthrop's Journal.

spirit of the Scripture, which was known only to believers ; and that this covenant of works was given by Moses in the ten commandments ; that there was a seed (viz., Abraham's carnal seed) went along in this, and there was a spirit and life in it, by virtue whereof a man might attain to any sanctification in gifts and graces, and might have spiritual and [continual] communion with Jesus Christ, and yet be damned. After, it was granted, that faith was before justification, but it was only passive, an empty vessel, etc. ; but, in conclusion, the ground of all was found to be assurance by immediate revelation." Wilson, Winthrop, and a few others of the church argued against such doctrines, but the remainder, being a large majority, favored them.

The rest of the clergymen, being dissatisfied with the opinions expressed by Cotton and some of his church, have them written under sixteen sections,\* and presented to him, with the earnest request that he would immediately reply. This he did, and many copies of it were circulated. The ministers answered at large, and gave their reasons of dissent from his views.

January 12. Called to take a prominent and decided stand in this crisis of trial to the Christian's faith and character, Governor Winthrop draws up an intelligent and scriptural account of his religious experience. Towards the end, he speaks of free justification, through the Savior, as the only way of remission for his deficiencies in duty — a doctrine strangely represented by some of the errorists, who now trouble the churches here. He then closes with the words, "The Lord Jesus, who, of his own free grace, hath washed my soul in the blood of the everlasting covenant, wash away all those spots in his own time. Amen. Even so do, Lord Jesus."

19. A general fast is observed.\* The reasons for it are the following : † the unhappy condition of the churches in Germany ; the calamities of England, "the bishops making havoc in the churches, putting down the faithful ministers, and advancing Popish ceremonies and doctrines ; the plague raging exceedingly, and famine and sword threatening them ; the dangers of those at Connecticut, and of ourselves also, by the Indians ; and the dissensions in our churches." This was a sad account, enough to bring reformers before the Lord with humility and prayer for the sanctification of their trials, in sympathy and experience, and for deliverance from them.

The services of this day in Boston add much to the materials of controversy, which was spreading a dark cloud over the

\* General Court Records.

† Winthrop has this fast put under the 20th day, but the colony records make it the 19th.

prospect of New England. Had it not been for their stay upon the help of God, the hearts of our fathers would have sunk within them. When Cotton had closed his sermon in the afternoon,\* the church desired Wheelwright to prophesy "as a private brother." He arose, and the subject of his discourse was predicated on Matt. ix. 15, "And Jesus said unto them, Can the children of the bride chamber mourn," etc. — "then they shall fast." The doctrine† he derived from the text was, "that the only cause of the fasting of true believers is the absence of Christ." Some extracts follow: "There is a prophecy of a glorious church, which the Lord will haue vnder the New Testament. Wheresoeuer we liue, if we wold haue the Lord Jesus Christ to be abundantly present with vs, we must all of vs prepare for battell, and come out against the enimyes of the Lord; and if we do not strive, those vnder a covenant of works will preuaile. Wee must haue a speciall care, therefore, to show ourselues courageous. Brethren, those vnder a covenant of works, the more holy they are, the greater enimyes they are to Christ." For those under a covenant of grace to contend "will cause a combustion in the church and commonwealth. I must confesse and acknowledge it will do so. If we meane to keepe the Lord Jesus Christ, we must be willing to suffer any thing. If we will preuaile, if we be called, we must be willing to lay downe our liues, and shall overcome by so doing. Sampson slew more at his death then in his life, and so we may preuaile more by our death then by our liues."

For those of us under a covenant of grace to retain the presence of the Lord, we must be careful of several duties. "We must haue a speciall care, that as any of vs are interested with the gospell, so to deale faithfully in the dispensing of it, whether we be in place or not in place, whether brethren or sisters. Such as set themselves against the Lord Jesus Christ are the greatest enemyes to the state. If they can haue their wills, you shall see what a lamentable estate both the church and commonwealth will be in."

"It may comfort the saynts of God in this respect, that seeing that the Lord Jesus Christ his absence is the cause of fasting and mourning, this is a comfort to the children of God, that come what will, they shall be in a happy estate, they shall be blessed. Suppose those that are God's children shold loose their houses, and lands, and wives, and friends, and loose the acting of the guifts of grace, and loose the ordinances, they can never loose the Lord Jesus Christ. This is a great comfort to

\* A Brief Apology for the Proceedings of General Court.

† Hutchinson's Collections, MSS. in Mass. Hist. Soc. Library.



God's people. Suppose the saynts of God shold be banished and deprived of all the ordinances of God, that were a hard case (in some respect) for we had better part with all then the ordinances; but if the ordinances shold be taken away, yet Christ cannot; for if John be banished to an iland, (Rev. i. 9, 10,) and the Spirite come vpon him on the Lord's day, there are amends for the ordinances, amends for banishment; if we loose ordinances for God, he will be ordinances vnto vs. Therefore let the saynts of God be encouraged though they shold loose all they haue; yet they being made one in Christ, and Christ dwelling in their hearts by faith, they may be perswaded nothing can separate them from Christ. Rom. viii. 38, 39. Therefore let the saynts of God reioyce that they haue the Lord Jesus Christ, and their names written in the booke of life; be glad and reioyce, for great is your reward in heauen."

These paragraphs are presented to show the nature of the discourse. Applying them to existing circumstances of the period, there is no wonder that it was like casting oil upon the flame. However strongly sustained the author was in his own church, still he was aware that a large majority of the other churches were persuaded that the distinction he made between them and his advocates was without any essential difference. While exhibiting his own supporters as under a covenant of grace, and the best patriots of the land, and those on the opposite side as under a covenant of works, and therefore its worst foes, he must have perceived that his positions would be generally received as presumptuous, and treated as a libel on the character of the colonists. Though he may have fearlessly bid defiance to the civil authorities, and encouraged his denomination, male and female, to contend earnestly for their faith on the peril of banishment, he must have seen that it was increasing the jeopardy of having the whole country soon brought under the dictation of the lords commissioners, with Bishop Laud at their head. In view of these facts, without intending to impugn the conscientious motives of the writer, we cannot think it strange that the General Court, perilously situated as they were, felt themselves bound to deal with him as an offender.

February 3. As many passengers, according to the relation of Winthrop, are about to sail in a ship from Boston for England, Cotton is anxious that they should not carry thither any unfavorable account of the controversy relative to Mrs. Hutchinson's sentiments. He accordingly desires them to say, "that all the strife was about magnifying the grace of God within us, and the other to advance the grace of God towards us, meaning by the one justification, and by the other sanctification, — and so bade them tell them, that, if there were any among them

that would strive for grace, they should come hither." Wilson also addresses the same persons. He assures them "that he knew none of the elders or brethren of the churches but did labour to advance the free grace of God in justification, so far as the word of God required ; and spake also about the doctrine of sanctification, and the use and necessity of it."

To the individual, unacquainted with the difference of views entertained by the teacher and pastor of Boston church, these speeches would seem as though they were based on harmony. But one of them favored the system of Mrs. Hutchinson, and the other was to clear its opponents from the charge of rejecting the doctrine of free grace. Cotton's friends liked his remarks, and those of Wilson were not less pleased with what he said.

Brethren of Boston, who sided with Mrs. Hutchinson, attended lectures out of town, and when any thing in these discourses contravened their opinions, publicly objected to it, and thus caused much disturbance. "It began to be as common here to distinguish between men, by being under a covenant of grace or a covenant of works, as in other countries between Protestants and Papists." The parties thus designated were called, one by the other, Antinomians and Legalists. They, like all other bodies similarly related, prompted by zeal for the principles they cherished, looked more on the points of difference than of agreement between them, and regarded each other as carried away by a strange delusion from the line of their respective creeds.

Shepard remarks, under January 20, "Mr. Wheelwright preached (as the court judged) a seditious sermon, stirring up all sorts against those that preached a covenant of works, meaning all the elders in the country that preached justification by faith and sanctification, being enabled thereto by the Spirit."

William Knight, refusing to conform with Episcopal requisitions, comes over this year, and is admitted an inhabitant of Salem. The next year, he is made freeman of the colonial company. He probably labored in the ministry while at Salem, and for a like purpose, he appears to have taken up his abode at Ipswich. Here, in 1638, he had a grant of two hundred acres, near Mr. Hubbard's farm, and in 1641 he began to preach for the people at New Meadows, afterwards Topsfield, his hearers chiefly belonging to the two preceding towns. He was of the same place and office in 1643. He is mentioned by Cotton Mather among those who had parishes before coming to this country. We are credibly informed that he had gone back, by 1648, to the kingdom of his former labors. His relations, while a pastor in New England, were with intelligent and

devout parishioners, which is an indication that he was alike qualified.

March 9. A session of the legislature commences.\* Among the most important matters before them is the excitement concerning the opinions of Mrs. Hutchinson. The ministers, being invited to attend and advise about it, are present. "They agreed to put off all lectures for three weeks, that they might bring things to some issue."

To confirm their previous practice, and comply with their political polity, the court pass an order, which, in one of its provisions, says, that no person shall be chosen to any office of the commonwealth, unless a freeman, and, of course, a member of some Congregational church.

They arraign Stephen Greensmith for affirming that all the ministers, except Cotton, Wheelwright, and, he thought, Hooker, did teach a covenant of works. For a time, he was committed to the marshal. Subsequently he was required to make an apology which should satisfy the ministers and their churches, to whom his accusation referred. He was also fined forty pounds, and bound in one hundred pounds, till he conformed with the decision.

Having attended to this case, the legislature proceed to that between Boston church and their pastor, Mr. Wilson. The last, as before stated, had been found fault with by the second body, for his remarks in presence of the first, relative to the Hutchinson controversy. A large majority of the court vote, that his remarks were "seasonable advice, and no charge or accusation."

The clergy, being requested by the legislature to offer their views as to the course which they [the court] should pursue in reference to church members, agree as follows: "That no member of the court ought to be publicly questioned by a church for any speech in the court, without license of the court. The reason was, because the court may have sufficient reason, that may excuse the sin, which yet may not be fit to acquaint the church with, being a secret of state. That, in all such heresies or errors of any church members as are manifest and dangerous to the state, the court may proceed without tarrying for the church; but if the opinions be doubtful, etc., they are first to refer them to the church, etc."

10. Knowing that Wheelwright was to be cited for trial, before the legislature, on account of passages in his Fast sermon, which were considered seditious, the most of Boston church members offer a petition to that body. This document contains

\* General Court Records. Winthrop's Journal.

two requests — “That as freemen they might be admitted to be present in the court, in causes of judicature. That the court would declare whether they might proceed in cases of conscience, without referring them first to the church.” To this the court replied on the back of the petition, that they deemed it uncalled for as to the first particular, because they never used privacy in judicial proceedings, except only in making preparation for them, and this they should still do. Relative to any matter of conscience, they would judge whether it should be considered by them or not, when it came before them. A reason why the petitioners wished to be present when the ministers gave their advice was, that the latter, except Cotton, as previously stated, differed from them in judgment about the points in controversy.

Mr. Wheelwright, being called, is asked, “whether, before his sermon, he did not know that most of the ministers in this jurisdiction did not teach the doctrine which he in his sermon called a covenant of works.” He declines answering. Some of his friends cried out that the court meant to make him his own accuser. In the afternoon, he is again sent for. The doors are open. A great number assemble. Being inquired of, if he meant his opponents in doctrine, when speaking in his sermon of those under a covenant of works, as Antichrists, “Philistines, who stop up, with the earth of their own inventions, the wells of true believers; Herod, who would have killed Christ so soon as he was born; Pilate, who did kill Christ when he once came to show forth himself,” — he confessed that he did.

Witnesses are examined with regard to other opinions of his which had given much offence.

The court propound this question to the elders, written on the outside of the sermon as previously mentioned, “whether by that which you have heard concerning Mr. Wheelwright’s sermon, and that which was witnessed concerning him, you do conceive that the ministers in this country do walk in and teach such a way of salvation and evidencing thereof, as he describeth and accounteth to be a covenant of works.” They, except Mr. Cotton, reply, the next morning, in the affirmative. They proceed to remark on the subject. As the conclusion, the legislature vote that; all things considered, Mr. Wheelwright has run into sedition and contempt of civil authority, because they “had appointed the Fast as a means of reconciliation of the differences, and he had purposely set himself to kindle and increase them.” He is notified to appear at the next General Court, and abide their further sentence. As to the matter of silencing him, they, by advice of the elders, leave it to the option of the Boston church, who, of course, from their favor for him, would take no such step. Governor Vane and a few other members of the

legislature desire their dissent from the vote to be entered with it on the records; but this is not allowed, because not customary. Then they offer a protest. This takes the ground that Wheelwright's Fast day discourse did not tend to disturb the public peace, nor to promote sedition. It also desires the court to consider whether it is not a device of Satan in raising up calumnies adverse to Wheelwright as a cause of the decision against him, and, further, to look at the peril of thus dealing with the prophets of God. Its close is, "We have made known our griefs and desires to your worships, and leave them upon record with the Lord and with you, knowing that if we should receive repulse from you, with the Lord we shall find grace."

While engaged on so exciting a topic, the legislature forget not their perils from other quarters. Apprehensive of an irruption on their territory by Indians, particularly the Pequods, they order guards to be stationed at exposed points in every town on the Sabbath, and also persons on the military lists, to attend public worship with "muskets or other pieces fit for service, and match, powder, and bullets, on pain of twelve pence for every default."

They grant Anthony Thacher "the island at the head of Cape Ann (upon which he was preserved from shipwreck) as his proper inheritance." He was probably preaching, at this time, for the people of Marblehead.

On General Court's coming to a close, it is moved that their next session be at Newton, because of much warmth in feeling and speech between the advocates of Wheelwright and Mrs. Hutchinson in Boston and their opponents. But the governor, Vane, not thinking the reason assigned for the removal sufficient, declines to put the motion. Winthrop does the same, because a resident of Boston. Endicott performs the service, and it is agreed to have the legislature meet at Newton.

About this time Samuel Gorton arrives. He was born at Gorton, and lived there in 1619. He came from London, where he was a clothier. He says, in his *Simplicity's Defence*, that he left England "to enjoy liberty of conscience." He further relates, "Landed at Boston. We found our countrymen at great variance in point of religion." Because we could not agree with them, they "denied us even so much as a place to reside in." Though he thought the rules of being admitted to an inhabitancy here too strict, yet our authorities were continually taught the need of them to keep out speculators in wild doctrine, which regarded nothing so much as its own indulgence.

April 6. Being Fast day at Concord, as Winthrop relates, for the ordination of Bulkley and Jones as their elders, they elect

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the former as teacher, and the latter as pastor. On the question of a delegate from Salem to the council, the ministers of this body pass the subsequent resolve: "That such as had been ministers in England were lawful ministers by the call of the people there, notwithstanding their acceptance of the call of the bishops, etc., (for which they humbled themselves, acknowledging it their sin, etc. ; ) but being come hither, they accounted themselves no ministers, until they were called to another church, and that upon election they were ministers before they were solemnly ordained." Vane, Cotton, Wheelwright, the two ruling elders, and others of note in the Boston church, decline to attend on such an occasion. It is supposed that they considered the persons ordained as legal preachers, and therefore would not countenance the services with their presence.

April 18. Aware that all the blessings, for which they had crossed the ocean, were threatened by the hostile attitude of the Pequods, the General Court order that each town raise its quota of one hundred and sixty men to resist them. They state that "the war, having been undertaken upon just grounds, should be seriously prosecuted." They increase the number of soldiers, so ordered out, to two hundred and eleven, including, however, those lately sent to Saybrook. A levy of six hundred pounds is ordered to cover the charges. The standing council are authorized to consult with Plymouth, and "our friends upon Connecticut," relative to the enterprise.

30. Still pursuing their purpose to nullify the charter of this colony, the legal authorities in England continue the case, respecting it, at the Easter term.\* Here "judgment was given for the king that the libertyes and franchises of said corporacon should be seized into the king's hands." As Humfrey, Eadycott, Whetcomb, Aldersey, Nowell, Bellingham, J. Brown,† S. Brown, Vassal, and Pynchon do not appear to answer, they are outlawed. With regard to Cradock, who had firmly refused to disclaim the charter, it was ordered, that "his body bee taken into custody for vsurping the said libertyes." He thus gave proof that he regarded the course of our fathers as constitutional, and no infringement on the privileges and rights which had been royally conferred upon them.

Thus an object of protracted and intense desire with the opposers of Puritanism in New England is accomplished. Nothing but the want of available power prevents Bishop Laud and the other lords commissioners from the immediate enforcement

\* Manuscript among the Plantation Papers in London.

† J. Brown appeared at the next Easter term, and, then disclaiming the charter, was released from outlawry.

of the decision and the absolute prostration of civil and religious liberty in this commonwealth, and wherever enjoyed in its vicinity.

At this date, or nearly so, the subsequent paragraph was placed on the Dedham church records: "The townshipp of Dedham, consisting of about thirty-six families residing ther 1687, being come together, by divine Providence, from severall parts of England, few of them knowne to one another before, it was thought meete and agreed upon, that all y<sup>e</sup> inhabitants y<sup>t</sup> affected church communion or pleased to come, should meete every fifth day of y<sup>e</sup> weeke at severall houses, in order lovingly to discourse and consult together such questions as might further tend to stablish a peaceable and comfortable civill society, and prepare for spirituall communion in a church society, partly that we might be further acquainted with y<sup>e</sup> spirit, temper, and guifts of one another, and partly y<sup>t</sup> we might gaine further light in y<sup>e</sup> waies of Christ's kingdome and government of his church, which we thought might much conduce to this end. The order of which meetings was this, — y<sup>e</sup> question being propounded and agreed upon y<sup>e</sup> weeke before, y<sup>e</sup> Mr. of y<sup>e</sup> family wher y<sup>e</sup> meeting was, begun and concluded with prayer; and he first speaking as God assisted to y<sup>e</sup> questioned, others y<sup>t</sup> pleased spake after him, as they saw cause to ad, enlarge, or approue what was spoken by any, or purposely to treat of y<sup>e</sup> question, or else to propound any questions pertinent to y<sup>e</sup> case, or any objection or doubts remaining in any conscience about y<sup>e</sup> same, so it were humbly and with a teachable hart, not with any mind of cavilling or contradicting, which order was so well observed as generally all such reasonings were very peaceable, loving, and tended much to edification." The Dedham brethron, so associated, discussed various profitable subjects. Among their conclusions were the following, which exhibited their views: "A church has from Christ not only a right to all y<sup>e</sup> institutions of y<sup>e</sup> gospel, but y<sup>e</sup> power of y<sup>e</sup> kies, whereby she may dispençe y<sup>e</sup> same to hir members, and doth receive this power immediately from Christ. Y<sup>e</sup> church ought to dispençe all thes ordinances and this power in such an order as Christ has ordained, viz., by officers rightly elected and ordained by y<sup>e</sup> church in y<sup>e</sup> name of Christ, which officers are pastours, teachers, rulers, deacons, and widdowes. Yet till the church can be furnished with them, she may depute some guifted to exercise guifts to edification." Preaching, baptism, and the Lord's supper belong to the pastor and teacher; discipline pertains specially to the ruling elder, but in common with the teacher; collection of alms belongs to the deacon; prophecy is that of those approved for it by the church. Among the ordinances are singing of psalms and the observance of the Lord's day.

Near this time, a letter \* is written by many Puritan clergymen of England to those of the colonies here. In such a communication they desire to be informed respecting nine positions, which follow in the language of our elders : —

“ 1. That a stinted forme of prayer, or set liturgie, is unlawfull.

2. That it is not lawfull to joyne in prayers, or receive the sacrament where a stinted liturgie is used, or as we conceive your meaning to be in this as in the former question, viz., where that stinted liturgie is used.

3. That the children of godly and approved Christians are not to be baptized untill their parents be set members of a congregation.

4. That the parents of themselves, though of approved piety, are not to be received to the Lord's supper untill they be admitted as set members.

5. That the power of excommunication, etc., is so in the bodie of the church, that what the major part shall allow, that must be done, though the pastors and governors, and part of their assembly, be of another mind, and peradventure upon more substantiall reasons.

6. That none are to be admitted as set members, but they must promise not to depart or remove, unlesse the congregation will give leave.

7. That a minister is so a minister to a particular congregation, that if they dislike him unjustly, or leave him, he ceaseth to be a minister.

8. That a minister cannot perform any ministeriall act in another congregation.

9. That members in one congregation may not communicate in another.”

The occasion of this correspondence, so begun, is mentioned in the preface, as follows : “ These differences betwixt the loving brethren of Old England and New England had not been made thus notorious, if some, who cry up the church way in New England as the only way of God, had not been forward to blow them abroad in the world.”

In their communication, the ministers there remark to those here, “ Since your departure, we hear, and partly believe it, that divers have embraced certain vain opinions, such as you disliked formerly, and we judge to be groundless and unwarrantable.” Then they recite particulars as to the nine positions, and make

\* Though the Journal of Winthrop, under October, 1638, says that “ about two years ago,” this was sent over, yet the printed work, including it and the reply to it, etc., represent it to have been written in 1637. But Allen and Shepard, in 1645, say it was forwarded in 1636. See Hanbury, note, vol. ii. p. 22.



observations upon them. In this line they proceed : " These and other such like, which we omit to reckon up, are written and reported with great applause, maintained with great confidence, and applauded as the only church way, wherein the Lord is to be worshipped. And letters from New England have so taken with divers in many parts of the kingdom, that they have left our assemblies, because of a stinted liturgy, and excommunicated themselves from the Lord's supper, because of such as are not debarred from it. And being turned aside themselves, they labour to ensnare others to the grief of the godly and the scandal of religion. If it be to us a grief of heart to hear that you have changed from that truth which you did profess, and embraced that for truth which, in former time, upon sound grounds, you did condemn as erroneous, we hope you will not be offended. You know how oft it hath been objected, that non-conformists in practice are separatists in heart. They of the separation boast that they stand upon the non-conformists ground. Both of these are much countenanced by your sudden change, if you be changed, as it is reported." The authors of these remarks desire the clergy here, that if they have adopted the tenets, or any of them, under consideration, they would let them know, and the reasons thereof, so that they may either approve or rebuke. Such clergymen sent to our ministers, about the same date, thirty-two questions of the following tenor : —

" 1. Whether the greatest part of the English there (by estimation) be not as yet unadmitted to any congregation among you, and the reasons thereof ?

2. What things doe you hold to be essentiall and absolutely necessary to the being of a true visible church of Christ ?

3. Whether doe you not hold all visible believers to bee within the visible church as members thereof, and not without, in the apostles sence, 1 Cor. v., and therefore ought so to be acknowledged, and accepted in all congregations wheresoever they shall come, and are so knowne ; and ought (if they desire, and be not otherwise unfit) of right to be permitted to partake in all God's ordinances and church priviledges there, so farre as they personally concerne themselves, although they be not as yet fixed members in particular covenant, either with that congregation where for the present they reside, nor with any other ?

4. Whether you doe not hold that baptisme, rightly (for substance) partaked, doth make them that are so baptized members of the visible church ; and so to have right (at least *quoad nos*) to all the priviledges thereof (so farre as they are otherwise fit) untill they be cast out (if they so deserve) by excommunication ?

5. Whether doe you not admit children under age as members of the church, together with and in the admission of their

parent or parents; so as thenceforth they may partake of all church priviledges, (being otherwise fit,) without any other personall profession of faith, or entring into church covenant, when they shall come to yeares? and how long doe you count them under age?

6. Whether doe you admit orphans under age, with and in their guardians?

7. Whether doe you admit or refuse children under age only according to the present estate of their nearest parents? or doe you not admit them if any of their next ancestors before their parents were believers?

8. Whether doe you require of all persons of age, whom you admit members of any chnrch, —

(1.) A publike vocall declaration of the manner and soundnesse of their conversion?

(2.) A publike profession of their faith concerning the Articles of Religion?

(3.) An expresse verball covenanting to walke with the said church in particular, in church fellowship?

(4.) And not to depart from the said church afterward without the consent thereof? or how doe you hold and practice in these things?

9. Whether doe you hold all or the most of our parish assemblies in Old England to be true visible churches of Christ; with which you may lawfully joyne in every part of God's true worship, (if occasion served thereto;) or if not all or the most, then what ones are those of which you so account, and with which you durst so partake or joyne; and in what respects? and why be not the rest such as well as they?

10. If you hold that any of our parishionall assemblies are true visible churches, and that the members thereof are all or some of them (at least) members of true visible churches, then whether will you permit such members (at least) as are either famously knowne to yourselves to be godly, or doe bring sufficient testimoniall thereof from others that are so knowne, or from the congregation itselfe whereof they were members here, to partake with you in all the same ordinances and parts of God's true worship in any of your congregations, (as by occasion they may be there,) in the same manner, and with the like liberty, as you would permit any that might happily come unto you from any of the churches of Geneva, France, the Low Countreyes, or yet from any one church to another among yourselves; suppose from some church about Connecticut, or that of Plimouth, etc., vnto the church at Boston, New-Towne, Dorchester, etc. Or if not, what may be the reason thereof?

11. Whether doe you hold our present standing in our parish

assemblies here in Old England to bee lawfull and safe to be continued in, or how farre it may be so?

12. Whether doe you hold that every believer is alwayes bound to joyne himselfe as a fixed member to some one particular congregation, so as if he doe not, and so oft and so long as he doth it not, so oft and so long he is without the church in the apostles sence, 1 Cor. v., as an heathen or publican, out of the kingdome of Christ and possibility of salvation, according to that maxime in divinity, *Extra ecclesiam non est salus*?

13. Whether doe you thinke it lawfull and convenient that a company of private and illiterate persons (into a church body combined) should themselves ordinarily examine, elect, ordaine, and depose their owne ministers of the word, without the assistance of any other ministers of other churches where the same may be had?

14. Whether doe you hold that every small company of seaven, or nine, or twenty, or forty persons, combined into a church body, be such a church (as by the ordinance of Christ) hath and ought to have all power and exercise of church government, so as they may transact all ecclesiasticall businesses independently amongst themselves.

15. Whether do you give the exercise of all church power of government to the whole church, or to the presbiters thereof alone? and if to those, then we desire to know what act of government and superior authority (properly so called) may the presbiters doe, more than any other member may doe, or without the particular consent of the rest; wee crave to have those particular acts mentioned; and how, and over whom, in those acts the presbiters doe rule (in propriety of speaking) more than the rest of the congregation doe?

16. Whether doe you not permit women to vote in church matters?

17. Whether in voting doe the major part alwayes, or at any time, carry ecclesiasticall matters with you; or in what things doth it, in what not?

18. What meanes have you to preserve your churches in vinity and verity, or to correct or reduce any church erring in doctrine or practice. As, —

(1.) Whether you have any platform of doctrine and discipline agreed upon; or if you have not, whether meane you to have one, and when; and thinke you it lawfull and expedient so to have?

(2.) Whether have you combined yourselves together into classes, or purpose so to doe, so as to doe no weighty matter without their counsell and consent?

(3.) Or give you any power to synods and councells to deter-

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mine and order things that cannot otherwise be ended, so as that their determination shall bind the particular churches so assembled to due obedience in case they decree nothing but according to truth and right; and to peaceable suffering in case they should doe otherwise? Or what other course you have, or intend to have for that end aforesaid?

19. Whether hold you, that each particular church may lawfully make such laws or orders ecclesiasticall, for the government of itselfe and the members thereof, for decency, order, and edification, as shall oblige all her members, and may not be omitted without sinne?

20. Wherein hold you that the whole essence of a minister's calling doth consist; as,

(1.) Whether is election by the people it, yea or no?

(2.) Or is it so essentiall, as that without it the minister's calling is a meere nullity?

(3.) Or is ordination as essentiall a part thereof, as the people's election?

(4.) Or is it but a meer formality and solemnity of their calling?

21. Whether doe you hold it lawfull for meer lay or private men to ordaine ministers in any case?

22. What essentiall difference put you between the office of pastor and teacher, and doe you observe the same difference inviolably; and do not your teachers, by vertue of that office, give themselves usually to application of doctrine, as well as your pastours; and do they not also usually apply the seales?

23. What authority or eminency have your preaching elders, above your sole ruling elders, or are they both equalls?

24. Whether may a minister of one congregation (being thereto requested) do as a minister any act of his ministry, (as preach, baptize, administer the Lord's supper, ordaine, etc.,) in and unto other congregations besides his owne?

25. Whether hold you that a minister of a congregation, leaving or loosing his place, (suppose without his fault,) doe withall lose both *nomen* and *esse* of his ministry, and do become a meere lay or private man, untill he be anew elected and ordained?

26. Whether doe you allow, or thinke it lawfull to allow and settle, any certain and stinted maintenance upon your ministers?

27. Whether doe you permit and call upon meer lay and private men (neither being in the ministerie nor intended to it) ordinarily to preach or prophecie publicquely, in and before the congregation? and whether thinke you that prophecying mentioned 1 Cor. xiv. be to be understood of such, and be an ordinary and standing order of God in the church?

28. Whether doe you allow and call upon your people publicly before all the congregation to propound questions, move doubts, and argue with their ministers of matters delivered either by them or others, either at the same or some other time?

29. Whether hold you that the conversion of sinners to God is ordinarily the proper fruit and effect of the word preached, by a minister alone, and that by vertue of his office alone, or that it is alike common to ministers and lay persons, so they be gifted to preach?

30. Whether all and every of your churches (including Plimouth, etc.) do precisely observe the same course both in constitution and government of themselves?

31. Whether would you permit any companie of ministers and people (being otherwise in some measure approvable) to sit downe by you, and set up and practise another forme of discipline, enjoying like libertie with yourselves in the commonwealth, and accepted as a sister church by the rest of your churches?

32. Whether hold you it lawfull to use any set forms of prayer in publique or private, as the Lord's Prayer and others, either made by himselfe that useth the same, or else by some other man?"

When we come to the reply of our elders, we shall see their views of the inquiries submitted by their brethren in England. It is evident from the preceding communications, that while the established church and state of England were doing much to destroy the civil and religious polity of our fathers, such polity exerted a counteracting influence there, and helped to strengthen the current of public opinion, which bore against and weakened the ascendancy of Laud and his royal master.

April 30. The king issues a proclamation, as in Rushworth. It states that many come over to his plantations in America, whose only or principal end is to live as much as they can without the reach of his authority. It forbids any, being subsidy men, or value of subsidy men, to embark for these shores "without a license from his majesty's commissioners for plantations," and each one who is "under the degree or value of subsidy men, without a certificate from two justices of the peace, living next the place where the party last or lately dwelt, that he hath taken the oaths of supremacy and allegiance, and like testimony from the minister of the parish of his conversation and conformity to the orders and discipline of the church of England." Here we have another indubitable evidence of the fixed purpose, cherished by the parent government, to allow the current of immigration hither to bear none but those of the high church party,

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and also of their strong hope to break down every barrier of Congregationalism in our country.

Hubbard remarks, that when such an injunction became known among the people here, "some were not backward to suggest a doubt that they might shake off the royal jurisdiction, as they had done the ecclesiastical government." This and many other circumstances in the early period of New England are opposed to the position, sometimes advanced, that the people therein had no serious thoughts of freeing themselves from England till some years after 1700.

May 1. The privy council of the king had ordered eight ships, in the Thames, bound to New England, with passengers, to be stopped. This document he duly proclaimed. But on representation of the masters and owners, who stated that, if they were detained in their voyages, the trade of Newfoundland would be much impaired, and the national treasury come short of large revenue, the vessels were allowed to go on their voyages. Speaking of the occasion which brought out such a document, Neal says, that the ships detained were "filled with Puritan families, among whom (if we may believe Dr. George Bates and Mr. Dugdale, two famous royalists,) were Oliver Cromwell, John Hampden, and Arthur Haselrigge,\* who, seeing no end of the oppressions of their native country, determined to spend the remainder of their days in America," but were prevented. Though this statement has been doubted, the Fairfax Correspondence and other authorities give it full credence. There appears more evidence for its retention as true than the contrary.

The lord high admiral is instructed, by the royal council, to prevent the departure of clergymen from England for America, who did not conform with the order of the national church.† His warrant was of the subsequent tenor: "Whereas it is observed that such ministers who are unconformable to the discipline and ceremonies of the church have and do frequently transport themselves to the Somer Islands and other his majesty's plantations abroad, where they take liberty to nourish

\* Chalmers, in his *Political Annals*, p. 160, mentions these three as being among the passengers who were prevented from coming to New England, though the vessels were soon allowed to proceed, and also Sir Matthew Boynton, Sir William Constable, and John Pym. Mather's *Magnalia*, book i. p. 23, states the same with regard to the three first of these noted men. Hume observed, in reference to Hutchinson's position in favor of such a conclusion, "This last author puts the facts beyond controversy."

† The three documents, just considered, are contained in Rushworth, vol. ii. part 2, beginning at 409th page. They stand in the order now adopted. He dates the first April 30, 1637, which Hazard contains as under 1636; and the second he places under 1637, 13th of Charles I., but in the margin there is printed 1638, which appears to be a mistake of one year too late. He has the third under 1637, 13th of Charles I., in regular succession to the second. Salmon arranges the first and second of them under 1637.

and preserve their factious and schismatical humours, to the seducing and abusing of his majesty's subjects, and the hindrance of that good conformity and unity in the church which his majesty is careful and desirous to establish throughout his dominions, — we, therefore, in his majesty's name and by his express commands, do pray and require your lordship to take present and strict order that no clergyman be henceforth suffered to go over into the Somer Islands, but such only as shall have approbation on that behalf from our very good lords, the Lord Archbishop of Canterbury, his grace, and the Lord Bishop of London ; and for all such of them as are already gone thither without such approbation, that you cause them forthwith to be remanded back hither."

This was a hard, exceedingly hard measure, to prosecute and drive men from their parishes, debar them from the means of supporting their families, and, what was more than all, from preaching Christ, as they counted duty, and then forbid their escape to an asylum on these shores, where they might freely discharge their domestic, social, and spiritual obligations. Especially was it oppressive in demanding that they who had reached our settlements through much peril and hardship should be forced back to grind within the grasp of cruel intolerance. True, they who issued it feared lest the permission for these sufferers to come hither, and help throw up stronger intrenchments around the freedom of the colonists, would increase the difficulty of their continued exertions for its subversion, and the establishment on its ruins of hierarchical dominancy. Still they should have shown some mercy, and not demanded all sacrifice, in the decree. This was another preparatory step to the occupancy of our soil by preachers and people who would bow to the sceptre of Episcopacy, so soon as its authors should be able to do the deed, and thus set the seal of their aversion on the polity of the Puritans.

The remarks of Neal on the first and third of these documents follow : " This was a degree of severity hardly to be paralleled in the Christian world. When the edict of Nantz was revoked, the French king allowed his Protestant subjects convenient time to dispose of their effects and depart the kingdom ; but our Protestant archbishop will neither let the Puritans live peaceably at home, nor take sanctuary in foreign countries ; a conduct hardly consistent with the laws of humanity, much less with the character of a Christian bishop ; but while his grace was running things to these extremities, the people were generally disgusted, and almost all England became Puritan. The bishops and courtiers, not being insensible to the number and weight of their enemies among the more resolved Protestants,

determined to balance their power by joining the Papists; for which purpose the differences between the two churches were said to be trifling, and the peculiar doctrines of Popery preached up, as proper to be received by the Church of England."

May 3. As a decision \* had been pronounced for the abrogation of the Massachusetts charter, the king and his council, at Whitehall, order the attorney general to demand the same from the authorities here. This was another advance for the overthrow of our colonial institutions.

11. John Yonge, of St. Margaret's, Suffolk, minister, is examined, as Hunter states, preparatory to his embarkation for Salem. His age is thirty-five, and that of his wife, Joane, is thirty-four, with six children, John, Thomas, Anne, Rachel, Mary, and Joseph. He was at New Haven in 1640, with part of his church, and in October of the same year, began a settlement at Southold, L. I., where he closed life in 1672, at the age of seventy. In the year when he was at New Haven, a John Young had land granted him in Salem, Massachusetts.

17. The legislature assemble † at Newton. Before the election, Vane, the governor, contends that a petition from Boston, for a repeal of the sentence against Wheelwright, should be read. The deputy, Winthrop, takes the opposite ground. After much discussion, he suggests that the question be tried by dividing the freemen present. Wilson zealously seconds the proposal. He ascends ‡ to the bough of a tree, in the field where the voters are assembled, and addresses them. He advises them to watch their charter rights, to consider the business on which they came, even the choice of Assistants for the commonwealth. His remarks are generally well received, and most of his auditors cry out, "Election! election!" This leads to a polling of the people, and a majority of them are for deferring the petition and proceeding to vote. Still Vane and his company keep their place, and will not act. Then Winthrop says to him, that if he decline, himself and others will go to election. Vane consents, the ballots are cast, he loses his office, and Winthrop is chosen to his place as chief magistrate. William Codrington and Richard Dummer, who side with Vane, are left out of the Assistants. The friends of Wheelwright, in and around Boston, attended the election fully and punctually. They expected an advantage † by so doing, because, the year before, a law passed permitting the freemen of remote towns to send their votes, instead of being present at the general election, to give them in personally. But they were disappointed. Part

\* State Papers in London.

† General Court Records and Winthrop.

‡ Hutchinson.



of them "grew into fierce speeches, and some laid hands on others; but seeing themselves too weak, they grew quiet." Thus foiled in their efforts, the majority of Boston "went home that night, and the next morning sent" Vane, Coddington, and Atherton Haugh as their deputies. As proper notice was not given for their being chosen, they are disallowed by the court. They returned, and at another meeting were reelected, and the following day go back and are received.

Never before had there been so much excitement on like occasions. The advocates for Mrs. Hutchinson exhibited uncommon zeal, which met with similar counteraction. They appeared to count on greater support from the more distant towns than they received. The election of the chief magistrate and other officers of the government evidently turned on the question of either approving or disapproving of her speculations. The result of it manifested that her opinions were far from being generally received. This, like every such contest, must have impaired the vital interests of the commonwealth.

"Divers writings" were now published about these differences. Among the rest, the magistrates set forth an apology to justify the sentence of the court against Mr. Wheelwright, which the adverse party had much opposed" and remonstrated against. He came out to defend himself about the covenant of grace. The ministers who differed from him answered his treatise. Cotton replied to them. Shepard also discussed the same subject in his election sermon. Both of these endeavored to show that the difference between the contending parties was small. They agreed in these particulars, "that justification and sanctification were both together in time; that a man must know himself justified before he can know himself to be sanctified; that the Spirit never witnesseth justification without a word and work. The difference was, whether the first assurance be by an absolute promise always, and not by a conditional one also, and whether a man could have any true assurance, without sight of some such work in his soul as no hypocrite could attain unto."

A piece† entitled "Libertye and the Weale Publick reconciled" was circulated. Its purpose was to show that the proceedings, at the Court of Elections, were correct.

Intending to send forth their troops to contend with the Pequods, the legislature‡ have a nomination of candidates for the chaplaincy and the chief command. For the first office, Wilson and Eliot were proposed, and the former was chosen by lot. For the last office, John Winthrop, Jr., Simon Bradstreet, and

\* Winthrop's Journal.

† Hutchinson's Collections.

‡ General Court Records.

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Israel Stoughton were designated, but the third of these persons was elected in the same manner.

The larger part of the Boston men,\* disaffected with their opponents in the discussion about Wheelwright's case, and their late political defeat, were quite indifferent as to the military expedition. Weld remarks of them, that they were formerly "forward as any others to send, of their choice, members, and a greater number than other towns. Now, in this service, they sent but one or two, whom they cared not to be rid of, and but a few others, and those of the most refuse sort, and that in such a careless manner as gave great discouragement to the service, not one man of that side accompanying their pastor, when he was sent by the joint consent of the court and all the elders upon that expedition, nor so much as bidding a farewell. What was the reason of this difference? Why, nothing but this: Mr. Wheelwright had taught them that the former governor [Vane] and some of the magistrates then were friends of Christ and free grace, but the present were enemies."

According to order, Wheelwright appears before the legislature. But as they had appointed a fast, and also that committees of the churches should confer relative to the difficulty with him and his advocates, they allow him a respite till their session early in August, "to bethink himself, that, retracting and reforming his error, etc., the court might show him favour, which otherwise he must not expect." He replied, that if he were guilty of sedition, he deserved death; and if they proceeded against him, he should appeal to the king, and that he would make no retraction. They rejoined, that they felt themselves justified in doing as they had done concerning his case, but, if in conference with the churches, they should see cause to alter their opinion, they would not fail to act accordingly.

Greensmith, a follower of Wheelwright, is again arraigned. He is required to satisfy the elders and churches, and pay his fine before the next session of the court.

The subsequent order is passed: "No town or person shall receive any stranger, resorting hither with intent to reside in this jurisdiction, nor shall allow any lot or habitation to any, or entertain any such above three weeks, except such person shall have allowance under the hands of some one of the council, or of two other of the magistrates, upon pain that every town that shall give or sell any lot or habitation to any such, not so allowed, shall forfeit one hundred pounds for every offence, and every person receiving any such for longer time than is here expressed (or than shall be allowed in some special cases, as before, or

\* Weld and Winthrop on Antinomians, etc.

in case of entertainment of friends resorting from some other parts of this country for a convenient time) shall forfeit for every offence forty pounds, and for every month after such person shall there continue, twenty pounds; this order to continue till the end of the next Court of Elections, and no longer, except it be then confirmed." The friends of Mrs. Hutchinson suspected that this regulation was adopted to prevent the immigration of persons who had embraced their sentiments. This may have been so; but one principal, though secret, occasion of it, probably was, to exclude those who were continually expected, for the purpose of bringing the whole country under the sway of the lords commissioners.

Such an enactment produces much controversy. Winthrop maintains, as in Hutchinson's Collections, that a family have a right to refuse admission to such as they have cause to fear will do them essential injury; so may a large community, as a commonwealth, exercise the same right. He also remarks, that, even if the assertion be true, that this order was intended to keep away those of Mr. Wheelwright's persuasion, such as members of Mr. Brierly's church, who were expected from England, still they, who make the assertion, were for expelling Roger Williams, whose opinions, in his view, were less objectionable than those of Wheelwright.

Vane answers\* respecting this allusion to Wheelwright and Williams, "If it be true, then is the doctrine of the gospel more dangerous than that for which Mr. Williams was banished, for as yet we know nothing which Mr. Wheelwright held dissonant from the gospel; neither hath he been confuted, though condemned, and it is not our judgments, so much as the cause, which is changed." He also intimates that the "law is more to keep out such as bring the true doctrine of the gospel, that now he hath brought the question to this state, whether the opinions spread in this country, and opposed by the magistrates and elders, be the doctrines of the gospel or not, which, seeing it is to be decided by the synod assembled, it will be best to attend the issue thereof."

Winthrop further remarks, "The court taking notice how the hearts of the faithful were sadded by the spreading of diverse new and unsound opinions, and the uncharitable censures which they laye under by occasion of them, how brotherly love and communion decayed, how the ordinances of religion were neglected, and the faithful dispensers thereof slighted and reproached throughout the whole countrey, they found it needfull to provide remedye in tyme, that it might goe well with the

\* Hutchinson's Collections.

household of faith, and though the execution of the law should turne to the damage of some of this household, yet better it is some member should suffer the evill they bring upon themselves, than that, by indulgence towards them, the whole familie of God in this countrey should be scattered, if not destroyed." He adds that it had been the practice of towns to receive no individuals as inhabitants, except they were allowed "by certain men appointed to judge of their fitness for church fellowship," and that the charter means "that such should not be received into our fellowship who are likely to disturb the same."

Cotton has the same idea of the order for excluding strangers as Vane has. He observes,\* "I saw by this means we should receive no more members into our church but such as must profess themselves of a contrary judgment to what I believed to be a truth." He thinks that it was passed to keep away "some godly passengers from England," who "held such an union with Christ by the Spirit's giving faith as did precede the acting of faith upon Christ." He says that this belief was suspected by many, "as the Trojan horse, out of which all the erroneous opinions and differences of the country did issue forth." He so strongly dislikes such an order, that he intends to leave the colony. But he soon altered his views on these points.

Coddington and Vane, in accordance with Winthrop, after losing their election, the former as magistrate and latter as governor, declined sitting in the seats for such officials in the Boston meeting house, and took places with the deacons, and continued so to do, though Winthrop invited them to sit where he did and they had. On the day for general fast, they went to hear their friend Wheelwright at Mount Wollaston.

At the session of the Court for Elections, the standing council and others of a committee for sending forth the troops to war with the Pequods within ten days, are empowered to "take care of the Castle at the island." This last provision is, most likely, made to meet the emergency of resistance to any ship of war which may bring the expected general governor.

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#### PLYMOUTH.

1636, May 31. As emigrants from the Bay to Connecticut set out at this date, we may place here the following catastrophe from Morton's Memorial: "This year, the towns on the River

\* Cotton's Way of Congregational Churches.

of Connecticut began to be planted, and in transporting of goods thither from Massachusetts Bay, two shallops were cast away (loaden with goods to go thither) in an easterly storm, at the mouth of Plimouth Harbor. The boat's men were all lost, they being five in number." The cargoes came ashore, and, so far as saved, were stored for the owners. Though these were so tried, still they held to their purpose of extending the gospel, however greatly threatened with the loss of its privileges on the Puritan basis.

October 4. A man, for violation of the Sabbath,\* is sentenced to pay thirty shillings, and sit one hour in the stocks. On the 15th, among a committee for revising the laws and preparing others, are Ralph Smith and William Brewster.

After the 21st, Winthrop mentions a letter, which he received from the governor here, who complains that the expedition of Endicott against the Pequods threatened to be an injury to those of the Plymouth plantation in Connecticut, as well as others of that colony. Winthrop replied, that all was done by the forces that could be expected, their object being not "to make war upon them, but to do justice;" that ample satisfaction was obtained from the Pequods for the wrongs they had done; that even if many more of them had been killed, enough would have survived to do much hurt, were they so determined; that the chastisement they received was sufficient to render them peaceable, had they not been given over to delusion.

November 15. Aware of the judicial proceedings in England for nullifying the charter of Massachusetts, and of other corresponding efforts in the mother country for the avowed object to modify the government of the northern colonies, so as to coincide with Episcopal domination in them, the committee for the revision and formation of laws begin their session. They agree that, in accordance with their royal patent and "the combination at Cape Cod," no law should be made for their constituents "without the consent of the freemen." They require these to take oath that they will seek for the public good in the following words: "You shall not speak or do, devise or advise, any thing or things, act or acts, directly or indirectly, by land or water, that doth, shall, or may tend to the destruction or overthrow of these present plantations, colonies, or corporation of New Plymouth; neither shall you suffer the same to be spoken or done, but shall hinder, oppose, and discover the same to the governor and Assistants. You shall faithfully submit unto such good and wholesome laws and ordinances as either are or shall be made for the ordering and government of the same, and

\* Colony Records.

shall endeavor to advance the growth and good of the several plantations within the limits of this corporation by all due means and courses."

As an indication that society, though sanctified in part, was far from perfection, the subsequent order is proposed: "That in every constablerick there be a pair of stocks erected; also a cage, which shall be of competent strength to detain a prisoner, and a whipping post; and these to be erected in such places as shall be thought meet by the several neighborhoods where they concern, upon the penalty of ten shillings for any township which shall be defective herein."

No person under the covert of parents shall marry without their consent. When this cannot be obtained, it may be laid before the governor or one of the Assistants, who knows the applicants, and he may give them permission if he sees fit. A notice of intended marriage shall be published three times.

The appointment of Fast and Thanksgiving days is continued with the governor and Assistants. Among capital offences witchcraft is enumerated. The code which the committee propose, and which becomes the colonial rule, shows that neither they nor the people intended to give up their rights to the dictation of the lords commissioners.

November 17. Of many passengers, who arrived at Boston, is Ralph Partridge.\* He was eminent for talents and scholarship, and, in particular, for his deep piety. Having become a clergyman of the established church, he embraced the Puritan cause, and was therefore ejected. As his own words are, "being hunted like a partridge on the mountains," he fled to New England. He soon renews his labors at Duxbury, unharassed with the pursuivants of hierarchal power. Morton, referring to this connection, says, "Mr. William Leverich also was with them at the same time, and preached the word of God amongst them; but he stayed not long amongst them ere he removed to Sandwich, and was teacher of the church there a considerable time." He also observes that the Duxbury church "was the first that sprang out of the bowels of the church of Plymouth," and therefore it must have preceded the one at Scituate, mentioned at the beginning of last year.

1637, January 3. The court allow the petition of Scituate church to seek out another township, because they thought their location not sufficient to support more settlers, unless other suitable land be found for the enlargement of their bounds.

March 7. They require that no individual shall be admitted

\* From the manner in which Winthrop mentions his arrival, it is uncertain when he did arrive. Allen and Farmer make it on the 14th.

to live within the bounds of the colony without the consent of the governor or two of the Assistants. This was to keep out such as would be likely to disturb public peace and promote the purpose of the court party to overthrow the religious polity of the nonconformists.

A watch of four men is ordered for the safety of the governor, and the town of Plymouth are to increase their number if need demand.

April 17. A communication from Edward Winslow to Governor Winthrop says, "We conceive it will be necessary for you to proceed in the war begun with the Pequots; otherwise the natives, we fear, will grow into a stronger confederacy, to the further prejudice of the whole English."

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#### MAINE.

1636, August. A vessel with passengers and cattle, sent over by Sir Ferdinando Gorges, for Agamenticus, arrives at Piscataqua.

September 7. Rates for the Episcopal minister at Saco are required to be paid quarterly, "the first payment to begin at Michaelmas next."

Williamson supposes that the population from Piscataqua to Penobscot must have exceeded fourteen hundred. He includes the Kennebec patent, then under Plymouth, and estimates its inhabitants at one hundred, who were under Congregational rule, while the rest were chiefly subject to Episcopal order.

November. D'Aulney, the governor of the Catholic French at Penobscot, writes, as Winthrop relates, to Vane. He states that they claim no further south than Pemaquid, "nor would, unless he had further order." He supposed that the English ambassador had agreed on such a boundary with the cardinal of France.

1637, April 4. At this date, Richard Gibson, a learned and decided Episcopalian, is minister at Richmond's Island, to a settlement of people engaged in the fishery. The proprietor of this place was Robert Trelawney, of Plymouth, England.

17. A letter from Edward Winslow to Governor Winthrop contains several items of information. One is, that Standish heard at the eastward, that D'Aulney intended, if the royal commission empowered him, to take the Plymouth establishment in Maine, and even the "Grand Bay" [Massachusetts] herself; another, that Sir Ferdinando Gorges had written to

Saco, disapproving of D'Aulney's company, and wished Massachusetts and Plymouth would be stirred up against them; and further, "that all the late differences between Mr. Wheelwright and yourselves in church and court are in writing at Richmond's Isle, in six sheets of paper full written about them."

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#### NEW HAMPSHIRE.

Though we meet with no particular event relative to this colony the present year, yet the people of it must have been deeply interested in the various scenes, full of great events to their fellow-colonists in the Bay. Especially must they have had their sympathies exercised in one result of Mason's decease, as mentioned by Winthrop, under May 31, 1636, even the cessation of his indefatigable perseverance for the imposition of a governor general, and of a hierarchal polity over the whole of New England.

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#### RHODE ISLAND.

1636. Having commenced a refuge for his friends, Williams is informed by the Plymouth authorities that, as their patent includes his premises, and they are "loath to displease the Bay," he had better take up his abode on the other side of the river. While such notice occasions disappointment to him, it is still kindly extended. It is also requisite from the relations which subsist between them from whom it comes, and those who felt bound to debar him from dwelling in their midst, because both of them are struggling to preserve their colonial existence from the grasp of the national rulers, who aim to destroy it, for repeated complaints, founded on such ground as he assumed and maintained. He conforms with the advice, though at the loss of his anticipated harvest. About the first of summer, he lands on the Narragansett soil, with the purpose to form a plantation. This he did on the spot, of which he afterwards wrote, "having a sense of God's merciful providence to me in my distress, called the place Providence."

He appears to have had a welcome reception from Canonibus and Miantinomo, the sachems of the soil, who confirm to him the plantation of his choice, the next year, for services which



he had continually rendered to them while at Plymouth and Massachusetts.

With regard to the design of the settlement thus made, and one condition of admitting inhabitants, Williams, in his conveyance of 1661, gives the subsequent passage: "I designed it might be for a shelter for persons distressed for conscience. I then considering the condition of divers of my distressed countrymen, I communicated my said purchase to my loving friends, John Throckmorton, Wm. Arnold, Wm. Harris, Stukely Westcott, John Green, Sr., Thomas Olney, Sr., Richard Waterman; and others, who then desired to take shelter here with me, and in succession unto so many others as we should receive into the fellowship and society of enjoying and disposing of the said purchase. And whereas, by God's merciful assistance, I was the procurer of the purchase, not by monies and payment, the natives being so shy and jealous that monies could not do it, but by that language, acquaintance, and favor with the natives and other advantages, which it pleased God to give me, and also bore the charges and venture of all the gratuities which I gave to the great sachems, and other sachems and natives round about us, and lay engaged for a loving and peaceable neighborhood with them to my great charge and travel, it was, therefore, thought by some loving friends, that I should receive some loving consideration and gratuity; and it was agreed between us, that every person that should be admitted into the fellowship of enjoying lands and disposing of the purchase, should pay thirty shillings into the public stock, and first about thirty pounds should be paid unto myself, by thirty shillings a person as they were admitted. This sum I received."

Among the earliest laws of the plantation is this — that no person shall be received as an inhabitant unless propounded one month; and another, that no man shall be molested for his conscience.

In view of the latter, as a repetition of his profession in Massachusetts, Mr. Williams has often been represented as "being the *first* in modern times to protest against the interference of the civil power with the rights of conscience." This is a claim which he never presented for himself, and would not thank his most zealous advocates to make in his behalf. He had too much intelligence and principle to tolerate the notion that false praise was better than none. Acquainted with the struggles of religious liberty in Europe, he must have known that, not to mention instances of ancient times, the Diet of Augsburg decided, 1555, "No attempt shall be made toward terminating religious differences, except by persuasion and conference;" that this was the principle of Menno, who died 1561; and most of the provinces

when they formed their union in 1579; of Henry Jacob, 1609; and of Busher, 1614. He must have known that the Maryland charter,\* about two years before the settlement of Providence, secured a similar privilege. Even the men who excluded him from their territory, as their opinion was explained by Cotton, held that no person should be endamaged for his conscientious principles, except when they promoted sedition or a breach of the public harmony. This exception, which the good of every free government demands, Mr. Williams himself affixed to his belief that no magistrate should interfere with the transgression of the first table of the moral law. No community, no state, can long exist without some bounds to toleration.

It has also been frequently and substantially stated, that "while he claimed the privilege of forming his own opinions on religious subjects, he claimed also the same right for all others, *however they might differ from him.*" That he was thus tolerant, so far as he judged right and best, there is no doubt. But that he was to the extent implied by the phrase, "*however they might differ from him,*" is not confirmed by facts. He considered the churches of Massachusetts and the Episcopal churches in England as corrupt, and therefore withdrew all fellowship from them. He thought his own wife in the wrong, because she worshiped with the Salem congregation, and, as Hubbard relates, for this reason, he would not join in family devotion with her. He believed it sinful to pray with impenitent persons, and for magistrates to administer oaths of fidelity, and consequently ceased communion with those who did. These facts are not adduced to prove that he was either inconsistent or hypocritical. He was very far from these traits of character. They are mentioned to show the position which he honestly took and maintained, at the cost of his great personal inconvenience and trial. To the many portraitures of him, in which such lineaments have no place, he, if allowed to converse with us, would assert that they were neither to the full truth nor life. The facts already designated, prove that he did not justify the support of opinions connected with religion, however diverse from his own, without restriction on his part, so far as he considered them wrong. Similar evidence may be drawn from his subsequent course.

It is true, that while he was less tolerant than the authorities

\* The Dutch colony, of the Reformed church, who settled at New Netherland, afterwards New York, more than twenty years before Providence was occupied by Williams, have been adduced as supporters of toleration. An account of the Lutherans, in the American Quarterly Register, vol. xv. p. 382, informs us that they appeared in that settlement about 1626, and were not publicly tolerated, but "conducted their religious affairs privately among themselves."

who ordered his removal in some points, he was more so in others. But the respect in which he exceeded them, whatever were its merits, had, for a long period, as history indicates, a far less salutary effect on the interests of order, education, and religion, where it had full sway, than the different, though, as being human, defective policy of the adjacent colonies had on similar interests in their territories.

The expression of Cotton in reply to Williams was the general sentiment of the Bay. It follows: "I did never doubt; that the way of persecution, (truly so called,) that is, the affliction of others for righteousness sake, was utterly unlawfull. I did never beleieve that the sentence passed against him was an act of persecution. Nor did I ever see cause to doubt but that, in some cases, (such as this of his was,) banishment is a lawfull and just punishment, if it be in proper speech a punishment at all in such a countrey as this is, where the jurisdiction (whence a man is banished) is but small, and the countrey round about it large and fruitfull, where a man may make his choice of variety of more pleasant and more profitable seats then he leaveth behinde him. In which respect, banishment, in this countrey, is not counted so much a confinement as an enlargement, where a man doth not so much loose civill comforts as change them."

This corresponds with the sentiments of Wayland, in his Moral Science. "If the whole subject of religion is a matter between a man and his God, society has no right to interfere with it, unless a man so perform what he considers to be his duties to God as to interfere with his duties to men. And in this case, the interference is not on the ground that the thing in question is a good or bad religion, but on the ground that there is a violation of the rights of man."

July 26. A letter\* from Williams reaches Vane, relative to the murder of John Oldham, a member of Watertown church, by the Block Island Indians, who were subject to the Narragansetts. It relates that Miantinomo, a chief of this tribe, had gone, with seventeen canoes and two hundred men, to punish the murderers. The sagamore named, and Canonicus, are reported by messengers as friendly to the English; all the principal men under them are suspected as accessories to the murder. An answer is directed by Vane to Williams, advising him to be on his guard, if war should be declared against the Narragansetts. On the 27th, a letter is forwarded by Vane to Canonicus on matters relative to the crime.

30. A communication, having been sent by Williams to Vane,

\* This and several succeeding paragraphs are based on the authority of Winthrop.

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is received by the latter, accompanied with two English boys, who were with Oldham when killed, and whom Miantinomo had caused to be obtained at Block Island. It also gives notice that some property of Oldham, found there, is kept in trust by the same chief.

August 8. For the purpose of hindering an alliance of the Narragansetts with the Pequods, Edward Gibbons, John Higginson, Cutshamekin, sagamore of Massachusetts, commence their route to confer with Canonicus. Johnson relates that he treated the commissioners with much civility, and exhibited great tact of diplomacy in his discussions with them; that, while he contracted to be on friendly terms with the colonists, he declined to carry on war with the Pequods. The persons engaged in this mission returned on the 13th, gratified by its result.

The ensuing relation, given by the Memorial of Morton, discovers much sagacity, and resembles the policy often practised by civilized communities and nations. "The Pequods, as they had done the winter before, sought to make peace with the Narragansetts, and used many pernicious arguments to move them thereunto, as that the English were strangers, and began to overspread their country, and would deprive them thereof in time, if they were suffered to grow and increase, and if the Narragansetts did assist the English to subdue them, that did but make way for their own overthrow; for if they were rooted out, the English would soon take occasion to subjugate them; and if they would hearken to them, they should not need to fear the strength of the English; for they would not come to open battle with them, but fire their houses, kill their cattel, and lye in ambush for them as they went abroad upon occasions; and all this they might easily do with little danger to themselves. The which course being held, they well saw the English would not long subsist, but they would either be starved with hunger, or forced to forsake the country. The Narragansetts were once wavering, and were half minded to have made peace with them and joined against the English." But remembering that the Pequods had done them much injury, and that they now had an opportunity to retaliate by uniting with the English, they accordingly decided to combine with the latter.

26. Information is received by the Massachusetts authorities, from Mr. Williams, giving notice, at the request of Miantinomo, that one of two Block Island Indians, who had escaped from their prison, was secured, and the other sent away.

September. Canonicus sends them word, that the Pequods had killed some of the people at Saybrook. Williams also states to them, that the Pequods and Narragansetts "were at truce," and that, as Miantinomo related to him, the former tribe

tried to make the latter believe that the colonists intended to exterminate all the Indians.

October 21. Miantinomo, having been sent for by Vane, reaches Boston with two of Canonicus's sons, another sachem, and "near twenty sanaps." Cutshamekin gave notice of their approach the day before, and they were escorted from Roxbury by twenty musketeers, sent out for the purpose. The next day Miantinomo makes a treaty for his nation with Massachusetts and their confederates, who coincide. The contract has the following articles: "Neither party to make peace with the Pequods," nor to harbor them "without the other's consent. To put to death, or deliver over murderers. To return fugitive servants." The English to notify the Narragansetts when they go against the Pequods, and the former tribe to send them guides. Free trade between them.

As Miantinomo did not fully understand the terms, a copy of them is sent to Williams, so that he may explain them to him. The chief, having finished the business of his embassy, is accompanied by a guard out of town, who dismiss him and his party with a volley of muskets.

1637, May. Miantinomo, faithful to his promise, is zealous to keep the government in the Bay acquainted with the designs of the Pequods, and to coöperate for their defeat. As before, Williams corresponds for him and himself on similar occasions. He and those who felt themselves under the necessity of excluding him from their jurisdiction, consulted each other's safety, when common perils threatened them.

25. Some of the Narragansetts assist the Connecticut forces to capture the Pequod fort at Mistick.

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#### CONNECTICUT.

1636, May 31. Mr. Hooker and most of his congregation at Newton began, as Winthrop informs us, their journey by land for the location which was next year called Hartford. His colleague, Mr. Stone, is among them. The wife of the former is "carried in a horse litter." They number about one hundred men, women, and children. They drove a hundred and sixty cattle, and were sustained by their milk. Their way was more than one hundred miles through a wilderness, destitute of roads and bridges, and infested with ferocious beasts. Their guide was a compass, and they were near a fortnight in reaching the point of destination. Their tour was perilous and arduous.

Among their principal laymen are Edward Hopkins, George Willys, Thomas Welles, William Whiting, Thomas Webster, and John Talcot.

While these settlers, under Massachusetts direction, put forth their energies to accomplish the object of their removal, those at the mouth of the river, subject to the company of Lord Say and others, did no less. Active to build and plant for the safety of their social wants, they were pressed by the call for defence against expected enforcement of the Dutch claim, threatened assault of the Pequods, and dreaded invasion from the mother country, for the substitution of hierarchal policy instead of their freer institutions. Their number, at the close of the year, as Trumbull computed, was about eight hundred. The principles for which they left England fitted them to encounter the difficulties and distresses of a new country, with proper resignation and spiritual improvement, to lay the durable basis of well-trained patriots, Christians, and communities.

June 7. For readiness to meet any attacks of Indians, each town is required to maintain a sufficient guard, and every man who bears arms is ordered to have a fit quantity of powder and bullets.

July 4. Vane and Winthrop write to the son of the latter, at Saybrook, as follows: "Whereas it falls out by the good providence of God, that the place of your present residence is neare adjoyning unto certaine of the natiues, who are called the Pequods, concerning whom we haue diuers things to enquire and satisfy ourselues in." This letter is accompanied with a commission, which states, that if they give satisfaction for various charges against them, they shall have continuance of peace; if not, the declaration of war.

September. The Massachusetts forces\* return from Block Island to treat with the Pequods concerning the murder of Stone and his company, and Oldham and others, in which they were chiefly implicated. The Indians assemble in considerable number to hear the terms, but they withdraw and flee. The English burn their wigwams and other property, and kill thirteen and wound forty.

After Endicott and his men withdrew, the Pequods, deceiving themselves with the hope of destroying the colonists, indulged in offensive language. They boasted over the people at Saybrook Fort. As Johnson remarks, "They blasphemed the Lord, saying, 'Englishman's God was all one flye, and that

\* Discrepancies, as to the damage done by the Pequods, appear from the accounts of Winthrop, Gardiner, Mason, and Trumbull. But those which seem most correct are given in the subsequent paragraphs.

Englishman was all one squawe, and themselves all one Moos-hawks.'"

As twenty men sent from Massachusetts to reënforce Saybrook Fort, and commanded by John Underhill, lay windbound off Pequod Harbor, and were employed in getting corn on board, they were beset by the enemy, and one shot in the leg with an arrow.

October. Five men from Saybrook are left in a building to guard their cornfield. Contrary to orders, three of them go a-fowling. Being loaded, they are beset by a hundred of the enemy. One escapes wounded to the house but two are taken and tormented to death. The three survivors are rescued the next day. They had not gone far from the shore, before the house was burned. The following day, a party went to get hay from Six Mile Island: not careful to mind the caution of Gardiner at the fort, they were surprised by Indians, who killed three, and took Samuel Butterfield, the brother of Mr. Mitchel, who was subsequently minister at Cambridge, and roasted him to death.

15. About this date, the captain of a bark, John Tilly, from Massachusetts, bound to Hartford, went ashore with another man, on Connecticut River, to shoot fowl. So soon as he discharged his gun, many Indians, lying in wait, rose up, took him, and killed the person who came with him. They reserved their prisoner for worse treatment. They first cut off his hands, and then his feet. He lived three days, after being thus mutilated. His captors said "he was a stout man, because he cried not in his torture."

1637, February 21. A court meet at Newton. They represent the settlers, who still remain subject to Massachusetts. They write to the governor there, and express dissatisfaction with the expedition against the Pequods, and state that they expect a further prosecution of hostilities, in which they offer to assist. They also mention that they are not ready to speak definitely "in matter of government," because they had engaged "to attend the answer" of Saybrook proprietors on the same subject. At this session Newton is called Hartford; Watertown, Wethersfield; and Dorchester, Windsor.

To prevent irregularity which infringes on the claims of morality and religion, "It is ordered y<sup>t</sup> noe yonge man y<sup>t</sup> is neither married nor hath any servante, and be noe publicke officer, shall keepe howse by himself, without consent of the towne where he lues first had, vnder paine of twenty shillings per weeke. It is ordered y<sup>t</sup> noe master of a family shall giue habitacon or intertainment to any yonge man to sojourne in his family, but by the allowance of the inhabitants of the saide towne

where he dwells, vnder the like penalty of twenty shillings per weeke."

February 22. Gardiner related that he went with two men and three dogs, to clear away a neck, not far from Saybrook, and that, while there, many Indians attacked them. He lost three of his numbers, slain, and had two dangerously wounded, one of whom died next day. As two others ran away without his permission, he told them to draw lots, and so decide which one should be hung for desertion. But at the intercession of Mr. Higginson and others, they were spared.

Soon after this, several Pequods came to hold a parley with Gardiner. They said, "We have killed Englishmen, and can kill them as mosquitoes, and we will go to Conectecott, and kill men, women, and children."

April 8. Hooker, who at first disapproved of the proposed synod in the Bay, writes, as in Hutchinson, to Shepard at Newton, that he thinks it best to advise with the godly and learned of England about the uncommon errors of Mrs. Hutchinson, and not have an ecclesiastical assembly to settle them. He adds, "If any should suggest this was the way to make clamour too great and loud to bring a prejudice upon the plantations, I should answer, there is nothing done in corners here but it is openly there related; and in such notorious cases which cannot be kept secret, the most plain and naked relation ever causeth the truth most to appear, and prevents all groundless and needless jealousies, wherby men are apt to make things more and worse than they are."

19. The guard at Saybrook having been weakened, and the Pequods become more venturesome in their attacks, and the Dutch still suspected of designs to take this post, Captain Underhill and twenty men are dispatched from the Bay to help defend the fort. Such force was forwarded by the standing council there at the charge of Lord Say and company. This force relieved an equal one, under Captain Mason, who were stationed there the previous month.

23. As the inhabitants of Wethersfield were returning after dinner to work in their fields, they were surprised by a party of Pequods. These seized eleven of the former, nine of whom, being six men and three women, they immediately killed. The two saved were daughters of William Swaine, who were carried prisoners to Mistick. Here their lives were spared at the intercession of Mononotto. They were redeemed at Saybrook shortly before Mason reached there, on his expedition against the enemy, by the captain of a sloop, dispatched by the Dutch governor for so benevolent a purpose.



This spring, a shallop, coming down the river, is captured by Indians, with three men, who were slain. Two of these were ripped open and cleft down their backs, and then hung by their necks on trees by the river side, so that the English might see them. The Pequods cut large gashes on the bodies of other prisoners, and then put live coals into such wounds. When these captives, in their distress, committed their souls to the Redeemer, the Indians mocked their dying groans and prayers.

Thus continually visited with tidings of the atrocities committed by barbarous foes, and constantly liable to experience the same themselves at any hour, the planters from the Bay have sufficient cause for anxiety. There were other circumstances to increase so unhappy a state of feeling. They came short in their crops and cattle the year before. Food and raiment with them are scarce and dear. They are hindered from preparing their lands for cultivation, from catching fish and obtaining game, by a stealthy foe ever on their track to surprise and slay them. They were constantly obliged to post sentinels at every point of peril, and guard their houses of worship when assembled there. They knew that if dividing their comparatively small forces to pursue the enemy and engage in battle with them, enough would not be left to protect their wives, children, and habitations. Surely they were in a great strait. But they had embraced principles which taught them never to shiver, shrink, and despond, though wave upon wave threatened to overwhelm them. They had learned heavenly wisdom at the feet of the great Teacher, who encouraged them to trust in him, whatever might be their trials. Such discipleship still bade them hope, that they should live to enjoy an uncorrupted gospel, and spread its salutary influence around them.

May 1. In this emergency, a court is summoned at Hartford. As the occasion was one in which the very existence of the colonists was involved, the three towns send committees in addition to the magistrates. Of the latter present are Roger Ludlow, Welles, Swaine, Steele, Phelps, and Ward. Of the former are Whiting, Webster, Williams, Hull, Chaplin, Talcott, Horsford, Mitchel, and Sherman.

Considering that the Pequods had killed about thirty of the English, had tortured their prisoners in the most painful manner, were endeavoring to rally all the Indians to exterminate the colonists, and the necessity of an energetic attack upon them, they order "that there shall be an offensive warr ag<sup>t</sup> the Pequett," by the towns of Hartford, Windsor, and Wethersfield. They vote that the first place shall raise forty-two men, the second thirty, and the third eighteen, and that they shall have the

needed supplies. Notwithstanding their difficulties, the people carry these resolutions into immediate effect.

May 2. John Haynes, late governor of Massachusetts, and his family, as stated by Winthrop, move from Newton to Hartford. Though extreme perils hung over his friends here, he did not delay to take up his abode with them and share in their trials.

10. The troops aforementioned fell down the river. They were accompanied by seventy Monhegans and other friendly Indians, under Uncas, sachem of the former, who had recently come off from the Pequods. The commander of the whole was John Mason. Stone, of Hartford, was their chaplain. As the small vessels ran ashore, and were so delayed, the Indians requested to go by land, which was allowed. Near Saybrook these savages met with forty Pequods. Of these they killed seven and took one, a noted spy upon the garrison, and cruelly pulled his limbs apart, and burned what of them they did not eat. On the 15th the colonists reach Saybrook.

Though Mason was instructed to land his men at Pequod Harbor, he found the place so fully infested with the enemy, he concluded it best to proceed to Narragansett, and come on them by surprise. But his officers and soldiers generally, wished to fulfil the orders. In this division of opinion, Mr. Stone was requested, on the 18th, to pray for direction. He spent most of the night in devotion, and the next morning informed Mason that his plan seemed best. This commander prepares to pursue the route of his own preference. He takes twenty men, under Captain Underhill, from Saybrook, and leaves twenty who came from Hartford. On the 20th, he arrived, by water, at Narragansett Bay. Canonicus and Miantinomo welcome and grant him leave to march through their territory, and offer him recruits from their subjects. When the chief sachem was informed of the plan, he remarked, that "he thought our numbers were too weak to deal with the enemy, who were very great captains and men skilful in war."

24. Mason and his forces reach the eastern Nihantick, on the frontier of the Pequods. On the 25th, having come near the fort of Sassacus at Mistick, with his men much fatigued, and his Indian allies greatly discouraged, he halted. Next morning, two hours before day, his troops were roused and "briefly commending themselves to God, advanced immediately towards the fort." When Mason approached the Pequods, a dog barked, and an Indian called out, "*Owanux! Owanux!*" Englishmen! Englishmen! A severe battle ensued. After a hard struggle for victory, Mason cried to his followers, "We must burn

them." He instantly set fire to some mats. The wigwams were soon enveloped in flame. The English withdrew, and surrounded the fort. Uncas and his Indians, with such of the Narragansetts as remained, encouraged by the example of the English, formed an outer circle. As the enemy appeared, they were slain. Not much over an hour elapsed from the commencement of the battle to its close. In this short time, about six hundred of the Pequods, small and great, perished by the arms of the colonists or the flames. Only seven escaped, and the same number taken prisoners. Thus a tribe, who had shortly before boasted of their prowess and purpose to destroy all the English, receive a blow which results in their extinction as a separate people. The conquest was not without damage to the colonists. They had two killed and about twenty wounded. Their surgeon, and articles necessary for the latter in their suffering condition, had not arrived. Their provisions and ammunition were nearly spent. They knew that all the rest of the enemy must be informed of the battle, and therefore they had cause to dread a fresh attack from them, as posted in the other fort of Sassacus, and ranging elsewhere. While thus having cause to fear the worst, and the officers were consulting on what measures to adopt, the vessel having their supplies hove in sight, and filled them with gladness.

At this time, three hundred from the enemy's fort came towards Mason. He dispatched a party to arrest their progress, who engaged and forced them to halt. He then ordered his little army to march for Pequod Harbor. Having left the hill where the ruins of the enemy's fort remained, the Indians, who had been brought to a stand, took possession of the premises. These, seeing the wide-spread destruction, tore their hair, stamped, and rushed after the English. Underhill, with a select guard, kept them at bay, though they continued the pursuit nearly six miles. Perceiving that they did the objects of their rage no harm, but continually had numbers of their own forces killed and wounded, the Pequods turned back.

The English reached the harbor with colors flying, and were received by their countrymen with hearty congratulations. In three weeks from the time when Mason's few troops set out on almost a forlorn enterprise, to attack one of the bravest nations of New England, they came victorious to their respective homes. Their reception by friends and relatives was one of the scenes which exceeds all description, and can only be approached, in reality, by mute meditation. Every domestic circle and worshiping assembly were filled with thanksgiving to the Supreme Protector.

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to govern all the people in New England till further order, upon this pretence, that there was no lawful authority in force here, either mediate or immediate, from his majesty." This accords with the recent command of the king for the return of our charter to him. It shows what the national rulers would have done had their available strength been equivalent to their will. It manifests that, as, by a legal process, they had decretally succeeded to break down the constitution of Massachusetts, they paid no regard to the patent of Plymouth, and meant to bring all the Congregational interests of the land under the control of Episcopacy. Had the magistrates, so delegated, suffered ambition to overcome their love for the commonwealth, and thus ventured on the troubled sea of revolution for the selfish purpose of exercising greater and wider authority, they might have put in operation various disturbing forces, and added greatly to the burden of public difficulties. But, fearing God more than man, they held fast to their integrity; they strove to diminish domestic controversies and perils, and prepared to resist foreign aggression on their liberties.

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June 20. Though the supporters of hierarchal policy in England were doing to their utmost for the abolition of non-conformity here, yet three hundred and sixty passengers\* from Ipswich, in that kingdom, are brought into Boston by three ships.

26. Two more ships come to the same port from London. John Davenport † is a passenger in one of them. He was son to a mayor of Coventry, and born 1597. After being at Merton College, Oxford, two years, he removed to Magdalen Hall, 1615, which he left without a degree. As Brook relates, "he was called to preach in London, where his rare ministerial endowments, and his pious courage in visiting the sick during the raging of the plague, soon brought him into notice." He became eminent as a preacher among the Puritans, and was settled over St. Stephen's Church, in the same city. In 1625 he took the degree of bachelor of divinity at Magdalen Hall. He was an efficient member of the Massachusetts Company, and for its advancement put fifty pounds into its common stock. Having been concerned with other devoted ministers in the purchase of impropriations so that the profits might supply poor congregations with preachers, he fell under the displeasure of Laud. This, "together with other notices of his being prosecuted for non-conformity, induced him to embark for Amsterdam," the latter part of 1633. In this city he is called to be colleague of Mr. Paget. Not approving the promiscuous baptism of children, as practiced in Holland, he engages in a discussion about it, which terminates his ministerial labors in two years. He then gave private instruction. After a while, he goes back to London. Seeing a letter from Mr. Cotton about New England, he concluded to embark for this country. When the archbishop heard that he had emigrated hither, he declared that his arm should reach him in his last refuge.

Among those who accompany Davenport is Samuel Eaton. The latter, as Palmer says, was son of Richard Eaton, vicar of Great Budworth, in Cheshire. He had his A. B. at Magdalen College, Cambridge, 1624, and his A. M. 1628. Wood states, that "after he had left the university, he took orders according to the church of England, and was beneficed in this country; but having been puritanically educated, he did dissent in some particulars thereof. Whereupon, finding his place too warm for him, he revolted, and went into New England, and preached among the brethren there." He assisted Davenport in ministerial labors, before he came to our shores.

His brother, Theophilus Eaton, and Edward Hopkins, who were to take a prominent part in founding and promoting the

\* Winthrop's Journal.

† Magdalen. Neal's History of the Puritans.

religious colony of their adoption, are of the same estimable company.

July. The disaffection between the Legalists and Antinomians, so called, breaks up social intercourse. Winthrop invites Vane and Lord Ley, son to the Earl of Marlborough, recently arrived for seeing the country, to dine with him. But Vane declines on conscientious grounds, and goes with Ley, at the same hour, over to Noddle's Island, and there they take dinner with Maverick.

12. A brother \* of Mrs. Hutchinson and friends of Mr. Wheelwright had come to Boston. As it was desirable to know whether these immigrants would side with the Antinomians or not, before they should become inhabitants, and also to save persons, who should give them shelter, from the demand of the law relative to strangers, the governor allows them four months' probation. This arrangement is disliked by the opponents of Winthrop, who "utter many hot speeches."

23. A royal order † is issued for the constitution of a general government in New England. A reason assigned for this step is, because "of the severall opinions, differing humors, and many other differences springing up between them, and daily like to increase." It says further that the council for this country were not able to suppress such evils, and this was one cause why they surrendered their patent into the hands of his majesty, so that he might have the reformation of them made. To carry out their plan, he and his advisers appoint Sir Ferdinando Gorges as the chief governor of the northern colonies, and forbid all persons to come hither without a license.

This action of the highest powers in England for sealing the doom of our colonial liberties was the more threatening in form than all others which preceded it for a similar purpose. The dread which our ancestors had long entertained of such a conclusion would have been increased, and greatly oppressed them with anxiety, had they not been assured that it was less likely to be accomplished by the increase of non-conformists in that kingdom.

28. In a letter ‡ from Winthrop to Bradford, respecting the conquest of the Pequods, he says, "My desire is to acquaint you with the Lord's great mercy towards us, in prevailing against his and our enemies, that you may rejoice and praise his name with us." The defeat of so resolute and powerful a foe was regarded by our ancestors as a signal blessing of Providence for the continuance and spread of their churches.

\* Winthrop's Journal.

† State Papers in London.

‡ Morton's Memorial.



August. The force \* of Massachusetts, under Stoughton, go from Pequod to Block Island, and receive the submission of Indians at the latter place, and the promise that they will deliver up all concerned in the murder of Oldham.

1. A request of the legislature comes before the magistrates to consult with the elders about a thanksgiving on the return of soldiers from the war, and each town's feasting its quota of these troops.

Greensmith, having neither paid his fine nor appeared, is ordered to be committed. The appearance of Wheelwright is put off to the next session.

3. A man, as Winthrop relates, named Ewre, was accused to Lord Ley, as having declared, a year before, that, should the king send over "any authority against our patent, he would be the first who should resist him." The parties appeared at the General Court. After hearing the witnesses, the legislature decide that the substance of Ewre's language was that, if "any authority" should come from England contrary to the privileges of the charter, he would oppose its execution. As they held this to be lawful, the governor declares it to be so in their presence. This case manifests the popular views of the colonists relative to the Laudian policy for the subversion of our civil and ecclesiastical enjoyments. Particular notice is thus taken of it by our rulers, probably because Ley and Vane, prejudiced against them, are on the point of embarking for England.

These persons, thus bound for the mother country, are honored with military salutes at the wharf and Castle, by direction of the chief magistrate. The disciples of Mrs. Hutchinson pay special attention to Vane, who had strongly advocated their principles, and many of them go with him to the ship, riding by Long Island in the harbor. He evidently is about to depart with the impression that he had lost his political influence and station more by wrong opposition than by fair measures. But a large majority of the inhabitants are as much assured that his theological speculations tend to subvert the faith and order for which they adventured their all, as he is to the contrary. While they esteem him for his piety and worthiness, they prefer others to guide the helm of state, who, as they believe, cherish safer principles. Thus leaving the land of his short but eventful sojourn, he sails for his native kingdom, where thrilling events and an untimely end await his experience.

5. Wilson returns to Boston, from the troops, who went against the Pequods, accompanied by Hooker and Stone. Pynchon from Springfield, Ludlow from Windsor, and other princi-

\* Winthrop's Journal.

pal delegates, also come to the same place. Their object is to take part in preparation for a synod and its transactions.

After consultation of several days, the elders of Massachusetts, Plymouth, and Connecticut, assembled at Boston, agree, by consent of the magistrates, to observe a fast the 24th, and to commence the synod the 30th of the month.

In their private meetings, they endeavor to have Cotton fully acquainted with the manner and reason of Wilson's speech before the General Court. The latter divine repeats what he had privately and publicly declared, that the words he uttered then, at their special request, were not intended by him as applicable to doctrine taught by Cotton and Wheelwright in the congregation, but to three or four "opinions privately carried in Boston, and other parts of the country." Such explanation had a conciliatory effect.

August 17. The weekly lecture is preached at Boston by Davensport. His text is, "I exhort you, brethren, that there be no divisions among you." He shows the danger of these and disorders prevalent here, and disapproves of "the new opinions and bitter practices." In an exposition of passages from Chronicles and Numbers, Cotton draws the conclusion that neither war nor any weighty affair should be undertaken by civil rulers without the advice of elders.

26. Stoughton and his men come from the expedition against the Pequods and Block Island Indians with the loss of only one man, who died of disease. They engaged in the service with earnest desire to preserve the commonwealth and churches from utter desolation, as the Israelites did against the inhabitants of Canaan, who had no sympathy for their religious institutions.

In view of the fixed purpose, entertained, by the royal party in England, to eradicate every vestige of Congregationalism, wherever extant on our soil, and of other perils, needing the united energies of all New England, a proposal is made for a confederation between Massachusetts, Connecticut, and Plymouth. But on account of the short notice which the last colony had, they could not conveniently send delegates. Therefore the magistrates and ministers of Connecticut, and such of the Bay, convened in Boston, for so great and needful a purpose, conclude to defer it till a more favorable opportunity.

30. As an event expected by the colonists at large with much feeling of hope, and yet of anxiety, a synod convene, according to Winthrop and Weld, at Newton. This body is composed of "all the teaching elders through the country, and some newly come out of England, not yet called to any place here." The number present are "about twenty-five godly ministers of Christ,

them." He instantly set fire to some mats. The wigwams were soon enveloped in flame. The English withdrew, and surrounded the fort. Uncas and his Indians, with such of the Narragansetts as remained, encouraged by the example of the English, formed an outer circle. As the enemy appeared, they were slain. Not much over an hour elapsed from the commencement of the battle to its close. In this short time, about six hundred of the Pequods, small and great, perished by the arms of the colonists or the flames. Only seven escaped, and the same number taken prisoners. Thus a tribe, who had shortly before boasted of their prowess and purpose to destroy all the English, receive a blow which results in their extinction as a separate people. The conquest was not without damage to the colonists. They had two killed and about twenty wounded. Their surgeon, and articles necessary for the latter in their suffering condition, had not arrived. Their provisions and ammunition were nearly spent. They knew that all the rest of the enemy must be informed of the battle, and therefore they had cause to dread a fresh attack from them, as posted in the other fort of Sassacus, and ranging elsewhere. While thus having cause to fear the worst, and the officers were consulting on what measures to adopt, the vessel having their supplies hove in sight, and filled them with gladness.

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qualified for a fuller discharge of the sacred functions of his office. Before leaving England, he served as chaplain of Sir William Brereton, preached at St. Helen's Chapel, near Warrington, in Lancashire. Here he was troubled for his non-conformity. Knowing that a citation for him to appear was on the door of his chapel, he hastened for Bristol, in disguise, whence he embarked for our shores.

September 19. John Williams, indicted for the murder of John Hobbe, and William Schooler, for the murder of Mary Scholee, are brought in guilty before the Court of Assistants. They were accordingly hanged.\*

22. The synod close their session. Though the list of topics before them is long, and, to some persons, may be tedious, still they call for a particular statement in a volume of this kind. Being considered as sufficiently important to receive the prayerful and solicitous attention of so respectable a body, there would be a radical deficiency in passing over such matters with mere general allusions. The points of theology, in view, as derived from the speculations of Roger Williams, Samuel Gorton, Henry Vane, John Wheelwright, and particularly from Anne Hutchinson, and their advocates, will, of course, be looked at differently by readers of various denominations. A few of them are not generally considered incorrect, as they were when disallowed by the synod. Many of them, if propagated at present, would be deemed unsafe by the religious public.

A list of "the erroneous opinions" follows:—

1. In the conversion of a sinner, which is saving and gracious, the faculties of the soule, and workings thereof, in things pertaining to God, are destroyed and made to cease.

2. Instead of them, the Holy Ghost doth come and take place, and doth all the works of those natures, as the faculties of the human nature of Christ do.

3. That the love which is said to remain, when faith and hope cease, is the Holy Ghost.

4, 5. That those that bee in Christ are not under the law, and commands of the word, as the rule of life. Alias, that the will of God in the word, or directions thereof, are not the rule whereunto Christians are bound to conforme themselves to live thereafter.

6. The example of Christ's life is not a patterne according to which men ought to act.

7. The new creature, or the new man mentioned in the gospel, is not meant of grace, but of Christ.

\* Their execution, according to Winthrop, was the 28th of September. His Journal, as printed, calls the first of these murdered persons Huddy.

8. By love, 1 Cor. xiii. 13, and by the armour mentioned in Eph. vi., are meant Christ.

9. The whole letter of the Scripture holds for a covenant of workes.

10. That God the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, may give themselves to the soule, and the soule may have true union with Christ, true remission of sins, true marriage and fellowship, true sanctification from the blood of Christ, and yet bee an hypocrite.

11. As Christ was once made flesh, so hee is now first made flesh in us, ere wee bee carryed to perfection.

12. Now, in the covenant of workes, a legalist may attaine the same righteousness for truth, which Adam had in innocency before the fall.

13. That there is a new birth under the covenant of workes, to such a kind of righteousness, as before is mentioned, from which the soule must bee againe converted, before it can bee made partaker of God's kingdome.

14. That Christ workes in the regenerate as in those that are dead, and not as in those that are alive, or the regenerate after conversion are altogether dead to spirituall acts.

15. There is no inherent righteousness in the saints, or grace, and graces are not in the soules of beleevers, but in Christ only.

16. There is no difference betweene the graces of hypocrites and beleevers in the kinds of them.

17. True poverty of spirit doth kill and take away the sight of grace.

18. The Spirit doth worke in hypocrites by gifts and graces, but in God's children immediately.

19. That all graces, even in the truly regenerate, are mortall and fading.

20. That to call into question whether God be my deare Father, after or upon the commission of some hainous sinnes, (as murder, incest, etc.) doth prove a man to be in the covenant of workes.

21. To be justified by faith is to be justified by workes.

22. None are to be exhorted to beleeve, but such whom we know to be the elect of God, or to have his Spirit in them effectually.

23. We must not pray for gifts and graces, but onely for Christ.

24. He that hath the seale of the Spirit may certainly judge of any person, whether he be elected or no.

25. A man may have all graces and poverty of spirit, and yet want Christ.

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Thus continually visited with tidings of the atrocities committed by barbarous foes, and constantly liable to experience the same themselves at any hour, the planters from the Bay have sufficient cause for anxiety. There were other circumstances to increase so unhappy a state of feeling. They came short in their crops and cattle the year before. Food and raiment with them are scarce and dear. They are hindered from preparing their lands for cultivation, from catching fish and obtaining game, by a stealthy foe ever on their track to surprise and slay them. They were constantly obliged to post sentinels at every point of peril, and guard their houses of worship when assembled there. They knew that if dividing their comparatively small forces to pursue the enemy and engage in battle with them, enough would not be left to protect their wives, children, and habitations. Surely they were in a great strait. But they had embraced principles which taught them never to shiver, shrink, and despond, though wave upon wave threatened to overwhelm them. They had learned heavenly wisdom at the feet of the great Teacher, who encouraged them to trust in him, whatever might be their trials. Such discipleship still bade them hope, that they should live to enjoy an uncorrupted gospel, and spread its salutary influence around them.

May 1. In this emergency, a court is summoned at Hartford. As the occasion was one in which the very existence of the colonists was involved, the three towns send committees in addition to the magistrates. Of the latter present are Roger Ludlow, Welles, Swaine, Steele, Phelps, and Ward. Of the former are Whiting, Webster, Williams, Hull, Chaplin, Talcott, Hosford, Mitchel, and Sherman.

Considering that the Pequods had killed about thirty of the English, had tortured their prisoners in the most painful manner, were endeavoring to rally all the Indians to exterminate the colonists, and the necessity of an energetic attack upon them, they order "that there shall be an offensive warr ag<sup>t</sup> the Pequott," by the towns of Hartford, Windsor, and Wethersfield. They vote that the first place shall raise forty-two men, the second thirty, and the third eighteen, and that they shall have the

needed supplies. Notwithstanding their difficulties, the people carry these resolutions into immediate effect.

May 2. John Haynes, late governor of Massachusetts, and his family, as stated by Winthrop, move from Newton to Hartford. Though extreme perils hung over his friends here, he did not delay to take up his abode with them and share in their trials.

10. The troops aforementioned fell down the river. They were accompanied by seventy Monhegans and other friendly Indians, under Uncas, sachem of the former, who had recently come off from the Pequods. The commander of the whole was John Mason. Stone, of Hartford, was their chaplain. As the small vessels ran ashore, and were so delayed, the Indians requested to go by land, which was allowed. Near Saybrook these savages met with forty Pequods. Of these they killed seven and took one, a noted spy upon the garrison, and cruelly pulled his limbs apart, and burned what of them they did not eat. On the 15th the colonists reach Saybrook.

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24. Mason and his forces reach the eastern Nihantick, on the frontier of the Pequods. On the 25th, having come near the fort of Sassacus at Mistick, with his men much fatigued, and his Indian allies greatly discouraged, he halted. Next morning, two hours before day, his troops were roused and "briefly commending themselves to God, advanced immediately towards the fort." When Mason approached the Pequods, a dog barked, and an Indian called out, "*Owanux! Owanux!*" Englishmen! Englishmen! A severe battle ensued. After a hard struggle for victory, Mason cried to his followers, "We must burn



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Thus continually visited with tidings of the atrocities committed by barbarous foes, and constantly liable to experience the same themselves at any hour, the planters from the Bay have sufficient cause for anxiety. There were other circumstances to increase so unhappy a state of feeling. They came short in their crops and cattle the year before. Food and raiment with them are scarce and dear. They are hindered from preparing their lands for cultivation, from catching fish and obtaining game, by a stealthy foe ever on their track to surprise and slay them. They were constantly obliged to post sentinels at every point of peril, and guard their houses of worship when assembled there. They knew that if dividing their comparatively small forces to pursue the enemy and engage in battle with them, enough would not be left to protect their wives, children, and habitations. Surely they were in a great strait. But they had embraced principles which taught them never to shiver, shrink, and despond, though wave upon wave threatened to overwhelm them. They had learned heavenly wisdom at the feet of the great Teacher, who encouraged them to trust in him, whatever might be their trials. Such discipleship still bade them hope, that they should live to enjoy an uncorrupted gospel, and spread its salutary influence around them.

May 1. In this emergency, a court is summoned at Hartford. As the occasion was one in which the very existence of the colonists was involved, the three towns send committees in addition to the magistrates. Of the latter present are Roger Ludlow, Welles, Swaine, Steele, Phelps, and Ward. Of the former are Whiting, Webster, Williams, Hull, Chaplin, Talcott, Hosford, Mitchel, and Sherman.

Considering that the Pequods had killed about thirty of the English, had tortured their prisoners in the most painful manner, were endeavoring to rally all the Indians to exterminate the colonists, and the necessity of an energetic attack upon them, they order "that there shall be an offensive warr ag<sup>t</sup> the Pequott," by the towns of Hartford, Windsor, and Wethersfield. They vote that the first place shall raise forty-two men, the second thirty, and the third eighteen, and that they shall have the

needed supplies. Notwithstanding their difficulties, the people carry these resolutions into immediate effect.

May 2. John Haynes, late governor of Massachusetts, and his family, as stated by Winthrop, move from Newton to Hartford. Though extreme perils hung over his friends here, he did not delay to take up his abode with them and share in their trials.

10. The troops aforementioned fell down the river. They were accompanied by seventy Monhegans and other friendly Indians, under Uncas, sachem of the former, who had recently come off from the Pequods. The commander of the whole was John Mason. Stone, of Hartford, was their chaplain. As the small vessels ran ashore, and were so delayed, the Indians requested to go by land, which was allowed. Near Saybrook these savages met with forty Pequods. Of these they killed seven and took one, a noted spy upon the garrison, and cruelly pulled his limbs apart, and burned what of them they did not eat. On the 15th the colonists reach Saybrook.

Though Mason was instructed to land his men at Pequod Harbor, he found the place so fully infested with the enemy, he concluded it best to proceed to Narragansett, and come on them by surprise. But his officers and soldiers generally, wished to fulfil the orders. In this division of opinion, Mr. Stone was requested, on the 18th, to pray for direction. He spent most of the night in devotion, and the next morning informed Mason that his plan seemed best. This commander prepares to pursue the route of his own preference. He takes twenty men, under Captain Underhill, from Saybrook, and leaves twenty who came from Hartford. On the 20th, he arrived, by water, at Narragansett Bay. Canonicus and Miantinomo welcome and grant him leave to march through their territory, and offer him recruits from their subjects. When the chief sachem was informed of the plan, he remarked, that "he thought our numbers were too weak to deal with the enemy, who were very great captains and men skilful in war."

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them." He instantly set fire to some mats. The wigwags were soon enveloped in flame. The English withdrew, and surrounded the fort. Uncas and his Indians, with such of the Narragansetts as remained, encouraged by the example of the English, formed an outer circle. As the enemy appeared, they were slain. Not much over an hour elapsed from the commencement of the battle to its close. In this short time, about six hundred of the Pequods, small and great, perished by the arms of the colonists or the flames. Only seven escaped, and the same number taken prisoners. Thus a tribe, who had shortly before boasted of their prowess and purpose to destroy all the English, receive a blow which results in their extinction as a separate people. The conquest was not without damage to the colonists. They had two killed and about twenty wounded. Their surgeon, and articles necessary for the latter in their suffering condition, had not arrived. Their provisions and ammunition were nearly spent. They knew that all the rest of the enemy must be informed of the battle, and therefore they had cause to dread a fresh attack from them, as posted in the other fort of Sassacus, and ranging elsewhere. While thus having cause to fear the worst, and the officers were consulting on what measures to adopt, the vessel having their supplies hove in sight, and filled them with gladness.

At this time, three hundred from the enemy's fort came towards Mason. He dispatched a party to arrest their progress, who engaged and forced them to halt. He then ordered his little army to march for Pequod Harbor. Having left the hill where the ruins of the enemy's fort remained, the Indians, who had been brought to a stand, took possession of the premises. These, seeing the wide-spread destruction, tore their hair, stamped, and rushed after the English. Underhill, with a select guard, kept them at bay, though they continued the pursuit nearly six miles. Perceiving that they did the objects of their rage no harm, but continually had numbers of their own forces killed and wounded, the Pequods turned back.

The English reached the harbor with colors flying, and were received by their countrymen with hearty congratulations. In three weeks from the time when Mason's few troops set out on almost a forlorn enterprise, to attack one of the bravest nations of New England, they came victorious to their respective homes. Their reception by friends and relatives was one of the scenes which exceeds all description, and can only be approached, in reality, by mute meditation. Every domestic circle and worshiping assembly were filled with thanksgiving to the Supreme Protector.

is repeated to him. Many of the court thought he ought to be banished. But considering "his much employment and public business," they disfranchise him, and order that if he persist in his Antinomian course, he shall be banished. Mr. William Aspinwall is required to leave the jurisdiction by the last of the ensuing March. It appeared next day that he had written the remonstrance in favour of Mr. Wheelwright, and obtained many of its subscribers. On the 15th, William Baulston, Edward Hutchinson, Thomas Marshal, William Dineley, William Dyer, and Richard Gridley, as signers of this instrument, are disfranchised. The first is fined twenty pounds, the second forty, and the third, being the ferryman from Boston to Winnesimet, loses his office. Hutchinson, for speaking to the court, as they construed, disrespectfully, is imprisoned, but confessing his fault, the next morning, is released. Nearly twenty, who desire to have their names crossed on the remonstrance for Wheelwright, are allowed in their wish. Among them are William Larnet, Ralph Mousall, Ezekiel Richedson, Richard Sprague, Edward Carington, Thomas Ewar, Benjamin Hubberd, William Baker, Edward Mellows, and William Frothingham.

Mrs. Hutchinson being summoned before General Court, Governor Winthrop addresses her as follows: "You are called here as one of those that have troubled the peace of the commonwealth and the churches here. You are known to be a woman that hath had a great share in promoting and divulging of those opinions that are causes of this trouble, and to be nearly joined not only in affinity and affection with some of those whom the court hath taken notice of and passed censure upon, but you have spoken divers things, as we are informed, very prejudicial to the honour of the churches and ministers thereof, and you have maintained a meeting and an assembly in your house, that hath been condemned by the General Assembly—a thing not tolerable nor comely in the sight of God, nor fitting for your sex; and notwithstanding that was cried down, you have continued the same; therefore we have thought good to send for you to understand how things are, that if you be in an erroneous way, we may reduce you, that so you may become a profitable member here among us; otherwise, if you be obstinate in your course, that then the court may take such course, that you may trouble us no further. Therefore I would entreat you to express whether you do not hold and assent in practice to those opinions and factions that have been handled in court already, that is to say, whether you do not justify Mr. Wheelwright's sermon and the petition." She replied, "I am called here to answer before you; but I hear no things laid to my charge." Then succeeds an interlocution between the governor

and herself. He contends, that, as she had encouraged Mr. Wheelwright and his advocates, relative to his sermon, and had given counsel for the remonstrance, when he was sentenced, she was equally blamable with them. She pleads the right of conscience with regard to these subjects. The governor inquires of her, "Why do you keep such a meeting at your house, as you do every week on a set day?" She answers, "It is lawful for me so to do, as it is for all your practices; and can you find a warrant for yourself and condemn me for the same thing?" He states that though there were meetings for religious conference before she came hither, yet there were none of women alone. She appeals to the rule in Titus, that the elder women should instruct the younger, to confirm the propriety of her conduct in this respect. He observes that such a text, so explained, clashes with another in Corinthians; and that neither allows any more than that elder women advise the younger about their domestic duties. When told that her meeting would be suppressed by civil authority, she said that, in such a case, she must obey. When the deputy governor, Mr. Dudley, asked, from what was remarked, if she held two meetings at her house, she confessed that there was another for men and women. He gives a short retrospect of Mrs. Hutchinson's history since she first appeared in Boston. He relates that, hearing of her predilections on theological matters, he spoke to Messrs. Cotton and Wilson about it, and desired them to become satisfied whether the report of her was correct. From their information, he was convinced that she "held nothing different from us." "But within a half a year after, she vented divers of her strange opinions, and had made parties in the country, and at length it comes that Messrs. Cotton and Vane were of her judgment; but Mr. Cotton hath cleared himself, that he was not of that mind: now it appears by this woman's meetings, that she hath so forestalled the minds of many by their resort to her meeting, that now she has a potent party in the country." He adds that, if her influence in these respects, and her saying that all the ministers, except Mr. Cotton, preached a covenant of works, endangered the commonwealth, she ought to be expelled. This accusation relative to the elders she partly denies. She avers that, in her conversation with several of them, Messrs. Eliot, Peters, Phillips, Shepard, Symmes, and Weld, she did not assert that the ministers preached only a covenant of works, but that they failed to preach a covenant of grace, as Mr. Cotton did. The clergymen particularly named are called on to certify what she did advance in their presence. They relate that she compared their doctrine and that of their brethren at large, except Mr. Cotton, as like that of the apostles before the ascension of Christ and the descent

to govern all the people in New England till further order, upon this pretence, that there was no lawful authority in force here, either mediate or immediate, from his majesty." This accords with the recent command of the king for the return of our charter to him. It shows what the national rulers would have done had their available strength been equivalent to their will. It manifests that, as, by a legal process, they had decretally succeeded to break down the constitution of Massachusetts, they paid no regard to the patent of Plymouth, and meant to bring all the Congregational interests of the land under the control of Episcopacy. Had the magistrates, so delegated, suffered ambition to overcome their love for the commonwealth, and thus ventured on the troubled sea of revolution for the selfish purpose of exercising greater and wider authority, they might have put in operation various disturbing forces, and added greatly to the burden of public difficulties. But, fearing God more than man, they held fast to their integrity; they strove to diminish domestic controversies and perils, and prepared to resist foreign aggression on their liberties.

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Thomas Matson, William Baulston, John Compton, Mr. Parker, William Freeborn, Henry Bull, John Walker, William Saker; Edward Bendall, Thomas Wheeler, Mr. Clarke, Mr. John Coggeshall." The like order is taken for other towns. Men to be disarmed in Salem, are Mr. Scrugs, Mr. Alfoot, Mr. Commins, Goodman Robert Moulton, Goodman King, to deliver their arms to Lieutenant Damfort; in Newbury, Mr. Dummer, Mr. Eason, Mr. Spencer, to deliver their arms to constable of the town; in Roxbury, Mr. Edward Denison, Richard Morris, Richard Bulgar, William Denison, and Philip Sherman, whose arms are to be kept by Goodman Johnson; in Ipswich, Mr. Foster and Samuel Sherman, whose arms are to be deposited with Mr. Bartholomew; in Charlestown, Mr. George Bunker and James Brown, who are to place their arms with Goodman Thomas Line. "It was ordered, that if any that are to bee disarmed, acknowledg their sinn in subscribing the seditious libell, or do not iustify it, but acknowledg it evill to two magistrates, they shalbe thereby freed from delivering in their armes according to the former order."

The court, having taken from the disarmed the means of complying with the law which required them to train and watch, release them from these services.

They order towns to keep away all strange Indians, and restrain other Indians of their neighborhoods from profaning the Lord's day.

While so legislating, they listen to the appeals of meritorious distress, and grant forty pounds to Mrs. Ames, the widow of "Doctor Ames, of famous memory."

The town of Roxbury is required to take order for the safe custody of Mrs. Hutchinson, and if any charge arise, to be defrayed by her husband. Referring to the manner, in which some of the Boston Antinomians supposed they had a right to speak and act for the defence of Mr. Wheelwright, Mrs. Hutchinson, and their advocates, the subsequent law is enacted: "This court being sensible of the great disorders growing in this commonwelth, through the contempts, which have of late bene put vpon the civill authority, and intending to provide remedy for the same in time, doth order and decree that whosoever shall hear-after openly or willingly defame any court of iustice, or the sentences or proceedings of the same, or any of the magistrates or other iudges of any such court, in respect of any act or sentence therein passed, and being thereof lawfully convict in any General Court, or Court of Assistants, shalbe punished for the same by fine, imprisonment, or disfranchisement, or banishment, as the quality and measure of the offence shall deserve. And whereas it may fall out sometimes that some of the magistrates,

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## CHAPTER XI.

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### MASSACHUSETTS.

1637, June 3. Two ships, according to Winthrop, arrive at Boston from England. One of them brings the copy of instructions from the lords commissioners, "to divers of the magistrates here,

to govern all the people in New England till further order, upon this pretence, that there was no lawful authority in force here, either mediate or immediate, from his majesty." This accords with the recent command of the king for the return of our charter to him. It shows what the national rulers would have done had their available strength been equivalent to their will. It manifests that, as, by a legal process, they had decretally succeeded to break down the constitution of Massachusetts, they paid no regard to the patent of Plymouth, and meant to bring all the Congregational interests of the land under the control of Episcopacy. Had the magistrates, so delegated, suffered ambition to overcome their love for the commonwealth, and thus ventured on the troubled sea of revolution for the selfish purpose of exercising greater and wider authority, they might have put in operation various disturbing forces, and added greatly to the burden of public difficulties. But, fearing God more than man, they held fast to their integrity; they strove to diminish domestic controversies and perils, and prepared to resist foreign aggression on their liberties.

June 6. Though Vane had become unpopular for his zealous support of Mrs. Hutchinson's speculations, yet the magistrates are careful that his character should not suffer for the honest avowal of his sentiments. Hence they require William Knopp to give sureties for his appearance at court about "his speeches of Mr. Vaine, our late governor."

15. There is a general thanksgiving for "victory over the Pequods, and other mercies."

Philip Vincent appears to be in New England. He published an account of the Pequod war the next year. He was son of Richard Vincent, as Hunter relates, of "Firsby or Frisby," and baptized at Coningsborough, November 23, 1600. He took his A. M. at Cambridge. When about twenty-five, he married Frances, daughter of Sir Christopher Heydon, of Baconsthorpe, in Norfolk, widow of Henry Draper, of Bromley, in Kent. In the same year, he "was presented to the rectory of Stoke d'Abernon, in Surrey, by Sir Francis Vincent, of a different family." He resigned the living August 17, 1629, and November 30, 1630, he lost his wife, who was buried in the church of St. Andrew, London. She had three children, one of whom, Henry, born in London, 1629, survived her. After her decease he became a traveler, and about 1632 he embarked for Guiana. From this date we have no trace of him till the time of his appearance in our country. Hunter remarks, after specifying books on Germany which Vincent had printed, that they indicate that he had been in that part of Europe. He says that, after 1638, he loses sight of him and his son Henry.

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his host why she was so affected. His reply denoted that she had been subjected to the most revolting treatment from a negro man, for the purpose of increasing his slaves. She had been a queen in her own country. She was treated with great respect by another black female, who sympathized with her in so horrible a condition. From her inability to speak any language but her own, she seems to have been recently imported. The probability is, that the three colored servants of Maverick, mentioned in this tale of wrong and outrage, came among the unhappy number in Peirce's vessel. When an outlet of iniquity is opened upon a people, however palliated with the salvos of need and profit, no human sagacity can foretell the period of its continuance or compute the amount of its miseries. Obligation and safety are always on the side of prompt and full abstinence from every known wrong.

This month, the Indians, who lived in families of colonists, said that they were much frightened by Hobbamock, or their evil spirit, and that he "persuaded them to forsake the English, and not come at the assemblies, nor learn to read." This was probably done by Indian priests, who disguised themselves, and thus artfully endeavored to prejudice such servants.

March 12. Ezekiel Holman, of Salem, charged with neglect of public worship, and for drawing many over to his persuasion, is referred to the elders, that they may endeavor to convince and bring him from his opinion and practice.

Francis Weston, Richard Waterman, Thomas Olney, and Stukely Westcott, of Salem, three of Coddington's men, named Edward Bendall, Henry (Elkins), and John Johnson, of Mount Wollaston, and Nicholas Easton, of Newbury, having licenses to depart from the colony, are required to appear before the court if not gone prior to their May session.

Having doubts and trouble for want of written laws, especially in their late religious difficulties, the legislature order the freemen of each town to meet and collect the heads of such a code as may seem to them needful, and deliver it to the governor before the 5th of June. The standing council and other laymen, and the elders, as Messrs. Bulkley, Phillips, Peters, Shepard, and Ward, are to make a compend of these heads for the autumn session, so that action may be had upon them.

Jane, the wife of Richard Hawkins, has leave to remain until the beginning of the third month. "In the mean time, she is not to meddle in surgery or physic drinks, plaisters or oils, nor to question matters of religion, except with the elders for satisfaction." She had much influence in favor of Antinomianism, and soon left the jurisdiction.

Robert Potter is allowed to remain till the court in May, on

giving bond for his appearance. He is referred to the church of Roxbury for consultation about his views. Edward Gibbons, having given satisfaction for the charges against him, apparently of a religious sort, is discharged.

Edward Hutchinson, Jr., is bound, that none, without permission of the council, shall visit his mother, and she is to continue at Mr. Cotton's till otherwise ordered. She has notice to depart from the colony by the last of the month, and that the cost of her board be paid from her husband's property.

Thomas Hawkins acknowledges his indiscretion in roughly addressing a member of the court, while in session, and he is released. William Jennison so far complies with their wishes as to be discharged.

Speaking of these and other individuals, Winthrop remarks, "Divers of our chief military officers, who had declared themselves favorers of the Familistical opinions, were sent for, and being told that the court having some jealousy of them, they did ingenuously acknowledge how they had been deceived."

A fast is appointed for the 12th of April, to ask "help of God for weighty matters in hand, to divert any evil plots which may be intended, and to prepare the way of friends, who, we hope, may be coming to us."

While Mrs. Hutchinson was at Roxbury, she was waited on by various ministers, who wished to ascertain whether she held to the opinions last imputed to her. Not satisfied with her replies, they complain to the church of Boston. For this reason, she is called, on the 15th, before the church, having a permit to leave the former town. The assembly, collected from all parts of the country to hear her case, is very large. One of the ruling elders called her, and stated the reason why she was summoned to appear. He then read the succeeding list of what were deemed her errors. They contain several of those previously mentioned.

1. That the soules of all men (in regard of generation) are mortall, like the beasts; Eccl. iii. 18.

2. That in regard of Christs purchase they are immortall; so that Christ hath purchased the soules of the wicked to eternall paine, and the soules of the elect to eternall peace.

3. Those who are united to Christ have in this life new bodies, and two bodies, 1 Cor. vi. 19; she knowes not how Jesus Christ should be united to this our fleshly bodies.

4. Those who have union with Christ, shall not rise with the same fleshly bodies, 1 Cor. xv. 44.

5. And that the resurrection mentioned there, and in John v. 28, is not meant of the resurrection of the body, but of our union here and after this life.

6. That there are no created graces in the saints after their union with Christ; but before there are, for Christ takes them out of their hands into his owne.

7. There are no created graces in the humane nature of Christ, but he was only acted by the power of the Godhead.

8. The image of God wherein Adam was made, she could see no Scripture to warrant that it consisted in holinesse, but conceived it to be in that he was made like to Christs manhood.

9. She had no Scripture to warrant that Christs manhood is now in heaven, but the body of Christ is his church.

10. We are united to Christ with the same union that his humanity on earth was with the Deity, John xvii. 21.

11. She conceived the disciples before Christ his death were not converted, Matt. xviii. 3.

12. There is no evidence to be had of our good estate, either from absolute or conditionall promises.

13. The law is no rule of life to a Christian.

14. There is no kingdome of heaven in Scripture, but onely Christ.

15. There is first engrafting into Christ before union, from which a man might fall away.

16. The first thing God reveales to assure us is our election.

17. That Abraham was not in a saving estate till the 23d chapter of Genesis, when hee offered Isaac, and saving the firmnesse of Gods election, he might have perished notwithstanding any work of grace that was wrought in him till then.

18. That union to Christ is not by faith.

19. That all commands in the word are law, and are not a way of life, and the command of faith is a law, and therefore killeth; she supposed it to be a law from Rom. iii. 27.

20. That there is no faith of Gods elect but assurance, there is no faith of dependence but such as an hypocrite may have and fall away from, proved John xv., for by that she said they are in Christ, but Christ is not in them.

21. That an hypocrite may have Adams righteousness and perish, and by that righteousness he is bound to the law; but in union with Christ, Christ comes into the man and he retaines the seed, and dieth, and then all manner of grace in himselfe, but all in Christ.

22. There is no such thing as inherent righteousness.

23. We are not bound to the law, no, not as a rule of life.

24. We are dead to all acts in spirituall things, and are onely acted by Christ.

25. Not being bound to the law, it is not transgression against the law to sinne or breakes it, because our sinnes they

are inward and spirituall, and so are exceeding sinfull, and onely are against Christ.

26. Sanctification can be no evidence at all of our good estate.

27. That her particular revelations about future events are as infallible as any part of Scripture, and that she is bound as much to believe them as the Scripture, for the same Holy Ghost is the author of them both.

28. That so farre as a man is in union with Christ, he can doe no duties perfectly, and without the communion of the unregenerate part with the regenerate.

29. That such exhortations as these, to worke out our salvation with feare, to make our calling and election sure, etc., are spoken onely to such as are under a covenant of workes.

These opinions Mrs. Hutchinson allows to be her own. By vote of the church, she is to be admonished, because the members, for the greater part, consider them erroneous. Her two sons defend her cause. For this a similar vote is passed in reference to them. Cotton delivers the admonition, first to the sons and then to the mother. The assembly, on this occasion, did not separate till eight o'clock in the evening. She is ordered to return to Roxbury. But, being dejected in spirits, she has leave to remain at Mr. Cotton's. He and Davenport endeavor to convince her that she is incorrect in cherishing such views. To them she retracts all except the last; confesses that she was indiscreet in her expressions before the court and as to the elders. On the 22d, when recalled before the church, she makes similar confessions to them. But when her written answers to the articles are read, they fail to afford them satisfaction, denoting that the chief difficulty had arisen with respect to these opinions from the want of clearness in her definition of them. She is then asked if she had not asserted that there was no inherent righteousness in the saints, but that it was in Christ. She replies in the negative. Many, who had understood her differently, are surprised. The elders urge her to recollect what she had been heard to say by such persons on this subject. Still, she declines to retract. The church, except two of her sons, agree that she ought to be admonished. Accordingly, she and the sons, defending her cause, are so dealt with. Cotton declares publicly, that, as teacher, he had rebuked her for doctrine, but she was now to be alike treated for misrepresentation, which devolved on the pastor, Mr. Wilson. He gives it as his judgment, that she ought to be cut off from the church. Wilson inquires of them whether it shall be so. "A full consent appearing (after the usual manner) by their silence, after a pause," he pronounces sentence of excommunication against her,

and she is required to depart from the assembly. The church record stands as follows: "Anne, the wife of our brother, William Hutchinson, having, on the 15th of this moneth, beene openly in publique congregation admonished of sundry errors; was cast out of y<sup>e</sup> church for persisting in a manifest lye, then expressed by her in open congregation." One, standing at the door, as she passed out, accompanied by Mary, the wife of William Dyer; addresses her: "The Lord sanctify this to you." She replies to him, "The Lord judgeth not as man judgeth; better be cast out of the church than to deny Christ." Thus she who had been regarded by many persons of piety as a prophetess, raised up for some great work, is reduced to a most trying position.

As has always been the fact with conquered leaders, many who had advocated her principles soon returned to the opinions which prevailed here before her immigration. After she was cut off from the church, her lowness of spirits continued, but soon revived. Then "she gloried in her sufferings, saying, that it was the greatest happiness, next to Christ, that ever befel her." Seldom or never has there been a time when some of zealously contending parties, however conscious of aiming at results which seemed right to their perception, have not been suspected by their opponents of misrepresentation, and openly charged with it, as an immorality. The difference between Mrs. Hutchinson and the elders was probably of a nice metaphysical nature, and not of meditated falsehood on her part. Had she left a relation of her views, feelings, expressions, and actions, there is reason to believe that her case would appear with a more favorable aspect.

Thus having the sentences of banishment and excommunication passed upon her, the situation of Mrs. Hutchinson excites our commiseration, and raises in our hearts the earnest wish that it could have been far otherwise. Especially is this so, seeing that the subject of such unhappiness was of the sex who look to man for protection. She felt that wrong was inflicted upon her for the belief and propagation of sentiments which she held as true and essential to human welfare. But the administrators of our civil and ecclesiastical rules were as fully persuaded that what of doctrine and practice she deemed correct and beneficial was erroneous and destructive. They were ready to allow, that she, if complying with the duties of woman's appropriate sphere, was able to adorn and bless society, wherever she might dwell. But, judging that she had stepped from her pertinent position, and so resisted the laws of the land, and thus raised a strong party, whose words and ways were subversive of constitutional order, they could no longer remain inactive spectators. They

were conscious that sacred obligation summoned them to deal rigorously with her, though painful to their sensibility and opposed to the desires of their humanity. They were assured that she had been instrumental in kindling a flame of discord, which threatened to lay waste all that they held most dear. Hence they reluctantly came to the repulsive work of ejecting her from the colony. Many, without reflecting on the marked difference between our public affairs now and then, have supposed that Mrs. Hutchinson may have been permitted to remain and pursue her accustomed course without serious injury to the commonwealth, as the many zealous speculators are privileged in this period. But this is a mistake. The founders of our commonwealth could hardly bear the burdens of a recently established plantation, rendered much more oppressive by the late trial with Williams and the indefatigable efforts of the court party to annihilate their liberties, even with entire harmony among themselves. But to have others mingle with them, and put among their strong materials what they considered no better than "wood, hay, and stubble," was insupportable to these, who were the true builders, according to the professed principles on which the soil was settled. Such founders had cause to fear that the edifice so built up would soon show signs of weakness, and fall with ruin to its occupants. Hence, while care to prevent anticipated evil could be effectual, they said to their undesired co-workers, Up, and separate yourselves from us; it is impossible for us to proceed together and produce a good result; at present, union in principle and effort is absolutely requisite for the success of our enterprise; go to the right or left without our jurisdiction, and settle where you please; we will not pursue you as enemies, but wish you well in all that is righteous. In such a manner it was that our ancestors dealt with Mrs. Hutchinson. They had no doubt that, though her departure might be an evil to her in some respects, it would be followed with a much greater benefit to the commonwealth. According to the sentence against her, she went by water to her husband's farm at Mount Wollaston, and thence by land to him at Aquedneck.

The considerations applicable to her case exist with regard to her brother-in-law, Wheelwright. Our authorities highly esteemed him as a minister of desirable qualifications, and still they were distressed to be under the necessity of ordering him to separate from them, lest his influence should contribute to the dissolution of the colony. So it was with such valuable men as Aspinwall, Clark, Coddington, and others.

The banishment which any of them experienced was a harmless concern, compared with what the word suggests oftentimes, when it comes to our eyes or ears. It had little of the terror

realized by the sufferers in Siberia. It left those ejected from Massachusetts at liberty to select their own abodes. Some of them resorted to New Hampshire, and others to Rhode Island, places of no great distance, easily accessible, and affording comfortable supplies for family accommodations. They had the option seasonably, sufficiently, and kindly set before them, either to cease from the means which produced public commotion and imperiled the common weal, or endure the exclusion which brought them to such convenient locations.

April 4. A letter of this date, as in Hubbard, from Laud and others, lords of the royal council at Whitehall, is addressed to Governor Winthrop. They express themselves as follows: We "taking into consideration that the petitions and complaints of his majesty's subjects, planters, and traders in New England, grow more frequent than heretofore for want of a settled and orderly government in those parts, and calling to mind that they had formerly given order, about two or three years since, to Mr. Cradock, a member of that plantation, to cause the grant or letters patent of that plantation (alleged by him to be there remaining in the hands of Mr. Winthrop) to be sent over hither, and that, notwithstanding the same, the said letters patent were not as yet brought over; and their lordships, being now informed by Mr. Attorney General, that a *quo warranto* had been by him brought, according to former order, against the said patent, and the same was proceeded to judgment against so many as had appeared, and that they which had not appeared were outlawed;" they then empower Mr. Meawtis, their clerk, to forward such an order to Mr. Winthrop. In reference to this they proceed: "Their lordships hereby, in his majesty's name, and according to his express will and pleasure, strictly require and enjoin the said Winthrop, or any other in whose power and custody the said letters patent are, that they fail not to transmit the said patent hither by the return of the ship in which the order is conveyed to them, it being resolved, that, in case of any further neglect or contempt by them showed therein, their lordships will cause strict course to be taken against them, and will move his majesty to reassume into his hands the whole plantation."

This is spirited language. It plainly indicates that Archbishop Laud and his associates had not slacked in their purpose to bring our fathers to their terms of submission. Though their power was diminished by the stand of Scotland and by the deepening and spreading disaffection of non-conformists in England, they still adhered to the plan of imposing a general governor and Episcopal forms on our Puritan settlements.

15. Judith Smith, having been privately admonished for

"sundry errors," is excommunicated from the Boston church for still adhering to them, and for what is construed as misrepresentation.

April 23. As an instance of care which is used to preserve unity of faith and conduct in the towns, we have a record of Watertown. "Ordered that those freemen of the congregation shall build and dwell upon their lots at the town plot, and not to alienate them by selling or exchanging them to any foreigner, but to freemen of the congregation."

May 2. The General Court meet. The order of 1636, for watches and wards on the Sabbath, is renewed, except the clause for carrying arms to the meeting house, which is left to the discretion of the several towns. The law, made the year before, as to the entertainment of strangers, who might be adverse to the civil and religious welfare of the colony, is established as necessary for the public good.

Robert Potter, of the Antinomians, is ordered to appear, the next session, if he and his family shall not have left the jurisdiction.

June 1. Johnson says, "About two of the clock in the afternoon, the Lord caused a great and terrible earthquake, which was general throughout all the English plantations." There were occasional shocks for twenty days after the first. Persons who had not heard such noise before were exceedingly terrified, and thought that sudden destruction had come upon them.

5. The Assistants order that a man accused of swearing have his tongue put in a cleft stick. They sentence the wife of Francis Weston, who had been banished and gone to Providence, to be set in the bilboes, two hours in Boston and the same time in Salem, on lecture day. The charge against her was probably of a religious character.

They require that, with the consent of "Mrs. Baggerly, the increase of Mr. Skelton's cattle should be divided according to" his "will, and that the goods and household stuff, which belong to the three eldest children, should be divided by some of the church of Salem," and committed to the care of said church.

8. The magistrates of Ipswich are empowered to prevent Nicholas Easton and William Jeffery from building at Winnacumet, and clear that place of them. The former of these two men is classed with the Antinomians, and retires to Rhode Island. The other is likely to have had a similar objection to him.

July 11. Josselyn relates that, being entertained by Samuel Maverick, at Noddle's Island, he passes over in a boat to Boston, and calls on some of the principal men. Among these is



Cotton, to whom he delivers from Francis Quarles, the poet, in England, a "translation of the 16, 25, 51, 88, 113, and 137 Psalms in English meeter, for his approbation."

About this month, Hanserd Knollys arrived in Boston. He had suffered in England for his non-conformity. Put into prison, his keeper let him go free. He and his wife came immediately to London. After much anxious delay, he obtained a passage for New England. Before he got ashore, having expended the small funds which he had, a stranger came and told him that a friend of his, gone to Rhode Island, had left a house for his use. He and his wife, with two more families, who soon joined their relatives, took possession of the tenement. He was obliged to work with his hoe three weeks as a means of support. The magistrates were informed that he was an Antinomian. While so unpleasantly situated, two persons from Piscataqua called and employed him to preach for their society.

Samuel Newman comes to this country, and is probably accompanied by his particular friend, William Tompson. He was born at Banbury, and baptized May 24, 1602, and matriculated at Trinity College, Oxford, March, 1619-20. Neal informs us that Newman had been minister in the county of Oxford; that "the severe persecutions of the spiritual courts obliged him to no less than seven removals, till, at length, he resolved to get out of their reach, and remove with his friends to New England." From being recorded considerably along on the church records of Dorchester, he seems to have resided in this town. The Magnalia makes his continuance there a year and a half. He became freeman of the Massachusetts Company, March 13, 1638-9.

Tompson appears to have been born in the parish of Winwick, Lancashire. He was matriculated at Oxford University as of this county, January 28, 1619-20. Brook says that he was a minister of some place in his native county; that he "was a lively, powerful, and useful preacher, but much persecuted for non-conformity." Cotton Mather, in view of his great service, gives the following lines:—

"His time and strength he centred there in this,  
To do good works and be what now he is;  
His fulgent virtues there and learned strains,  
Tall, comely presence, life unsoiled with stains."

Tompson joined the Dorchester church with Newman, but did not unite with the Company, as a freeman, till May 13, 1640. Soon after his arrival, he was employed to preach at Agamencetus.

August. Twenty vessels, as Winthrop states, with about three

thousand passengers of good quality and estate, come, this summer, from England to Massachusetts. Part of them had licenses, and others not. The former are probably of the class allowed to sail under the partial suspension of one order, and the other those which put to sea notwithstanding the royal proclamation to the contrary. It is very evident that the restrictions put on emigration hither are intended to prevent the increase of dissenters from the national church among the colonists. Still they seem not to have been so successful as their authors anticipated. One reason for this is, that the king and his council have less time and means to enforce them, because Scotland had taken an alarming stand against the policy of imposing the Book of Common Prayer and the canons on their churches. The spirit and manifestation of resistance there also draw the attention of the royal party, in a large degree, from New England, which they had doomed to be stripped of its congregational liberties. The prospect of civil war appears to have induced no small number to forsake their native land, and become dwellers in America. However thus actuated, they very plainly had a preference for Massachusetts, though most strongly and publicly reproached in the mother country. With regard to the opponents of our rulers, Winthrop observes, "Sure the Lord awed their hearts, and they and others (who savoured not religion) were amazed to see men of all conditions, rich and poor, servants and others, offering themselves so readily for New England, when, for furnishing of other plantations, they were forced to send about their stalls, and when they had gotten any, they were forced to keep them, as prisoners, from running away."

Knowing that liberty, social and religious, could not exist long without its essential element of useful knowledge, Rev. Jose Glover was on his passage to Boston, this summer, with a printing establishment, and a person to work it, named Stephen Day. Johnson says, "The judicious Mr. Glover undertook this long voyage, being able in person and estate for the work: he provided, for further compleating the colonies in church and commonwealth work, a printer, which hath been very useful in many respects, the Lord seeing it meet that this reverend and holy servant of his should fall short of the shores of New England." Thus cut off from his wise and dutiful purpose, not only to preach the gospel with his mouth, but also from the press, he so left his preparations that they were set up by Day, the next spring, at Cambridge.

Mr. Glover left a wife, Elizabeth, and two sons, Roger and John. For the benefit of his exertions and expenditures, the legislature grant Mrs. Glover, June 6, 1689, six hundred acres

of land. She subsequently married Henry Dunster, president of Harvard College. The Annals of Holmes relate that, in the enterprise of supplying New England with a printing press extraordinary for that period, Glover gave liberally himself, and obtained contributions in England and Holland. Some gentlemen in Amsterdam gave over forty-nine pounds. For such an exhibition of enlarged Christian philanthropy Glover deserves to hold a high place among the earliest benefactors of our country.

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#### PLYMOUTH.

1637, June. The standing council of Massachusetts had proposed to Plymouth, that they join in a war with the Pequods, and Winslow, as an agent of his colony, had visited them on the subject.

He was instructed to mention some objections, to which Vane and Winthrop answered, as the latter relates. One is, that Massachusetts did not assist Plymouth, as a general concern of the country, when their establishment in Maine was taken by the French. Reply, that they considered it a private affair, in which, if they embarked, France might wage a war with them. Still they confess some fault in the matter. Another — some of their people traded at Kennebec, and so interfered with rights of the Plymouth plantation there. Answer — that this was not allowed, and “no more than a boat or two” were known to have committed the infringement. Settlers at Windsor from the Bay had trenched on the bounds of the Plymouth settlement in Connecticut. Reply — that an endeavor had been made for an adjustment. It was further urged that the coöperation of Plymouth now would be far better for the preservation of both colonies, and thus prevent the Indians from effecting their purpose “to root out all the English,” than to do it subsequently. During the consideration of this subject, Plymouth wanted Massachusetts “to help them on all occasions.” The latter desired to be left free.

6. Winslow writes to Winthrop, “We have this day by solemn act of court ingaged ourselves to take part with you and our brethren of Conectacut in the war against the Pecoats.” Referring to those who favored the doctrines of Mrs. Hutchinson, he remarks, “I am sorry for the carriages of your people. God sanctifie his hand and fit us for such trials as he hath appointed.”

7. “It is concluded and enacted by the court, that the colony

of New Plymouth shall send forth aid to assist them of Massachusetts Bay and Connecticut in their wars against the Pequian Indians, in revenge of the innocent blood of the English, which they have barbarously shed, and refuse to give satisfaction for." They order thirty persons for the land service, and as many more "as shall be sufficient to manage the barque."

A year is given to Scituate and Duxbury to provide their stocks for offenders.

About this time, Samuel Gorton comes from Massachusetts to the town of Plymouth. Morton gives an account of him. At first, he seemed like a useful man. But he soon discovered himself to be "deeply leavened with familistical opinions, and observing that some of his spirit were already in the country, he takes his opportunity to sow some seed at Plymouth, whereby some were seduced." Of these were John Weeks and wife, "who, in some short time, became very atheists, and were cast out of the church for their abominal opinions."

July 28. Winthrop addresses a letter to Bradford, respecting the conquest of the Pequods. His first sentence follows: "I received your loving letter, but straightness of time forbids me; for my desire is to acquaint you with the Lord's great mercy toward us, in our prevailing against his and our enemies, that you may rejoyce and praise his name with us."

October 2. A person in the town of Plymouth is presented for suffering men to drink in his house, on the Lord's day, before, during, and after meeting.

This year a settlement is commenced at Cohannet, afterwards Taunton, under the direction of Elizabeth Poole, a single lady. She came from Taunton, Somersetshire, England. She resided first, after her arrival, at Dorchester. She was "of good family, friends, and prospects, all which she left in the prime of her life, to enjoy the religion of her conscience." She had wealth, and lived to do good.

William Hook and Nicholas Street, who were soon ordained here, the former as pastor and the latter as teacher, appear to have been the spiritual guides of this company. Hook was a native of Southampton, matriculated at Trinity College, Oxford, 1620, aged 19, had his A. M. 1623, and had been clergyman at Axmouth in Devonshire. His wife was sister to Edward Whalley, called a regicide. Francis Doughty, a clergyman, who afterwards occasioned, by his opinion that children of all baptized parents should be baptized, a division in the church of Taunton, has his name on the list of its first purchasers.

Another place is occupied for a plantation by a large number of families from Saugus, at Shawme, and subsequently Sandwich. Leveridge, from Duxbury, ministers to them in the gospel.

1638, March 30. A settlement, as Winthrop relates, is commenced at Mattakeese, or Mattacheset, afterwards Yarmouth. The chief conductor of it is Batchelor, lately of Sangua. Though seventy-six years old, he walked thither in bad travelling. But he and his company, not having sufficient means to carry it on, soon leave it to others.

May. Charles Chauncey arrives at Plymouth, a few days before the great earthquake on the 1st of June. He was son of George Chauncey, of Hertfordshire; baptized at Yardley, November 5, 1592; received his A. B. 1613; his A. M. 1617; and his B. D. 1624, at Trinity College, Cambridge. Here, being eminent for his acquaintance with the learned languages, he was a lecturer in Greek. He was settled in the ministry at Ware, and then at Marston-Lawrence. Having used the words "that the preaching of the gospel would be suppressed, and that there was much atheism, Popery, Arminianism, and heresy crept into the church," and opposed a rail round the communion table and kneeling at the altar, he was arraigned before the High Commission Court, and not released from prison until he made a recantation. For this act he was troubled in his conscience. After he came to this country, he openly acknowledged that he considered it sinful.

Morton's Manuscript has the subsequent paragraph concerning Chauncey:—

"After Mr. Reyner had been in place a considerable time, it was desired that Mr. Charles Chauncey should be invited, who being a very godly and learned man, they intended upon trial to choose him pastor of the church here for the more comfortable performance of the ministry with Mr. John Reyner, the teacher of the same; but there fell out some difference about baptizing, he holding it ought only to be by dipping and putting the whole body under water, and that sprinkling was unlawful. The church yielded that immersion or dipping was lawful, but in this cold country not so convenient. But they could not and durst not yield to him in this—that sprinkling, which all the churches of Christ do for the most part at this day practise, was unlawful, and an human invention, as the same was pressed; but they were willing to yield to him as far as they could and to the utmost, and were contented to suffer him to practice as he was persuaded, and when he came to minister that ordinance he might do it to any that did desire it in that way, provided he could peaceably suffer Mr. Reyner and such as desired it to have theirs otherwise baptized by him by sprinkling or pouring on of water upon them, so as there might be no disturbance in the church thereabouts. But he said he could not yield thereunto, upon which the church procured some other ministers to

dispute the point with him publicly, as Mr. Ralph Partrick of Duxburrow, who did it sundry times, ably and sufficiently, as also some other ministers within this government; but he was not satisfied; so the church sent to many other churches to crave their help and advice in this matter, and with his will and consent, sent them his arguments written under his own hand. They sent them to the church of Boston, in the Bay of Massachusetts, to be communicated with other churches there; also they sent the same to the churches of Connecticut and New Haven, with sundry others, and received very able and sufficient answers, as they conceived, from them and their learned ministers, who all concluded against him. But himself was not satisfied therewith. Their answers are too large here to relate. They conceived the church had done what was meet in the thing."

June 14. Web Adey is presented at the court for working on the Sabbath, and living idly and slovenly. He is sentenced to sit in the stocks at the pleasure of the bench, and if he do not find a master for himself, they will. John Stockbridge, of Scituate, is arraigned and fined for speeches disrespectful of the authorities.

August. The governor writes to Winthrop for advice as to proceeding against three young men, who had mortally wounded and robbed an Indian, near Providence, and who intended to appeal to the judicial authorities in England. The reply is, that no such appeal should be allowed, and that trial ought to take place immediately. The colonists were strongly opposed to referring any cases to the mother government, lest it should bring them into greater subjection, and thereby their religious liberties be impaired.

About this time, Leveridge and others, of Sandwich, inquire of the court whether they shall supply the places of those who had agreed to come from Saugus and settle at Sandwich, but had not. Answer is given that it may be done, "provided you make choyse of such as government shall approve of."

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MAINE.

1637, June 26. As an indication that Governor William Gorges had returned to England, a commission is received by Winthrop, as he relates, and five others, from Sir Ferdinando Gorges, to take charge of his affairs in New Somersetshire, from Cape Elizabeth to Sagadahoc. The persons so empowered

think best to decline. Their plea is that one of their names is mistaken, and another of them moved to Connecticut. It also appears to them, that there was not sufficient authority in Sir Ferdinando to commission them to such an extent. The prevailing reason, aside from the inconvenience of the trust, was, undoubtedly, that Winthrop and his colleagues in the matter would not consent to countenance it with their coöperation, lest they should be made to appear as not opposed to the plan for subverting the liberties of New England.

July 8. Still active to advance the interests of his particular colony, Sir Ferdinando Gorges makes a grant of eight thousand acres to Sir Richard Edgecomb, near a lake, supposed to be in the present town Bowdoinham.

1638. Having been appointed governor general, this year, of New England, Gorges would have had a favorable opportunity to advance the interests of his own patent, had other things been similarly propitious. But the firmness of Massachusetts in resisting every effort to take away their charter was an insuperable obstacle to his desires and purposes.

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#### NEW HAMPSHIRE.

1637. In the course of this year, but not till after July 5, when he had a grant of land at Salem, George Burdet, not pleased with the strict order of the church there, seems to have left that town for Dover. There he made himself popular as a preacher. He also took measures successfully to supplant Wiggan, the governor, appointed by Lord Say and the other proprietors. From the sequel, he acted as a spy on the colonists, who were opposed to the imposition of hierarchal policy upon New England.

November 20. About this date, Mr. Wheelwright leaves Massachusetts. He sets out for Squamscot Falls, which he bought of natives, and which, by agreement with John Mason's agents, was afterwards called Exeter. He subsequently testified, with regard to such a purchase, "When I with others first came to sit downe at Exeter, wee purchased of y<sup>e</sup> Indians, to whom (so farr as wee could learne) y<sup>e</sup> right did belonge, a certain tract of land about thirty miles square, to runne from Merrimack River eastward, and so vp into y<sup>e</sup> country, of which wee had a grant in writing signed by them." He has a farm set off to him near Oyster River. It is very probable that he goes thither in the vessel of John Clark, with some of his warmest friends, because

she sails for a more northwardly region than the Bay, about this very date. Though Wheelwright's zeal, as he afterwards confessed, led him to an excess in resisting the wishes of the authorities, yet he did not carry his ideas of spiritual illumination to the extravagance of others, known as Antinomians. Cotton asserts that he was no Familist; that one of his hearers at Mount Wollaston, who soon joined Gorton, protested against his doctrine as anti-Christian.

1638, August. Near this time, Hanserd Knollys comes from Boston to preach for people of Dover. His entrance among them was more pleasant to him than his continuance and departure.

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#### RHODE ISLAND.

1637, June 3. News had reached Boston that some of the Pequods had fled to the Narragansetts for protection, but that the latter had declined to grant it until they had leave from the Bay authorities.

July 15. Roger Williams writes to John Winthrop. Speaking of the Indians, he says, "'Tis true there is no feare of God before their eye, and all the cords that ever bound the barbarous to forreiners were made of selfe and covetousnes. Yet if I mistake not, I observe in Miantunnomu some sparks of true friendship. The body of the Pequinn men yet live, and are only removed from their dens. The good Lord grant that the Mowhange and they and the whole at the last unite not. For mine owne part, I cannot be without suspicions of it."

August 1. John Green, of New Providence, being in Massachusetts, is bound to answer at their Court of Assistants. The complaint against him is, that he charged authorities of Massachusetts with usurping the power of Christ, and persecuting Mr. Williams and another, whom they had banished.

September 19. He accordingly appears for trial. He is sentenced to pay twenty pounds, be committed till the sum is paid, and excluded from the jurisdiction of that colony.

November 1. Miantinomo, having gone to have an interview with the governor of Massachusetts, as the latter informs us, is received with kind attention. He acknowledges that the territory of the Pequods and Block Island, the last of which had been subject to him, belonged to that colony, by right of conquest, and that he would not interfere with either of them without their consent.

1638. John Clarke, a physician, who, the last November, had



lately come to the Bay, from Bedfordshire, and his associates,\* having experienced severer cold where they spent the winter, (probably at Dover,) than they anticipated, and, as it seems, leaving Wheelwright with a considerable number of his friends, conclude, "in the spring, to make toward the south. So, having sought the Lord for protection, they agreed that, while the vessel was passing about a large and dangerous cape, [Cape Cod,] they would cross over by land, having Long Island and Delaware Bay in their eye, for the place of their residence. At Providence, Mr. Roger Williams lovingly entertained them, and being consulted about their design, readily presented two places before them in the Narragansett Bay, the one on the main land, called Sow-wames, and Aquedneck,† now Rhode Island." Resolving to be out of every other jurisdiction, Clarke and two others went to Plymouth with Williams, for advice about these locations. The authorities there observe that "Sow-wames was the garden of their patent," and declined to let them have it, but consented that they might buy Aquedneck of the Indians, which was subsequently done.

Morton, in his Memorial, speaks as follows of such an interview. The individuals, "not knowing where they might sit down safely, made requests unto the government of Plimouth, that they might be at an island that they had not hitherto improved, which the government of Plimouth aforesaid considering they were their countrymen and fellow-subjects, that were distressed and destitute of habitation, although they had their errors in as great dislike as those from whence they came, yet pitying them in their present straights, granted their requests."

March 7. Accordingly these emigrants from the Bay return to the island, and form a constitutional government. The tenor of this instrument ‡ runs thus: "We, whose names are underwritten, do here solemnly, in the presence of Jehovah, incorporate ourselves into a body politic, and, as he shall help, will submit our persons, lives, and estates unto our Lord Jesus Christ, the King of kings and Lord of lords, and to all those perfect and most absolute laws of his given us in his holy word of truth, to be guided and judged thereby."

They, in this manner, unite their civil concerns with those spiritual, and so adopt a theocracy for their government. Cod-

\* Clarke's Narrative. Comer's Manuscript. Callender.

† Callender says it was called, in 1644, the Isle of Rhodes, or Rhode Island.

‡ This, as stated by the same author, was signed by the following names: William Coddington, John Clark, William Hutchinson, John Coggeshall, William Aspinwall, Samuel Wilbore, John Porter, John Sanford, Edward Hutchinson, Jr., Thomas Savage, William Dyer, William Freeborne, Philip Shearman, John Walker, Richard Carder, William Baulston, Edward Hutchinson, Sr., and Henry Bull.

dington is elected their judge. The engagements made by him and the freemen are as follow: "I, William Coddington, Esquire, being called and chosen by the freemen incorporate of this body politic to be a judge amongst them, do covenant to do justice and judgment impartially according to the laws of God, and to maintain the fundamental rights and privileges of this body politic, which shall hereafter be ratified according unto God, the Lord helping me so to do."

"We, that are freemen incorporate of this body politic, do elect and constitute William Coddington, Esquire, a judge amongst us, and do covenant to yield all due honour unto him, according to the laws of God, and, so far as in us lies, to maintain the honour and privileges of his place, which shall hereafter be ratified according to God, the Lord helping us so to do." This mode of obligating themselves was probably confirmed by the opinion of Roger Williams against oaths.

The greater part of the proprietors named are members of the Boston church. Clark not only serves as their physician, but officiates as their preacher. They make their first settlement at Pocasset, afterwards Portsmouth.

Thus a second settlement is made in this quarter by individuals, ordered away from Massachusetts. The authorities of that colony heartily believed, that for the sake of preserving purity of truth, as they held it in their churches, and the safety of the commonwealth, grievous necessity was laid on them to cast off from their privileges others of worthy repute, who as sincerely believed the principles they cherished, and their action on them, were right and fraught with no such perils. Occurrences of this sort are painful in reflection, and call up the earnest wish that there had been no occasion for them.

Hull, in his diary, says of these new settlers, "After they were removed, the Rev. Mr. Cotton and the church of Boston ceased not, for some years, to send letters and some of their able and godly brethren to endeavor their reducement; and some few were regained."

March 12. The General Court of Massachusetts order that Coddington, Coggeshall, Baulstone, Edward Hutchinson, Wilbore, Porter, Bull, Shearman, besides John Compton, Freeborn, and Carder, having licenses to leave their jurisdiction, be summoned to appear before them, if not gone prior to the next May session.

A letter from John Green reaches the same authorities. He had been imprisoned and fined on the charge of slandering the magistrates. His fine was remitted on his making concessions. But his communication now retracts his apology, and renews his accusation against the legislature. These, "knowing that divers

others of Providence were of the same ill affection to the court, and were probably suspected to be confederated in the same letter," order "that if any of that plantation" should be found within their bounds, "he should be brought before one of the magistrates, and if he would not disclaim the charge in said letter, he should be sent home, and charged to come no more into this jurisdiction, upon pain of imprisonment and further censure."

March 24. Canonicus and Miantinomo give a bill of sale for Aquedneck, and the use of other islands, "as also rivers and coves," to Mr. Coddington and his friends for forty fathoms of white beads, with the condition that they pay, through the hands of the latter sachem, "ten coats and twenty hoes to the present inhabitants" who "shall remove from the island before next winter." In speaking of this matter afterwards, Williams remarks, "It was not price or money that could have purchased Rhode Island; but it was obtained by love — that love and favour which that honoured gentleman, Sir Henry Vane, and myself had with the great sachem Myantonomy."

28. According to the injunction of the Massachusetts rulers, Mrs. Hutchinson goes from Boston, as Winthrop states, by water, to her farm at Mount Wollaston. Here she intended to take passage for Piscataqua with the wife and children of Wheelwright. But, altering her purpose, she sets out by land for her husband and "the rest of that sect," at Aquedneck. On April 26, Coddington and his wife move to the last place, where he had prepared a residence.

May 13. The first act passed here follows: "It is ordered that none shall be received as inhabitants or freemen, to build or plant upon the island, but such, as shall be received in by the consent of the body, and do submit to the government that is or shall be established according to the word of God." This is like the principle of Massachusetts, on which settlers of the island were ordered away from that colony.

21. The following vote, as in Staples, is passed at Providence: "Joshua Verin, for breach of covenant in restraining liberty of conscience, shall be withheld the liberty of voting, till he declare the contrary." Winthrop explains the reason of this order. He says, that in accordance with the rule of the community here, which required that none "should be molested for his conscience, men's wives, children, and servants claimed liberty to go to all religious meetings, though never so often, or though private, on week days." For restraining his wife in such a practice, Verin was dealt with as just represented. William Arnold said, that when he consented to the regulation for liberty of conscience, he never intended that it should apply so

far as to break the ordinance of God, which commanded wives to be in subjection to their husbands. John Green replied, that if they should restrain their wives, all the women in the country would cry out against them. Arnold rejoined, "Did you pretend to leave Massachusetts because you would not offend God to please men, and would you now break a commandment of God to please women? When they would have censured Verin, Arnold told them that it was against their own order, for Verin did that he did out of conscience, and their order was, that no man should be censured for his conscience." Soon after this discussion, Verin, dissatisfied with his position here, returned to Salem.

June 27. The General Court of the island order, "that if any of the freemen of this body shall not repair to the public meeting to treat upon the public affairs of the body, upon public warning, (whether by beat of drum or otherwise,) if they fail one quarter of an hour after the second, they shall forfeit twelve pence, or if they depart without leave, they are to forfeit the same sum."

August 20. They require, "that a pair of stocks, with a whipping post, shall forthwith be made, and the charges to be paid out of the treasury." They admit Richard Dummer,\* Nicholas Easton, William Brenton, and Robert Harding as freemen. On the 23d, they order that a prison house, of twelve feet long, and ten feet broad, and ten feet stud, be erected.

A large proportion of those in Boston and other towns, who had embraced the speculations of Mrs. Hutchinson, follow her to the island. Others of Williams's persuasion take up their abode with him at Providence.

The latter person writes to Winthrop, that four young men from Plymouth had mortally wounded and robbed an Indian; that three of the murderers had been apprehended, carried to the place of their residence, and that he saw them executed there. He closes one of his letters thus: "beseeching God to bring us by all these bloody passages to an higher price of the blood of the Son of God, yea, of God, by which the chosen are redeemed."

\* On the 23d, thirteen lots of land are laid out for his friends, to wit, Stephen and Thomas Dummer, Nicholas Easton, [Robert] Jeffrys, [Osmond] Dutch, [William] Baker, Spencer, Adam Mott, Robert Fields, James Tarr, and Robert Harding.

## ● CONNECTICUT.

1637, June. The latter part of this month, one hundred and twenty men from Massachusetts, under Israel Stoughton, with John Wilson for chaplain, reach Saybrook. Assisted by Narragansetts, they surround a body of Pequods in a swamp, and take eighty prisoners, kill twenty-eight men, spare two sachems on condition of leading the English to find Sassacus, but refusing to do it, they are afterwards beheaded. Of the prisoners, forty-eight women and children were sent to Boston. On the 26th, the emigrants from the Bay raise forty men to join with Stoughton's force. When united, they went in pursuit of the enemy, who had gone westward.

July 13. After killing six Pequods and taking two more at Quinnipiack, and having arrived at a swamp of very difficult access in what was subsequently Fairfield, the colonists prepare to attack a large company of Indians, who had fled thither. Some of them rushed forward, but soon sank in the mire. While thus arrested, they are wounded by the besieged, who were about to capture them, when they were rescued. The place was then surrounded and the battle renewed. After a considerable time, the Indians requested a parley. The English, desirous that those of them who had shed no blood of the colonists might be saved, offered all such the privilege of coming out and retiring to their homes. Therefore about two hundred of the natives, young and old, who had taken no part in the war, availed themselves of the opportunity. The remainder, being Pequods, and resolved to abide the worst, would not surrender. The fight was renewed. When the night shut in, the colonists, at twelve feet apart, compassed the enemy, and watched them till nearly the break of day. A fog now arising, the Pequods attempted to break through their besiegers. Sixty or seventy succeeded in the bold attempt, twenty were slain, and one hundred and eighty captured. It was computed that seven hundred Pequods were destroyed in this short war. Sassacus and Mononotto, their principal sachems, with twenty of their most distinguished warriors, fled to the Mohawks. These surprised the fugitives, and killed them all but the second chief named. The captive women and children of the enemy were divided among the troops. Some of them remained in Connecticut, and others were carried to Massachusetts. Among them were the wife and children of Mononotto. She was noted for her modest deportment and good sense, as well as humanity in saving the two English girls. Carried to the Bay, she and her family were treated with kindness.

In view of the conquest so achieved, Mason, who had a prominent part in it, expressed himself as follows: "The face of God is set against them that do evil, to cut off the remembrance of them from the earth. Thus the Lord was pleased to smite our enemies; who remembered us in our low estate, and redeemed us out of our enemies hands."

After the swamp battle, the Pequods, in their wanderings, were continually killed by the Monhegans and Narragansetts, who dreaded them when strong, and brought their heads to Hartford and Windsor. The survivors, about two hundred, besides women and children, so hunted for their lives, sent a number of their noted men to the former town, and proffered themselves to be sold for servants, if they should be spared.

August 5. As Winthrop relates, according to invitation for attendance in the synod, Hooker and Stone reach Boston in company with Wilson. The same day, Ludlow, Pynchon, and twelve others arrived there. The former party went round by Providence, where Williams resided, and the latter "the ordinary way by land." These carried thither locks of hair which belonged to Sassacus, his brother, and five other Pequod sachems, who had been killed by the Mohawks, as evidence of their death.

14. About this date, Stoughton addresses Winthrop, as in Collections of Hutchinson, from the Pequod country. He expresses his fears that Indians dispersed from this quarter may still do the colonists much injury. He suspects that the Narragansetts may listen to their suggestions, and join in the same evil, work. Of the latter he remarks, that, if they are so influenced, "I doubt not but it will be to their perdition; only I pray for the contrary, if it be the Lord's will."

He speaks of Wilson, who was chaplain to his troops, and for whom Winthrop had sent, so that he might assist about the religious controversy in the Bay. He says, "By reason you sent for Mr. Wilson to come with Mr. Hooker, we, being willing to show our love to the common cause, have dismissed him, albeit we conceived we had special interest in him, and count ourselves naked without him, and therefore expect supply."

Concerning the settlement of immigrants, he writes as follows: "If you would enlarge the state, and provide for the poor servants of Christ that are yet improvided, (which I esteem a worthy work,) I must speak my conscience. I confess the places whither God's providence carried us, that is, to Quillipeage River, and so beyond to the Dutch, is before this, or the Bay either, (so far as I can judge,) abundantly. But unless great necessity or approved policy require such undertakings, I would be loath to have a hand in, or that my pen should further them, for I affect not scattering, but would rather part stakes

at home ; yet, so far as it may tend to publick utility, and the enlargement of Christ's kingdom, I hope I should not hinder so good a work, though it be to self's disadvantage. It seems to me, God hath much people to bring hither, and the place is too strait, as many think."

Among his reasons for the occupation of Quinnipiack, afterwards New Haven, is "an ill neighbour may possess it, if a good do not. I should readily give it my good word, if any good souls have a good liking to it."

Towards the close of this month, Theophilus Eaton and others of Rev. John Davenport's company set out from Boston to examine Quinnipiack, highly recommended by Stoughton. They had had offers of accommodation in lands of Plymouth and Massachusetts, but declined them. Having reached and explored the territory to which they were destined, they left some of their number to remain here for the winter, with the purpose to return and settle here themselves in the spring.

September 21. By direction of the magistrates, the Narragansetts and Monhegans appeared at Hartford, with Miantinomo and Uncas, to make a treaty with the English. The Pequods agree to pay Connecticut annually a fathom of wampum for every sannup, half a fathom for a young man, and a hand of it for each male pappoose. Twenty of them are given to the Monhegans, and eighty to the Narragansetts. They agree never more to inhabit their country, and lay aside their national name, and be called either one or the other of these two tribes.

These are hard conditions for a people who had prided themselves on their superiority to other natives around them, and had been the terror of most New England Indians. Still they had fully resolved to exterminate the white man, as the means of preserving their own eminence. They cruelly, and fatally to some of the colonists, entered on the work of destruction, with the prospect of completing it ; but they soon brought the ruin intended for others on their own nation. The sentence against them was not so severe as their purpose was against the conquerors ; nor was it greater than the necessity of the weak-handed planters required. Leniency is ever more agreeable to our benevolent affections than the stern demands of justice. Still, long experience has shown that the former cannot, consistently with the higher welfare, be always indulged, and that the latter should be sometimes enforced.

The defeat of the Pequods was a lesson to all the other tribes that to aim for the overthrow of their foreign neighbors, and of the Christian religion, was a hopeless enterprise. It kept them peaceably inclined for almost forty years, till the desperate struggle of Philip for a similar end.

October 12. Public thanksgiving is observed for the conquest of Pequods and "the success" of the synod in the Bay.

November 17. Much in the style of the Israelites, who divided the conquered territory of the Canaanites, the legislature of the Bay address the towns, who went from them, on the Connecticut, respecting the Pequod country and Quinnipiack. Their letter commences, "Whereas it has pleased the Lord to deliver into our hands our enemies, the Pecoits and their allies, that thereby the lands and places which they possessed are by just title of conquest fallen to us and our friends and associates upon the River Connecticut. And whereas, by subduing those our enemies, not only ourselves and our said associates have obtained rest and safety, but opportunity is also given for peaceable habitation to all such as shall hereafter inhabit the lands of our said enemies, both at Pequod and Quinnipiack, and the parts beyond towards the Dutch," committees of those concerned in such conquest are desired, in accordance with articles of confederation, to meet at Newton, as soon as the season permits, that they may consult and decide on the disposal of the lands, and assess the cost of acquiring them on those who may inhabit them.

1638, February 9. To meet the charges of the Indian war, which, at first, threatened their existence, a heavy tax is required of Agawam, afterwards Springfield, Windsor, Hartford, and Wethersfield.

March 9. Mr. Hooker is desired to present a military staff to John Mason, who was appointed major general.

That the Indians might be favorably affected as to the social and religious character of the settlers, laws are enacted that they be dealt with justly and kindly. The commissioners of the colony and officers of the churches are to be excused from "bearing arms, watchings and wardings."

12. Davenport and Theophilus Eaton write to the legislature of the Bay, that, not having found a suitable location for themselves and friends, they have concluded to settle at Quinnipiack, and for this purpose they have given instructions to purchase such land from the native claimants. They add, "We are persuaded that God will order it for good unto these plantations, whose love so abundantly, above our deserts or expectations, expressed in your desire of our abode in these parts, as we shall ever retain in thankful memory, so we shall account ourselves thereby obliged to be any way instrumental and serviceable for the common good of these plantations, as well as of those which the divine Providence hath combined together in as strong a bond of brotherly affection, by the sameness of their condition, as Joab and Abishai were, whose several armies did mutually strengthen them both against several enemies; or rather they



are joined together as Hippocrates his twins, to stand and fall, to grow and decay, to flourish and wither, to live and die, together."

March 28. Mr. Moxon is chosen to represent Springfield in the General Court.

30. Davenport, Samuel Eaton, Peter Prudden, and many families of their company, embark at Boston for Quinnipiack. Being intelligent and worthy people, they are lothfully parted with by the colonists of Massachusetts. Of their departure, Winthrop observes, "which, though it were a great weakening to these parts, yet we expected to see a good providence of God in it." One principal inducement for them to seek another residence is, that if the general governor should be soon sent over, as fearfully expected, they should be less under his control by such a removal. They probably look at such a reason in two directions. One is, they know that Massachusetts is particularly obnoxious to the royal party in England, and is made to bear the main force of their displeasure, and that if the anticipated change of government for the country take place, they may probably fare better by being away from the Bay authorities than with them, and, at the same time, would be unable to alleviate their trials, even though they should not move. Another is, they are aware that the Dutch make a strong claim to Quinnipiack, and that, in case a new governor should bear upon them with a hard hand, they may change allegiance to New Amsterdam, whose religion would be far more agreeable to them than the impositions of the English hierarchy. As a further inducement for such an emigration, Winthrop says it was regarded as a means of "diverting the thoughts and intentions of such in England as intended evil against us, whose design might be frustrate by our scatterings so far; and such as were now gone that way were as much in the eye of the state of England as we here."

So well trained for life's great purpose were these settlers, they were amply fitted to hold a frontier position, and thus extend the jurisdiction of New England, and add to it physical and moral power of incalculable worth.

April 15. Having been about a fortnight on their passage, the emigrants keep holy day, for the first time, in Quinnipiack. Davenport preaches to them, under a wide-spreading oak, from Matt. iv. 1. He discourses\* on the temptations of the wilderness, and the need of corresponding vigilance. Lambert says, that Prudden delivered a sermon in the afternoon.

Not long after the arrival of the settlers, they entered, at the

\* Trumbull has 6th chapter, but the subject requires 4th chapter, 1st verse.

close of a day for fasting and prayer, into a plantation covenant. In this instrument, they agree, "that as in matters that concern the gathering and ordering of a church, so also in all public offices which concern civil order, as choice of magistrates and officers, making and repealing laws, dividing allotments of inheritance, and all things of like nature, they would all of them be ordered by the rules which the Scriptures held forth to them."

August 28. Winthrop\* states leading thoughts which he had written to Hooker,—that the Connecticut colonists had told the Narragansetts that they did not like the treaty with the latter, which Massachusetts and they together had made, so as to prejudice the said Indians against the people of the Bay; that they had altered the articles of confederation between them and Massachusetts in one important item, "and being again agreed, in three months we had no answer;" that they exercise undue authority over Agawam or Springfield. He says that the end of his making such a communication is, that Hooker may use his influence to quench the sparks of contention.

\* In the Addenda of his 2d vol., by Mr. Savaga.

## CHAPTER XII.

**MASSACHUSETTS.** Weston. — Slander. — Dismission. — Hampton, Salisbury, and Sudbury. — Underhill and Morris. — Public charges. — A proselyter. — Excommunicants. — Extravagance. — Charter. — Quo warranto. — John Harvard. — John Phillips. — Marmaduke Matthews. — Bernard's books. — Apology. — Nine positions. — Robert Foster. — Dedham church. — Robert Peck. — Rogers's relation. — Confession. — Scotland. — Mary Oliver and Jane Varn. — Housebreakers. — Slaves. — Fast. — Cotton's remarks. — Phillips. — Remarks by D'Ewes. — Church at Weymouth. — Scotch war. — Fast. — College named Harvard. — Salisbury church. — Printing press. — Ezekiel Rogers. — Ministry. — Charter. — Plantation at Gloucester. — Religious opinions. — Fast. — Paupers. — Emigration. — Francis Higginson. — John Ward. — Jonathan Burr. — Punishment. — Thomas Allen. — Letter of discipline. — Excommunication. — Scottish covenant. — Thirty-two questions. — Excommunication. — Drinking healths. — Excess in apparel. — Publishment. — College. — Antinomian prejudices. — Norris goes to Salem. — Settlement of ministers. — Mrs. Hutchinson. — Mr. Eaton. — Laws. — Worcester. — Dudley. — High prices. — Fast. — Lectures. — Ordination. — Support of ministers. — Watchmen. — Winthrop's donation. — Fyrmin's letter. — Cotton's treatise. — Song. **PLYMOUTH.** Persons hung. — Self-publishment. — Gorton. — Overseers of plantations. — Yarmouth. — Lothrop's church. — Vassal. **MAINE.** Bristol company. — Burdet correspondence. — Gorges's charter. — Episcopacy. — Great Powers. — Gorges's relation. — Divine guidance. — Pejepscot. — Captain Willet. — William Tompson. **NEW HAMPSHIRE.** Hampton. — Letter intercepted. — Dismission of Wheelwright and others. — Claim of Exeter. — Rebuke. — Mrs. Wheelwright and others. — Underhill. — Knollys. — Dover and Portsmouth. — Hampton privileges. — Dover. — Exeter. — Church formed. — Receiving an inhabitant. **RHODE ISLAND.** Errors. — Cotton's remark. — Offences. — Decisions of rulers. — Alarum. — Aspinwall. — Immersion. — Mrs. Hutchinson preaches publicly. — Coddington admonished. — Newport settled. — Tumult. — Church gathered. — Williams's second baptism. — Seeker. — Excommunication. — Vane. — Church members. **CONNECTICUT.** Quinnipiack. — Connecticut as to the Bay. — Government. — Their constitution. — Davenport and Eaton. — Punishment. — Reconciliation sought. — Covenant. — Freemen. — New Haven constitution. — Church before the state. — Indians. — Mr. Huit. — Intended expedition. — Churches formed. — Pequods. — Thanksgiving. — Towns incorporated. — Remarkable events recorded. — Church members admitted freemen. — Fenwick's communication. — Milford votes. — Meeting house. — Planters of Milford.

## MASSACHUSETTS.

1638. Francis Weston, an advocate of Roger Williams, being still connected with the Salem church under Mr. Peters, presents the subsequent complaints: That he was not allowed to ask questions in time of public worship, on the Lord's day,

without having imputed to him pride and self-sufficiency ; that the church communed with Mr. Lothrop's church, who commune with the church of England, and therefore the first of these bodies was alike chargeable with such communion ; that Peters had publicly remarked, with respect to the separatists, that it was "better to part than to live contentiously." The latter replied that it was true, but he meant that such an act should be "in a way of Christ." Weston further objects that the wife of Peters and others, who came from Rotterdam after he did, had been received as members of his church at Salem, though, by an unintentional omission, they brought no letters of recommendation. However Peters had spoken in their behalf, and was the principal means of their acceptance, yet, to meet the wishes of objectors, he agrees, with the majority, to send thither for such testimonials.

September 4. The Assistants order Samuel Finch's wife, Catherine, to be whipped and committed for speaking against the magistrates, churches, and elders.

6. At a session of the legislature, the subsequent transactions take place : Ralph Mousall is questioned as to his remarks, which approved of Wheelwright's doctrine and conduct. He is dismissed from membership in the house as a deputy.

The population being enlarged by worthy emigrants, who fled from the hierarchal severities of England, some of them apply for plantations. A part of them under Batchelor, who preached a short time at Saugus, are granted the township, afterwards Hampton. Others, with Simon Bradstreet as their principal proprietor, are allowed to settle "at Merrimack," subsequently known as Salisbury. More, with Edmund Brown as their minister, are permitted to have a location, soon known as Sudbury.

Captain John Underhill, about to unite with Wheelwright's company at Exeter, is called to an account for remarks which he made on board of the ship in which he lately returned from England. A female passenger deposes that he represented the Massachusetts authorities to be as zealous as the Scribes and Pharisees, and as Paul before his conversion. But Underhill will neither confess nor deny the charge, and excepts against the propriety of taking the evidence of only one witness. In the course of the trial, he is asked, as his conversation leads to the question, if he approved the remonstrance in favor of Wheelwright. He answers affirmatively, and that his retraction about it was merely in manner, and not in matter. Hereupon he is accused of deception, and the next day ordered to leave the colony in fourteen days, and not return, except to take passage in a vessel at Salem, for England. The next Sabbath but one after, he, having been dealt with on suspicion of incon-

tinency, is publicly questioned and admonished by the Boston church.

Richard Morris, a signer of the same remonstrance, and belonging to Roxbury, is required to leave the jurisdiction. At the same time, he is cautioned not to advance his opinions among the people here. He is also advised not to locate himself within any bound of the colony, and to persuade "the sect," that they may be alike careful.

As many, who are neither freemen nor church members, excuse themselves from voluntary contributions for the ministry and other public charges, they are ordered to pay their proportion of them.

John Haule is to give bond, that his servant, John Burrows, cease his endeavors to "draw away" others by his religious speculations, and that he propose no question of this sort, except to magistrates or teaching elders.

Still careful of the law against the admission of strangers, whose principles are suspected as injurious in their influence, the court require that constables inform against "the new comers," who have been admitted without the prescribed license.

Relative to those cut off from the churches, it is enacted that such, "making light of their censures," and not endeavoring restoration within six months, shall be fined, imprisoned, banished, or otherwise dealt with, as the degree of their imputed offence may be.

The court, taking into consideration the extravagance which prevailed through the country, as to costliness of attire and following new fashions, call, according to Winthrop, the elders, and consult with them on the subject. They desire such ministers, as the particular duty of their profession, to urge a reform in this respect on their congregations. "But little was done about it, for divers of the elders' wives were in some measure partners in this general disorder."

The legislature address, as contained in Hubbard, the lords commissioners, in reference to the demand which they made for the surrender of our charter. Some extracts follow: "We are much grieved that your lordships should call in our patent, there being no cause known to us for that purpose, our government being settled according to his majesty's grant, and we not answerable for any defect in other plantations. We are all humble suitors to your lordships that you would be pleased to take into further consideration our condition, and to afford unto us the liberties of subjects, that we may know what is laid to our charge, and have leave and time to answer for ourselves before we be condemned as a people unworthy of his majesty's favour or protection. As for the *quo warranto* mentioned in

the said order, we do assure your lordships, that we were never called to make answer to it, and if we had, we doubt not but we have a sufficient plea to put in." The petitioners proceed — "We came into these remote parts with his majesty's license and encouragement, under his gréat seal of England; and in the confidence we had of great assurance of his favour, we have transported our families and estates, and here have built and planted, to the great enlargement and securing of his majesty's dominions in these parts, so as if our patent should be now taken from us, we should be looked at as runagates and outlaws, and shall be enforced either to remove to some other place or to return to our native country again, either of which will put us to insuperable extremities." They give what they believe will be the results of withdrawing their charter — "Many thousand souls will be exposed to ruin, being laid open to the injuries of all men." The plantations around Massachusetts, which depend on her for their continuance, will, for the most part, be dissolved, and thus the whole country fall into the hands of the French or Dutch. It will discourage all men from settling colonies if the royal engagement be so broken. "The common people here will conceive that his majesty has cast them off, and that hereby they are freed from their allegiance and subjection, and thereupon will be ready to confederate themselves under a new government, for their necessary safety and subsistence, which will be of dangerous example unto other plantations, and perilous to ourselves. Upon these considerations we are bold to renew our humble supplication to your lordships, that we may be suffered to live here in this wilderness, and that this poor plantation, which hath found more favour with God than many others, may not find less favour from your lordships, that our liberties should be restrained when others are enlarged; that the door should be kept shut upon us, while it stands open to all other plantations; that men of ability should be debarred from us, while they have encouragement to other colonies. Let us be made the objects of his majesty's clemency, and not cut off, in our first appeal, from all hope of favour."

This eloquent document was occasioned by one of the most perilous exigencies of this commonwealth. It was written in view of an absolute demand from the highest authority for the surrender of an instrument, on the possession of which the property and liberties of our ancestors depended. The utterers of it deeply felt that there was but a step between the life of their body politic and its immediate death. Though they had stood with anxiety and suffering against individuals whose opinions, as they verily believed, tended to subvert the public weal; though they had experience enough of the world to know that

all who differed materially from them would account them more zealous than wise; and though continually accused before the council of England, and there denounced as schismatics and rebels, and some of them adjudged as outlaws, — yet their conscience was clear that they purposed, decided, and acted according to the principles of their charter, the design of their emigration, and the constitution of their colony.

In a reply of 1643 to an Ipswich remonstrance, which opposed affording aid to La Tour, Winthrop made the ensuing statement on the subject before us: "When, upon grievous complaints against us to the lords of the privy council, of such civil innovations amongst us as we could not justify by the law of the state, a strict order and command was sent over to deliver up our patent, or else expect to have it fetched by force, what greater danger could be toward us than appeared in not obeying of this command? Yet we had then courage enough to returne an answer without our patent."

September 14. An event important in its results takes place. It is the decease of John Harvard, at Charlestown, the colleague of Symmes in the ministry. He dies with a consumption. His wife, Anna, survives him, and is supposed to have married Rev. Thomas Allen. Johnson represents Harvard as having sought this country to enjoy and proclaim the doctrines of the cross, and as an impressive preacher. But what has made him most known among men is his generous bequest to the college, afterwards named for him, and which was one half of his property. Such a gift amounted to about seven hundred and seventy-nine pounds seventeen shillings and two pence — a large sum for the period.

John Phillips goes to Dedham this summer. The people there desire him to become their minister. But "upon waighly reasons occurring, — y<sup>e</sup> publike service of y<sup>e</sup> church and foundation of y<sup>e</sup> colledge, — he was so far perswaded to attend to y<sup>e</sup> call of Cambridge, y<sup>t</sup> we saw no present hopes of him." The persons intending to form a church at Dedham appoint November 8 for such a service, and accordingly give "notice to y<sup>e</sup> magistrates, and by letters unto y<sup>e</sup> several churches."

21. A ship from Barnstaple brings to Boston about eighty emigrants, nearly all from the west of England. They are accompanied by the Rev. Marmaduke Matthews. This person was son of Matthew Matthews, of Swansey, Glamorgan-shire. He entered All Souls, Oxford, February 20, 1623, aged eighteen. His wife, Katherine, was admitted February 10, 1639, to the Boston church. He preached to the inhabitants of Hull.

October. Winthrop remarks, "About two years since, one

Mr. Bernard sent over two books in writing, one to the magistrates and the other to the elders, wherein he laid down arguments against the manner of our gathering our churches, etc." To such objections our elders replied in what they call "An Apologie of the churches of New England against exceptions of Mr. Richard Bernard, minister of Batcombe, in Somersetshire." In the introduction they have the succeeding passage: "It was no parte of our intendment in vndertaking this New English voyage into America to seeke libertie to vent our spirits in censorious invectives against the discipline established in any reformed churches in Europe. Nor can wee see any iust calling thereunto, though others should take libertie to load vs and the order wee walk in with vnkind prejudices and unjust censures." They further observe to him, "The cheifest offence which you have taken is at our church covenant, and such other things as are attended vnto in the admission of members into our churches." They comment on his four considerations, as letters of recommendation, good conduct, relation of Christian experience in presence of a whole congregation, and entrance in covenant, required here as condition of church membership. They state that there is an exception to the giving of a public account of conversion, and that some, unable to do this, are allowed to give the reason of their hope to the elders, as a virtual compliance with such a requisition. They say that this practice is common in "sundry parish churches in England." On the subject of covenants, they inform Mr. Bernard that each church here expresses its covenant according to its pleasure. They also observe, in this connection, that they should no more receive to communion unknown individuals of any churches here without commendatory letters than they would such from the churches in England. As differing from this practice, Mr. Bernard, in his communication, advised them to receive all church members from the mother country, who were not scandalous in morals. To such a proposal, they reply as follows: "Open once the dores of y<sup>e</sup> church soe wide, and in one twelue month (if not in one month) the greatest part of the church will consist of carnall and worldly men. And how shall then the ministers take what course with them they will? If such carnall spirits shall once begine to bandy togeather, (as they will soone feele their own strength,) they will suffer noe ministers nor magistrates to be chosen, nor continue peaceably in their callings, nor take any faithfull, constant course for their reformation, without continuall disturbancies, if not ejections out of their places; for the magistrates are eligible once a yeare by y<sup>e</sup> major part of the freemen of y<sup>e</sup> country, and y<sup>e</sup> major part of y<sup>e</sup> freemen of y<sup>e</sup> country are the members of churches. Soe y<sup>e</sup>, once



admitt y<sup>e</sup> major part of members of churches to be ignorant, carnall men, it will soone come to passe y<sup>t</sup> like people like priest, and like priests and people like magistrates."

Mr. Bernard, in his tenth chapter, made his strictures on the letter of Mr. Cotton to Mr. Skelton, of Salem, on church communion, as previously mentioned. On this topic, our elders remark, that Mr. Cotton says, that he is certain that the copy of such an epistle, as quoted by Mr. Bernard, "is, in a sentence or two, miswritten, even unto nonsense." They continue thus as to Mr. Cotton: "As himself professeth what he then wrote was according to his present judgment at y<sup>t</sup> time, but since vpon better consideration he hath retracted his judgment touching the promiscuous administration of the seals, and being called vpon speciall occasion to preach at Salem in his journey that way, he freely published his retraction thereof to the satisfaccion of that church, least such of them as had sene his letter might stumble at that point, as you doe." He then thought it "an error in Mr. Skelton and the church at Salem here to deny the sacrament to godly men, (living members of y<sup>e</sup> catholique church,) vnless they were alsoe the members of some particular reformed church. The reason which moved him soe to thinke was taken, as appeareth by his letter, from y<sup>e</sup> practise of Philip baptizing the church and of Peter baptizing the centurion, and yet nether y<sup>e</sup> eunuch nor the centurion were members of any particular church, but of y<sup>e</sup> catholique only. But this reason of his he acknowledgeth to be vnsound. The other error which our brother reprooved in Mr. Skelton was, y<sup>t</sup> none of y<sup>e</sup> congregacons in England are particular reformed churches." But he has altered his mind on this also. On chapter second of Mr. Bernard's answer to Mr. Cotton's letter to him, our elders make various remarks. Among them is, "But the covenant of the godfathers and godmothers neither gives right to another man's child, to the covenant or to the scale of it."

About this time the following is prepared: "An Answer\* of the elders of the several churches in New England unto nine positions sent over to them by divers reverend and godly ministers in England, to declare their judgments therein."

Some extracts from the prefatory epistle are here presented. "There want not some brethren amongst us who proceed further, even to look at all set forms of prayer, invented by men of another age or congregation, and prescribed to their brethren to be read out of a book, for the prayers of the church, as images

\* According to the answer made to the thirty-two questions, page 9th, the Apology, and according to pages 24 and 28 of the same answer, the reply to the nine positions were sent to England in 1638. This reply, according to Allen and Shepard, was lost on its passage this year, and another was sent the year after.

or imaginations of men, forbidden in the second commandment. But as we leave them to the liberty of their own judgments without prejudice, so we also concur with the rest of them, so far as we all go in bearing witness against any set forms or corruptions in them. In the mean while, we intreat you, in the Lord, not to suffer such apprehensions to lodge in your minds, which you intimate in your letters, as if we here justified the ways of rigid separation, which sometimes among you we have formerly borne witness against, and so build against the things we have destroyed. You know they separate from your congregations as no churches, from your ordinances dispensed by you as mere anti-Christian, and from yourselves as no visible Christians. But we profess unfeignedly, we separate from the corruptions which we conceive to be left in your churches, and from such ordinances, administered therein, as we fear are not of God, but of men. And for yourselves, we are so far from separating as from no visible Christians as that you are under God in our hearts (if the Lord would suffer it) to live and die together."

The elders proceed to consider the positions on the 277th page of this volume. They remark that among their particular reasons for maintaining the first position is, that the liturgy, not "a form of private prayer, composed for the help" of individuals, but as "used in the English parishes," is chiefly made up of Catholic breviaries and mass books, and that it tends to encourage an unlearned and idle ministry.

With regard to the second, they maintain it, except in churches wherein is "an able, faithful ministry."

As to the third and fourth, they are "for administration of the seals only to such as are members" of the church, and, according to their observations, baptism to the children of such members. At the same time, they remark, "Please you to take notice, that we are not of their judgment, who refuse all religious communion with such as are not church members, nor do we appropriate in this privilege of the seals, only to the members of our own church, excluding all other churches of Christ from the same, though they may be, through error or human frailty, defective in some matters of order, provided that the liberty of our churches be preserved, of receiving such satisfaction as is meet, as well by letters of recommendation from such churches as otherwise."

Relative to the fifth, they reply, "If the question had been, whether the power of excommunication lies in the body of the congregation, [church,] consisting of officers and members, our answer should be affirmative; and according hereunto also is our practice. But seeing the question is, whether what the major

part shall allow, that must be done, though pastors, and governors, and part of the assembly [church] do dissent upon more substantial reasons, our answer is negative, viz., that the power of excommunication is not seated in the congregation, neither ought it to be in any of the churches of our Lord Jesus, who ought not to carry matters by number of votes against God, as this position implieth, but by strength of rule and reason according to God."

Concerning the sixth, they say, "We judge it were expedient and most according to rule, that such brethren as are in covenant with the church and ourselves as fellow-members should not forsake our fellowship, nor abruptly break away from us, when and whether they please; but first approve themselves therein to their brethren's consciences, and their counsel in so weighty a matter." They add, that if a member be set upon leaving the church, "we dare not act against our light by consenting or counselling; yet if his sin be apparent and his danger imminent, we use rather, through indulgence (in cases of like nature,) to suspend our vote against him, as not willing against his will to detain him, abhorring to make our churches places of restraint and imprisonment."

Relative to the seventh, they offer the following: If a minister show that he is unfit and unworthy to discharge the duties for which his church called him, they may depose him from his office. But if they "without sufficient cause set him aside," they do wrong; "other churches may admonish them for it, and if they prove obstinate therein, withdraw the right hand of fellowship," and he, "until he accepts of a call to another people, still remains a minister of Christ, in whose account (notwithstanding such a deposition) he hath true right of administration amongst the people."

As to the eighth, they reply, that the minister of one church is allowed here to "exercise his gifts of praying and preaching in another" church, being desired so to do, but not to dispense of "God's ordinance, as a minister doth perform it to the church, whereunto he is called to be an overseer."

With regard to the ninth, they say that there has been a wrong report given; that "members of other churches, well known and approved, by virtue of communion of churches, do mutually, and without exceptions, communicate each of them at other's churches, even as often as God's providence leads them thereunto, and themselves desire it."

Mr. Cotton replies to a work on set forms of prayer, sent from England, and supposed to be by Mr. Ball.

October 15. We are told by Josselyn that Robert Foster sails for Nantasket, and next day preaches on board of the vessel in which he was.

1638.]

November 7. The persons who purpose to form a church at Dedham keep a day of fasting and prayer, and adopt a form of covenant which accorded in general with similar instruments in the New England churches. With such preparation, a record is made, on the 8th, of what their delegates said to Winthrop, respecting the law which forbade any church to be formed, unless with the consent of other churches. It runs thus: "But in giving notice to y<sup>e</sup> governor hereof, (their purposed association,) we understood by some y<sup>t</sup> y<sup>e</sup> General Court had ordained y<sup>t</sup> no churches should be gathered without y<sup>e</sup> advice of other churches, which we conceived might be prejudicial to the liberty of God's people, and some seeds of usurpation upon liberties of y<sup>e</sup> gospell whereof we desyred y<sup>e</sup> gov<sup>r</sup> to informe us of y<sup>e</sup> law and the true intent thereof; which he professed was only this: y<sup>t</sup> y<sup>e</sup> court or law did no way intend to abridge such a liberty of gathering into church fellowship privately, as if it were unlawful, or as if such a church were not a true church, rightly gathered; but y<sup>e</sup> scope was this: y<sup>t</sup> if any people of unsound judgment or erroneous way, etc., should privately sett up a church amongst them, y<sup>e</sup> commonwealth could not so approue them as to communicate that freedom and other priviledges unto them which they did unto others, or protect them in their government, if they saw their way dangerous to y<sup>e</sup> publicke peace, which answer gave us satisfaction in y<sup>e</sup> scruple." These persons are formed into a church "with good approbation."

28. Robert Peck, who had been a preacher at Hingham, in Norfolk, of Old England, is ordained teacher at Hingham, of this colony. He became freeman here March 13, 1639. He received his A. M. at Magdalen College, Cambridge, in 1603. He returned to England in 1641, with his wife and son Joseph.

29. As an event calculated to affect the interests of New England, the General Assembly of Scotland, being ordered to dissolve, declare, that "they would not desert the work of the Lord, and that to interrupt their sitting was to contramand and prejudice the prerogative of Jesus Christ, and the liberties of the kirk."

December 2. Ezekiel Rogers, who came over the preceding summer with a company of his parishioners, is in Boston. He was second son of Richard Rogers, of Weathersfield, in Essex county. He was born 1590, had his A. B. at Bennett College, 1604, and his A. M. at Christ's, Cambridge, 1608. He became chaplain, for six years, in the family of Sir Francis Barrington, at Hatfield, Essex. This person presented him to the benefice of Rowley, Yorkshire. Here his labors, for thirty years, were greatly blessed. Suspended from his ministry for his non-conformist scruples, he sought a refuge in this country. He desires

to commune with the Boston church. He had previously satisfied the elders with his meetness for the privilege, who mentioned his case to the members. In accordance with the custom, he is called by the elders, and gives an account of his views before the sacrament is administered, so that the communicants might judge of his preparation to unite with them on this occasion. He relates that he and his associates had withdrawn from communion with the church of England for a considerable period. For this he gives the succeeding reasons: because it was a national church; was under a hierarchy, which he considered entirely anti-Christian; had a "dead service;" received and even compelled all to partake of the seals; and abused "excommunications, wherein they enwrap many a godly minister, by causing him to pronounce their sentence, etc., they not knowing that the *fear* of the excommunication lies in that." Still he did acknowledge that the presence of God was with such a church "in three things, in the soundness of doctrine in all fundamental truths, in the excellency of ministerial gifts, and in the blessing upon the same for the work of conversion and for the power of religion, in all which there appeared more in England than in all the known world besides." He observes, that notwithstanding he allows these attributes to the church of England, he and his followers cannot conscientiously hold fellowship with them, on account of their corruptions. Then he and his people with him confess their error in continuing so long as they did to commune with the English church. This done, they covenant with each other to walk in all the ordinances.

December 4. Mary, the wife of Thomas Oliver, of Salem, is arraigned before the Court of Assistants, on charges of disturbing the congregation there. She is ordered to be imprisoned till surety be given for her appearance. Jane, wife of Joshua Verin, of that town, is examined before the same body for neglect of public worship. Her case is referred to the magistrates where she resided. Of Mrs. Oliver we have an account from Winthrop. She had suffered in England for refusing to bow when the name of Jesus was mentioned in church, as the order required under Laud. As to speech, zeal, and devotion, she exceeded Mrs. Hutchinson. She did not feel obligated to give a reason for her hope in Christ, and enter into covenant with the Salem church before she could commune with them in the Lord's supper. On a sacrament day she pleaded her right there to join in such an ordinance without a formal compliance with the conditions. Mr. Endicott said that her conduct was irregular, and that he must commit her to an officer unless she desisted. Being accused of a breach of the peace for this act, she

was arraigned, as previously stated. After a few days' imprisonment, she expressed regret for disturbing the Salem congregation, and was released on the bond of her husband. Her leading opinions were as follow: "That the church is the head of the people, both magistrates and ministers met together, and that these have power to ordain ministers; that all that dwell in the same town, and will profess their faith in Christ Jesus, ought to be received to the sacrament there; and that she was persuaded that, if Paul were at Salem, he would call all the inhabitants there saints; that excommunication is no other but when Christians withdraw private communion from one that hath offended."

December 4. John Haslewood and Gyles Player, guilty of several thefts and breaking into houses, are sentenced to be severely whipped, and delivered as slaves to any whom the Court of Assistants shall appoint.

13. A general Fast is observed. Reasons assigned for it are, prevalence of small-pox and fevers, and decay of religion in the churches. Mr. Cotton discourses, among his people of Boston, on the manner in which he and others had been deceived by errors of the Antinomians. He gives it as his opinion that the principal leaders of them had been justly banished. He proposes that others of them, who had been led away, or were actuated by a misguided conscience, should be fined and imprisoned, rather than be excluded from the colony.

Mr. Cotton states \* that many of the Boston church, who had been supporters of Mrs. Hutchinson's cause, declined from her after having fuller views of her doctrines. He also relates as evidence, that John Wheelwright did not approve of all his sister's opinions; that her followers, at Rhode Island, repeatedly urged him to settle there with them, but he refused, "because of the corruption of their judgments, professing often, whilst they pleaded for the covenant of grace, they took away the grace of the covenant."

31. A village is granted by Salem to Mr. Phillips and company. This grant seems to have been what was long known as Salem Village. Phillips was probably named John, who had preached at Dedham. He was received as a townsman of Salem, January 21, 1640, and granted land on condition of remaining. If the person supposed, he had his A. B. 1614, and his A. M. 1618, at Emanuel College, Cambridge. He and his wife were received into Dedham church the 31st of May, 1641, and embarked for England the next October 26.

This year, Sir Symond d'Ewes, in his autobiography, gives

\* Way of the Congregational Churches Cleared, pp. 57, 58, 61.

his views of our colonists. He commences with those who came over with Winthrop in 1630. "Many of them with their entire families, to avoid the burthens and snares which were here laid upon their consciences, departed thither; where they, having, in the first place, taken care for the honor and service of God, and next for their own safety and subsistence, have, beyond the hopes of their friends and to the astonishment of their enemies, raised such forts, built so many towns, brought into culture so much ground, and so dispersed and enriched themselves, as all men may see, whom malice blindeth not nor impiety transverseth, that the very finger of God hath hitherto gone with them and guided them." "I am confident that they do, most of them, in the main, aim simply at God's glory, and to reduce the public service of God to that power and purity which it enjoyed in the primitive times. Vices and sins are so severely punished amongst them, and the godly so countenanced and advanced, as in that respect it seems to be a true type of heaven itself; whereas, in other parts of the world where the Protestant religion is in show professed, the most honest and pious men are, for the most part, maligned, scoffed at, and disgraced. Very careful are they to preserve amongst themselves the unity of doctrine, having banished divers Familists\* and other schismatics out of their church; of which some, finding no harbor there, returned back to England. Their enemies also have, at several times, given out reports that a bishop and a governor should be sent amongst them, to force upon them the yoke of our ceremonies and intermixtures, as to deter others from going. And, indeed, at this time, the same report was more likely to be fulfilled than ever before or since, for one Sir Ferdinando Gorges was nominated for governor, and there was a consultation had to send him thither with a thousand soldiers. A ship was now in building, and near finished to transport him by sea, and much fear there was amongst the godly lest that infant commonwealth and church should have been ruined by him; when God, that had carried so many weak and crazy ships thither, so provided it, that this strong, new-built ship, in the very launching fell all to pieces, no man knew how, this spring ensuing, and so preserved his dear children there, at this present, from that fatal danger; nor hath suffered them as yet to come under the like fear. My constant prayer and hope is, that God will perpetuate a glorious church there, to the world's end, which his own right hand hath so wonderfully planted, and that he will lead them into all truth, and not suffer them to err or dissent in the least."

\* Followers of Henry Nicholas, the founder of a denomination called the Family of Love.

1639, January 30. A church is gathered at Weymouth, according to Winthrop, with the approbation of magistrates and elders. It had been formed, but did not continue, because of irregularity in the first proceedings. It appears that the people there intended to settle Robert Lenthall as their minister, and they accordingly invited him, being of good report in England. When he came among them, he gave indications of having embraced some of Mrs. Hutchinson's theories. One of these was, that justification preceded faith. He also held that all the requisite for church membership should be baptism. He was persuaded by arguments to retract the former opinion, but he retained the latter. There was an attempt made to collect a church on the plan he approved, and many subscribed for its being done. He was active to promote the project. This subjected him to arraignment before the legislature.

February 20. An occurrence calculated to strengthen the hopes of our authorities that their liberties would stand, takes place. The Scots resolve on a war with the king and his supporters. The leaders assure the people that if they do not join in the conflict, they must expect Popery and bondage. They make themselves masters of Edinburgh, and apply to the French king for assistance. On June 17, a peace is made between Charles I. and the Scots, in which it is agreed that all their ecclesiastical matters shall be left to the kirk, and civil concerns to the Parliament.

March 13. As a means of defence for civil and ecclesiastical privileges, the artillery company are allowed by the legislature, and granted one thousand acres of land, the income of which is to help meet their charges.

John Smith is summoned before them. He is accused of disturbing the public peace by combining with others to hinder the orderly gathering of the church at Weymouth, and to establish another there, contrary to order, by procuring many subscribers to a paper for such an object. He is fined twenty pounds, and confined at pleasure of the court or council. Richard Silvester, for cooperating with him, is fined two pounds and disfranchised. Ambrose Martin, of the same side, is tried for epithets expressing his strong dislike to the exercise of ecclesiastical rule. He is fined ten pounds, and advised to wait on Richard Mather for instruction. Thomas Makepeace is informed by the court that, "because of his novel disposition," they are "very weary of him, unless he reform." James Brittain, for speaking reproachfully of some elders, of the reply to Bernard's book, and for abetting the course of Lenthall, is ordered to be whipped eleven stripes, because he has no property to pay his fine. Lenthall apologizes to the court for the part he had acted at Weymouth.



He is to appear at their next session, repeat the same apology, hand a copy of it to the church there, and give them satisfaction. Lechford remarks of him, "A minister standing upon his ministry as of the church of England, and arguing against their covenant, and being elected by some of Weymouth to be their minister, was compelled to recant some words."

A Fast is appointed for the 4th of April, "to seek the face of God and reconciliation with him by our Lord Jesus Christ in all the churches," because of "novelties, excess, superfluity, idleness, contempt of authority, and troubles in other parts."

For the commemoration of Harvard's beneficence to the college, it is ordered to be called after his name. A plantation was begun at Colchester, as Winthrop relates. It was subsequently named Salisbury. A church was formed here the year before. William Worcester was their first pastor.

This month, as an efficient means of promoting the cause for which our fathers came hither, the printing press, provided by the generous exertions of Mr. Glover, is set up at Cambridge, by Stephen Day.

April. Ezekiel Rogers, "a man of special note in England for his zeal, piety, and other parts," settles with his company at the place afterwards called Rowley, from the town where he was minister before coming to New England. He had spent the winter at Salem. The leading men of New Haven were very urgent to have him take up his abode in their colony. He had been so much inclined to favor their wish, that some of his people went thither in the fall. Sending for them to return in a pinnace, Davenport and Eaton detained her till they could send letters to him with a stronger invitation, and receive an answer. This renewed application he laid before the elders here, who decided that he was under no obligation to comply with it, and the result was, that he proceeded with his plantation. John Miller,\* who received his A. B. at Gon. and Caius College, Cambridge, 1627, became an assistant, in the ministry, to Rogers.

The particulars of choosing a church's officers by its own members being more minutely described than common in the Dedham records, we here give them as a specimen of what the general practice appears to have been. Prior to the meeting now to be considered, the church had agreed that they possessed the power to ordain their own officers. They had designated John Allin, Ralph Wheelock,† and Edward Allin, to ordain John

\* He was made freeman of Massachusetts, May 22, 1639. He had land granted him as late as November 10, 1643-4, at Rowley.

† Wheelock was born in Shropshire, England, in 1600, had his A. B. in 1626, and his A. M. in 1631, at Clare Hall, Cambridge, and came to New England 1637

Hunting for ruling elder, and the three last of these to ordain the first as pastor. On the 24th, they observe a day of fasting and prayer as preparatory to the performance of these duties. Hunting leads in devotional service: J. Allin speaks from 1 Cor. iii. 9, then prays and addresses the brethren as to their purpose in the business before them. He desires them to lift their hands, if ready for Hunting's induction into office, which they do, and if minded to obey him as their ruling elder, to give like indication, which they also do. He addresses Hunting, and asks him if he would discharge the obligations of his intended place, and he replies in the affirmative. He then inquires of the church whom they intend to aid in the work. They particularize the individuals already named, and empower them to proceed by the erection of hands. Wheelock and E. Allin approach the seat where J. Allin and Hunting are. Three of these having laid hands on the head of Hunting, accompanied with a prayer and charge, J. Allin closes by these words: "In the name of the Lord Jesus, and by his power committed to this church, we doe ordaine thee, John Hunting, unto the office of ruling elder in this church of Christ." After this, Hunting "proceeded to propound things to the church about Mr. John Allin for a pastour, after the same manner as before expressed, and after election by a generall vote of the church, and an humble acceptation of the same, he, with y<sup>e</sup> other two brethren, laying on hands with solemn prayer, etc., in the name of Christ and his church did ordaine him to y<sup>e</sup> office of a pastour, which worke being accomplished y<sup>e</sup> elders of other churches present, by Mr. Whiting, pastour of y<sup>e</sup> church at Linn, testified ther loue and approbation of y<sup>e</sup> proceedings of y<sup>e</sup> church by giving to y<sup>e</sup> officers chosen y<sup>e</sup> right hand of fellowship."

On the Sabbath after these ordinations, baptism of the children is administered; and the Sabbath next to this, the communion service is attended, as follows: "The pastour, after y<sup>e</sup> sermon and dismissal of y<sup>e</sup> assembly, inviting y<sup>e</sup> church in y<sup>e</sup> name of Christ to such duties as concerned y<sup>e</sup> present ordinance, being not full halfe an houre; after which he fell to confession and prayer sutable to y<sup>e</sup> time; then consecrating y<sup>e</sup> bread with a short prayer and application of y<sup>e</sup> word of institution, he brake breade, and taking a piece out of the platter, sett it towards y<sup>e</sup> rest, usinge y<sup>e</sup> words of Christ, 'Take and cate; this is my body,' etc. After all had received, he consecrated y<sup>e</sup> cup in y<sup>e</sup> same manner, and, drinking of it, delivered it to y<sup>e</sup> rest, and bad them all drink of it, etc.; which being finished, he concluded with thanksgiving, and then sung a psalme, and dismissed y<sup>e</sup> church with a blessing."

The custom of Dedham church was, when the pastor and

ruling elder believed any persons fit to join them in covenant, that the latter person propounded them ; and if no objection was made, he appointed a day for the brethren to meet and examine the candidates, and hear their profession of faith. If, after this, no valid dissatisfaction was expressed with the candidates, the pastor received them in the name of the church.

May 2. The position is maintained by Cotton, according to Winthrop, that when congregations will not support their ministers, unless required by law, their piety is on the decline. He shows that such support should be granted by voluntary contributions, and not by lands, revenues, and tithes, because these had been always attended with pride, contention, and sloth.

6. Winthrop informs us that he receives letters from Cradock, in one of which is another communication from the lords commissioners. These say that the petition from the Bay for the continuance of their charter had reached them, and that they perceived by it that there were jealousies and fears here of their intentions, that they mean to have all plantations in subjection to their commission, though with the allowance of their liberties ; that they "again peremptorily require" the charter to be forwarded by the first ship ; that the rulers here may govern until a new patent is sent them ; "and, withal, they added threats of further course to be taken" with the authorities here if they neglected to comply. Though the commissioners may have supposed that the planters here could enjoy such liberties as suited the meridian of London without their charter, yet the holders of this precious document could not be convinced but that its relinquishment would open upon them evils of oppression, varied and multiplied. They had the bird in hand, and were resolved never to let it go, unless compelled beyond their power of resistance.

22. The demand, thus repeated, for the surrender of the document which guaranteed their political and religious privileges, is taken into consideration by the General Court. They agree that, as it was not regularly communicated to their chief magistrate, they would not reply on the subject.

Maurice Tompson, merchant of London, and others, are permitted to revive the plantation at Gloucester. None are to inhabit there without leave of the superintendents. Thomas Rashley, a member of the Boston church, is employed as their preacher.

John Smith, of Weymouth, having been fined and imprisoned, submits, has part of his fine remitted, and is discharged, with his surety. Richard Gridley, on acknowledging his fault and satisfying the court, is readmitted to the freedom of the company.

Mrs. Harding, of the former church, has her trial deferred

till next session. In the mean while, she is referred to them, so that they may use more endeavors to rectify her opinions. She is the wife of Robert Harding, who, having made concessions to Mr. Wilson, is discharged. He soon goes to Rhode Island. Richard Brown, of Watertown, whose religious difficulties have been related, is fined for going to Connecticut without leave from the court or council. He is released the next month, and the town is fined for sending him thither.

A Fast is appointed, June 14, "for want of rain and help of brethren in distress." These appear to have been dissenters in England, who wished to emigrate hither, but were prevented by the royal restrictions. Many of them moved to the Low Countries.

While the legislature considered the designation of the Fast, they mentioned the prevalent sins, and desired the churches to attempt a reformation of them.

The authorities request Peters to negotiate in Holland for five hundred pounds of saltpetre and forty pounds worth of match on the public account. It is likely, that such provision is thus secretly made in case of invasion by order of the lords commissioners, and so that it may not come to their knowledge.

June 6. Edward Palmer, for charging what the court thought was too much for stuff and work of stocks which he made for Boston, is fined five pounds, and sentenced to sit one hour in them. Henry Fane, having been imprisoned ten days for reproachful speeches against the elders, is dismissed, and admonished to beware of the like practice, and of "his atheistical expressions."

Among the efficient helpers of the colony, who are granted lands for their services, are Hugh Peters, five hundred acres; Thomas Weld, two hundred; Peter Bulkley, three hundred; Thomas Allen, five hundred, "in regard of Mr. Harvard's gift;" John Wilson, one thousand, at Pequod; and, on November 5, John Norton, two hundred acres.

Lest their freedom of church as well as of state should be imperiled, there is a dislike of the people manifested against the further election of the standing council for life, who were chosen in 1636. On this account, the legislature enact, "that no such counselor, so chosen, or hereafter to be chosen, shall be accounted a magistrate, nor that any acts of power to be done by any such shall be of force and warrantable, except he or they shall be chosen to some place of magistracy here by annual election, according to the tenure of the patent; and that no counselor shall have power of judicature as a counselor, but as a magistrate, and that all orders which appoint any of the council to do any act shall be intended that they shall do such things as magistrates, and not as counselors."

The court empower themselves, or any two magistrates out of their body, to decide questions about the "settling and providing for poor persons," and to locate unsettled "persons and families" in such towns as they may judge best for their maintenance as well as for the colony.

At this period, much alarm had prevailed here in view of the threatening stand which the lords commissioners had taken against this colony, because of the many adverse reports sent home about their government, and of their neglect to deliver up their charter. But suddenly it is lessened by the arrival of ships from English and other ports, "with great store of people and provisions of all sorts." Such a revival of commerce and immigration shows that the restrictions upon them had become ineffectual.

This year, Francis, the son of Francis Higginson, deceased, unites with the Salem church. Cotton Mather informs us that he taught school at Cambridge, and represents him as having made laudable acquisitions in learning; that, being desirous to study in Europe, he was recommended to persons in Rotterdam, and that some Dutch merchants, out of respect for his scholarship, contributed eighty pounds to assist him in his studies at Leyden. So favored, probably through the recommendation of Hugh Peters, well acquainted in Holland, Higginson, having visited several universities, went to England. Here he was invited to settle in different places, but was ordained at Kirby-Steven, Westmoreland. Many of his people becoming the disciples of George Fox, he published "the first book ever written" against them, entitled, *The Irreligion of Northern Quakers*. The *Magnalia* says that he "was the author of a Latin treatise, *De quinque maximis Luminibus — De Luce Increata, De Luce Creatâ, De Lumine Naturæ, Gratiæ, et Gloriæ*; and having illuminated the house of God in that part of it where our Lord had set him to shine, he went away to the light of glory," 1670, "in the fifty-fifth year of his age."

John, son of Rev. Nathaniel Ward, comes to this country. He was born at Haverhill, England, November 5, 1606; had his A. B. in 1626, and his A. M. in 1630, at Emanuel College, Cambridge; was made rector of Hadley, in Suffolk, 1633, but was obliged to leave this office, on account of his Puritan principles. After coming hither, he was ordained pastor of the new settlers at Haverhill, in 1641, and so continued the labors of his faithful ministry.

Jonathan Burr comes to Massachusetts with his wife and three children. He was born 1604, at Redgrave, in Suffolk, had pious parents, and from a child was trained up in an acquaintance with the Scriptures. He had his A. B. in 1623, and his

A. M. in 1627, at Bennet College, Cambridge; began his ministerial exercises at Horningsheath, in Suffolk, and then, as rector, at Rickinghall, of the same county, with great acceptance and usefulness. But unable to continue his conformity with the requisitions of the national church, he was deposed. On this occasion, he said, "My preaching is my life. If I be laid aside from that, I shall quickly die." Thus impressed, he came to our shores, that he might dispense divine truth without hinderance. He becomes colleague, February, 1640, to Richard Mather, of Dorchester. Having discoursed to a crowded assembly at Charlestown, with Thomas Hooker for one of his hearers, this divine remarked of him, "Surely, this man will not be long out of heaven. He preaches as if he were there already." The remark was soon verified. Taken sick, he died in ten days. A short time before he expired, he affectionately said to his wife, "Cast thy care upon God, for he careth for thee." His death was on August 9, 1641, aged thirty-seven years. We have cause to believe that he then commenced the perfect and blessed experience of the words he had recently used in a covenant with the Lord, "In myself I am nothing, in Christ all things." His widow, Frances, married Richard Dummer, of Newbury, where she deceased November 19, 1682, aged seventy. His children were Jonathan, John, and Simon. He crossed the ocean with the strong wish to labor long in helping to build up the spiritual interests of our colony, but a wise Providence called him to a far higher and endless service.

At a Quarter Court on June 4, Samuel Norman is sentenced to be whipped for saying that, if ministers who come hither will but rail against England, some are sure to receive them.

June 9. Rev. Thomas Allen, who joined Boston church January 27, is dismissed to Charlestown church. He was son of John Allen, a dyer of Norwich, England, and was born 1608. He had his first degree 1627, and his second 1631, at Caius College, Cambridge. He became minister of St. Edmund's Church, Norwich, where he was silenced in 1636 for refusing to read the Book of Sports. He came over in 1638. His first wife was Anne Sadler, of Patcham, Sussex, who accompanied him hither. He afterwards married the widow of Major Robert Sedgwick, who died 1656.

July 1. The Salem church \* write to the Dorchester church, through their pastor, Hugh Peters, as follows: "Reuerend and deerly beloued in the Lord. Wee thought it our bounden duty to acquaynt you with the names of such persons as haue had the great censure past vpon them in this our church, with the

\* Hutchinson's Manuscript Collection.

reasons therof; beseeching you in the Lord not only to reade their names in publike to yours, but also to giue vs the like notice of any dealt with in like manner by you, that so wee may walke towards them accordingly; for some of vs here haue had communion ignorantly with such as haue bin cast out of other churches. 2 Thes. iii. 14. Wee can doe no lesse then haue such noted as disobey the truth.

Roger Williams and his wife,  
John Throckmorton and his wife,  
Thomas Olney and his wife,  
Stukely Westcot and his wife,  
Mary Halliman,  
Widdow Reeues.

These wholly refused  
to hear the church, de-  
nying it and all the  
churches of the Bay to  
bee true churches, and  
(except two) are all re-  
baptized.

John Elford for obstinacy after diuers syns hee stood guilty of and proued by witnes. William James for pride and diuers other euills, in which hee remayned obstinate. John Talby for much pride and vnnaturalnes to his wife, who was lately executed for murdering her child. William Walcot for refusing to bring his child to the ordinance, neglecting willingly family duties, etc.

Thus wishing the continued enioyment of both the staues, (Beauty and Bands,) and that your soules may flowrish as watered gardens, rest yours in the Lord Jesus.

HU: PETER,

By the churches order, and in her name."

August 30. As having a favorable effect to hinder the declared resolutions of the lords commissioners to enforce the surrender of the Massachusetts charter, the General Assembly of Scotland, being in session at Edinburgh, order the covenant,\* against the impositions of English hierarchy, to be signed throughout their kingdom. Their Parliament, convened on the 31st, confirm the same injunction. Such a stand is not suited to preserve their treaty with King Charles, whose forces had recently met theirs, and a battle was prevented by an agreement to settle their differences. Still the bishops in England are vigilant and active to regain the ground they had lost. They keep a strict hand upon the Puritans in their sees, and allow no sermons with the prominent doctrines of Calvinism.

Our ministers make the succeeding replies, for substance, to the thirty-two questions on the 278-282 pages of this volume.

"1. 'All the English and others also are freely admitted to be present in our congregations,' when engaged in public worship. 'In the churches in the Bay, we may truly say, that for

\* Neal's Puritans. Salmon. Rushworth.

the heads of families, those that are admitted are far more in number than the other, besides whom there are likewise sundry children and servants that are admitted.' Only persons who give evidence of piety are allowed to unite with our churches.

2. As to quality, godliness, number, no more than 'in the days of the New Testament, but so many as may meet in one congregation,' and form the uniting of visible Christians into one body by a holy covenant.

3. 'Church privileges do not belong to believers, as such, but only to such as withall are members of some particular church.'

4. 'We do not believe that baptism doth make men members of the church, nor that it is to be administered to them that are without the church as the way and means to bring them in, but to them that are within the church, as a seal to confirm the covenant of God unto them.'

5, 6. 'When parents are admitted' to the church, 'their children are thereupon baptized.' For the latter to partake of the Lord's supper, and share in all other privileges of the church when of suitable age and experience, they must publicly profess their faith, and own the covenant. We are not prepared to say 'how long children should be counted under age, or whether orphans are not to be admitted with their guardians. We should be willing to hear your judgment therein, 'as having of ourselves hitherto had no occasion to search into these questions; only this we think, that one certain rule cannot be given for all. God gives experience and maturity of natural understanding and spiritual sooner to some than others.'

7. We baptize children, one or both of whose parents is or are members of the church. We should be glad to hear from you on 1 Cor. vii. 14, which seems, in our opinions, thus to limit such 'federal sanctity.'

8. We hear candidates for admission to the church 'speak concerning the gift and grace of justifying faith in their souls, and the manner of God with them in working it in their hearts; we hear them speak what they do believe concerning the doctrine of faith. Hereby we would prevent the creeping in of any into the church, that may be infected with corrupt opinions; 'having done this and being approved, they 'openly profess their subjection to the gospel of Christ, and to all the ordinances of God in that church' with which they unite, and they also engage not to leave such church without permission from its members.

9. We hold that the churches of England, who believe the Thirty-nine Articles, and 'bind themselves and their children to continue therein,' are true churches, though they may have their



deficiencies. But we are not without fear of other churches, who have been corrupted as to 'constitution, worship, discipline, and ministry.' 'If we were in England, we should willingly join in some parts of God's true worship, and, namely, in hearing the word where it is truly preached.'

10. We have never known such cases entirely as you particularize. Persons noted for piety, who, when coming hither, were not allowed to commune with our churches, brought no testimonial from the church to which they belonged. 'If the things you mention were all to be found, yet it would be also requisite, if they would partake of church ordinances with us, and yet not join to any of our churches, that we should know the congregation itself, from which they come, not only to be a true church, but also what manner of one it is.' A main reason why some godly men from England have not been received to our church ordinances is, that we know not the churches to which they belonged, nor did such members have any recommendation from them. At the same time, sojourners from adjacent colonies among us have been admitted to commune with us, because of our better acquaintance with their churches. When any of them come to reside with us, 'they are not received into our churches but upon the very terms and in the same manner as men are received that come from England, viz., upon personal profession of their faith, and entering into church covenant; and the same we say of such as come from any of the churches in other countries.'

11. 'Standing in parish assemblies, where a man shall and must conform to the corruptions of men in doctrine or worship, or the government of the church, is not lawful for any to be continued in. To live in the want of an ordinance of Christ is not lawful, nor can be done safely without sin of them to whom the providence of God doth open a door of further enlargement.'

12. Though every true believer should be united with some visible church, when in a situation to do it properly, yet there may be such as are not so connected, and yet are members of the invisible church.

13. Every church substantially acquainted with the doctrines of Scripture may choose and depose their ministers, with the assistance of churches in communion with them, by way of advice, and not of authority.

14. The words of Christ, 'Where two or three are gathered together in my name, do plainly imply, that if there be a greater number than two or three, whom they, being not satisfied in the answer of an offender, may appeal unto, and in so doing tell the church, such a small number may be a church, and may

have the blessing of his presence to be among them.' Though a small church may not have the ability to exercise government which a larger one has, yet they have a similar right. Of course, the former, as a general thing, would need more advice than the latter in difficult questions.

15. 'A government merely popular or democratical (which divines or orthodox writers do so much condemn in Morellius) is far from the practice of these churches. When this question demandeth whether we give the exercise of all church power of government to the whole congregation [church], or to the presbyters thereof alone, our answer is, Neither thus nor so; neither all to the people, excluding the presbyter, nor all to the presbytery, excluding the people. The calling of assemblies and dismissing of the same again; the ordinary preaching of the word, which is done by way of office, and being the people's mouth unto God in prayer; dispensing of baptism and the Lord's supper; permitting any to speak in an orderly way, and again enjoining silence; putting matters to vote, and pronouncing of sentence in the censure of offenders; or receiving in of penitents after their fall, and blessing of the people in the name of the Lord,—these are acts of church government, which the presbyters may do according to the word, and another may not do without breach of order.' Presbyters, in the performance of their duty, can do nothing but what the church should approve. They should rule as stewards. 'This they do more than other members, inasmuch 'as acting is more than consenting.' They govern all the flock over whom the Holy Ghost hath made them overseers.

16. Women do not vote in our church concerns.

17. 'The major part of the church, yea, usually the whole church, do consent and agree in one judgement. If the elders and major part of the church consent in one conclusion, yet if any brother dissent, he is patiently heard, and his alledgements of Scripture or good reasons are duly weighed; if it appear that his judgement is according to the rule, the whole church will readily yield, though before they were otherwise minded. But if it appear they who dissent from the major part are factiously or partially carried, the rest labor to convince them of their error by the rule. If they yield, the consent of all comfortably concurrereth in the same. If they still continue obstinate, they are admonished; and so standing under censure, their vote is nullified. If they, without obstinate opposition of the rest, do dissent still, yet refer the matter to the judgement of the major part of the body, they are not wont to proceed to sentence (if the matter be weighty, as in excommunication) till the reasons on both sides have been duly pondered, and all

brotherly means have been used for mutual information and conviction. If the difference still continue, the sentence (if the matter be weighty) is still demurred, even till other churches have been consulted with, who, in such a case, will send their elders to communicate their apprehensions and light, which they do not *pro imperio*, binding the church to rest in their dictates, but by propounding their grounds from the Scripture. These courses, with God's presence and blessing, (which usually accompany his ordinance,) faithfully taken and followed, will prevail either to settle one unanimous consent in the thing, or, at least, to preserve peace in the church by the dissenter's submission to the judgment of the major part.'

18. 'As for a platform of doctrine and discipline,' it may be lawful and expedient, in some cases, for 'churches to compile and set forth' such a document. But if you mean that such a platform shall be imposed on all to the very letter, without the least shade of difference among them, then we are doubtful whether it 'be lawful or expedient.' 'The consociation of churches into classes and synods we hold to be lawful, and, in some cases, necessary. But when you speak of doing no weighty matter without the consent of classes, we dare not so far restrain particular churches, as fearing this would be to give the classes an undue power. The sentence' of classes or synod, or council, 'is of itself only of advice, not of compulsion or constraint, and brings with it a judgment ministerial, not authority of itself, nor necessity. Whereunto we do wholly consent.'

19. Each church should adopt the laws of Christ for its government. Such 'laws do oblige all the members, and may not be omitted without sin.'

20. 'The outward calling of a minister consisteth properly and essentially in election by the people. We look at ordination by imposition of hands as a solemn investing of men into their places, whereto they have right and calling by election. Ordination depends upon election, as the inauguration of a magistrate depends upon election, succession, or some other constitutional equivalent. The right of imposition of hands is not absolutely necessary to the essence of a pastor, any more than the coronation to the essence of a king.'

21. Ordination of ministers is a public act, and they who perform it cannot be called private persons in that action. Brethren of a church elect their officers, and, as this is greater than ordination, they may ordain their ministers. 'If a church have ministers or elders before, then this ordination is to be performed by the elders of the church and in their assembly, as also many other acts are to be performed by them. This ordination, thus performed by the elders for the church, may fitly be called

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the act of the whole church. But when a church hath no officers, but the first officers themselves are to be ordained, then this ordination by the rite of imposing hands may be performed for the church by the most prime, grave, and able men from among themselves, as the church shall depute hereunto.'

22. Pastor and teacher have various duties in common. Both preach by way of doctrine and application, and administer the seals. Still there is a difference between them. The teacher 'is principally to attend upon points of knowledge and doctrine, though not without application,' and therefore his work is 'thus expressed, Let him attend on teaching;' but the pastor's principal duty is to preach on 'points of practice, though not without doctrine,' and hence his work is 'to attend on exhortation.'

23. While our ruling elders are accounted worthy of double honor, especially so are our preaching elders.

24, 25. Answered in those 'sent the last year.'

26. 'We do believe that every minister of the gospel ought to be maintained with sufficient and honorable maintenance, according to his need and occasions, in regard of his person, calling, charge of children, and hospitality, not as alms, but as a debt, to be paid, according to the rule of justice, from year to year.'

27. We think it proper for laymen, who are qualified, to prophesy before the congregation when occasion requires, as the absence or ill health of ministers.

28. Ministers do not call on their people in time of public worship to ask questions, though some think it right for hearers to do this, while others entertain a different opinion. 'True it is, in the times a little afore the synod, divers that were infected with corrupt opinions were very bold and forward in this kind of asking questions after sermons, especially when they heard something delivered publicly that did make against their tenets. But now these men are (the greatest part of them) to an island (called Aquedneck) departed from amongst us. A man may now live from one end of the year to another in these congregations, and not hear any man open his mouth in such kind of asking questions.'

29. 'To restrain the efficacy of God's word in such sort as to say that none can be converted by it unless he that speaks it be a minister, is to limit the Spirit of the Lord where he hath not limited himself, who is free in working by whom he will and as he will.'

30. In 'the substantial or general circumstances, for aught we know, there is no material point, either in point of constitution or government, wherein the churches of New England do

not observe the same course, only that conformity to the liturgy and ceremonies in some places to the northward, that Anabaptism at Providence, and Familism at Aquedneck, hinders that we cannot say the same of them.'

31. 'Who must have liberty to sit down in this commonwealth, and enjoy the liberties thereof, is not our place to determine, but the magistrates', who are the rulers and governors of the commonwealth, and of all persons within the same. If that discipline which we here practice be (as we are persuaded of it) the same which Christ hath appointed, and therefore unalterable, we see not how another can be lawful; and therefore, if a company of people shall come hither, and here set up and practice another, we pray you think not much if we cannot promise to approve of them in so doing, especially until we see how approvable the men may be, and what discipline it is that they would set up.'

32. 'This was answered in the answer to Positions 1 and 2, sent unto you the last year.'"

September 1. Philip, admitted to Boston church, as the widow Hammond, now wife to Robert Harding, is excommunicated "for having said in open court, that Mrs. Hutchinson neither deserved the censure which was put upon her in the church nor in the common weal."

3. John Kitchen is fined ten shillings, at a Quarter Court, for showing books to others which he was ordered to leave with the governor and no one else. Thomas Lechford, for conversing with a jury out of court, is debarred from pleading any cause except his own, and "admonished not to meddle beyond what he shall be called to" by the authorities. This was probably the cause which induced him to hasten his departure for England, and of the publication of his remarks on our colonies.

9. At a session of the legislature, adjourned to this date, the subsequent transactions are recorded: The order relative to excommunicated persons is repealed. As the drinking of healths leads to habits considered unfavorable, especially to new churches and plantations, ordered, that no person of this jurisdiction, nor any other, who shall come hither, (after one week's residence here,) shall indulge in such a practice on penalty of twelve pence for every offence. While measures are proposed to hinder extravagance in dress, the ensuing remarks are made of those who profess religion: "Whereas some have bene greived that such excesses were presented to the courte, which concerned the members of churches befor the parties had bene dealt with at hoame, intimating thereby that the churches would (vpon notice of those abuses in apparell) have taken such course as would have reformed their members, and so have prevented the trouble of the courte,—this court hath therefore thought

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fitt (in the great confidence it hath of the care and faithfulness of the churches) to stay all proceedings vpon the said presentments, in expectation that the officers and members of all the churches, having now cleare knowledg both of the said disorders in apparell and the resolution of the court, to attaine a generall reformation, will speedily and effectually proceede against all offenders in this kinde, and that they will also (from observation of our proneness to follow new fashions, and to fall to excessive costliness in attire) keepe the more strict watch over all sorts for time to come; and this court doth hereby intimate to all whom it may concerne, (of what quality or estate soever they may bee,) that all such persons as, after all these admonitions and forbearances, shall obstinately persist in their excesses in this kind, shalbe looked at as contemnners of authority, and regardless of the publike weale, and must expect to bee proceeded against by the strictest course of iustice as their offences shall deserve."

Intention of marriage is to be published three times, at public lectures or otherwise, so that it may be known for fourteen days.

The hopes of the college for the church are clouded by difficulty with Nathaniel Eaton, its principal. He had severely corrected his usher, Nazareth Briscoe, for which and other circumstances, he is fined and displaced from his trust.

The prejudices of the most in Boston church against the few who opposed the opinions of Anne Hutchinson and Wheelwright had subsided.

September 15. Edward Norris, a minister, who had joined Boston church July 21, and his wife, Eleanor, who united with it 18th of August, have leave \* "to resyde at Salem, whether he hath bene often invited, and hath there a house hyred for him and his."

He published "Temporal Blessings are to be asked with Submission to the Will of God," against Rice Boye and John Trask, and "A Discovery of the late Dangerous Errors" of the latter, in London, 1636, and "The New Gospel not the True Gospel, or the Unmasking of J. Trask, a Seducer," in the same city, 1638. Trask speaks of Norris as having lived at Tedbury [Tetbury] and Horsleigh, both of Gloucestershire, as a teacher of youth as well as a minister, as instrumental in sending many of his people to New England, as being much in Bristol for this and other purposes, and a sufferer for his non-conformity.

September 17. A branch of the Boston church, at Mount Wollaston, withdraw their relation, and are regularly formed. William Tompson and Henty Flint are chosen for their minis-

\* Boston Church Records.

ters. The former was ordained 19th of the next November as pastor, and the latter, having joined Boston church November 15, 1635, and been dismissed from it August 11, 1639, is ordained March 17, 1640, as teacher.

Johnson, referring to their people's inclination to Wheelwright's sentiments, says that they "are purged, by their industry, from the sour leaven of those sinful opinions that begun to spread, and if any remain among them, it is very covert."

Nathaniel Eaton, the first principal teacher of Harvard College, had left such an office by the latter part of this year. He had his birth in England, in 1609, emigrated hither by 1636, and was received a member of Cambridge church. He was brother to Governor Eaton, of New Haven. Prior to his leaving England, he had united with the Jesuits, but was drawn from them by his friends. The chief ground of objection to him was his severe discipline. After he left the college, he soon departed for Virginia. Here he sent for his wife and children. They embarked, except one son, Benoni, on board of a vessel, and were never more seen or heard from. The manner of his subsequent life and exit is unknown.

November 5. The elders and freemen of each town are to examine\* the "moddles" of laws presented to the General Court. All the men who were disarmed as Antinomians, and who remained in the colony, carrying themselves peaceably, shall have their arms restored to them.

On petition of Colchester, afterwards Salisbury, William Worcester and Samuel Dudley are designated on a committee for the direction of its affairs. The first was made freeman May 13, and the second October 7, 1640. They were ministers of the church there, formed about 1638. Mr. Worcester is supposed to have come from Salisbury in England. Mr. Dudley was son of Governor Thomas Dudley, born 1606, and is thought to have come over with his father in 1630. Both of them cherished and practised high motives of duty and usefulness in their sacred calling.

26. Relative to a member† of the Boston church, we have this entry: "Being a day of publique fast for our congregation, our brother was admonisht by our pastor in y<sup>e</sup> name of y<sup>e</sup> church, for selling his wares at excessive rates, to y<sup>e</sup> dishonour of God's name, y<sup>e</sup> offence of y<sup>e</sup> General Court, and y<sup>e</sup> publique scandall of y<sup>e</sup> country." With regard to another, who absented himself on this occasion, the subsequent notice is taken on the 15th of the next month: "He did not onely absent

\* General Court Records.

† Boston Church Records.

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himself y<sup>t</sup> day without iust cause, but did also take liberty to spend part of y<sup>e</sup> day in feasting and sporting at quoytes abroad, and y<sup>t</sup> in y<sup>e</sup> company of such whereof some of y<sup>m</sup> were scandalous."

December. There had been disagreement in opinion \* between the legislature and the elders about lectures. These were frequent, and in part of the churches "were held till night, and sometimes within the night, so as such as dwelt far off could not get home in due season, and many weak bodies could not endure so long, in the extremity of heat and cold, without great trouble and hazard of their health." Therefore General Court desired that the elders would consult with the magistrates and deputies on the subject. Most of the ministers and others considered this proposal as an interference with their ecclesiastical liberties; so that a meeting, appointed at Salem, was not held, and at another in Boston, the elders of the Bay expressed their dissatisfaction. The court explained that they had no intention to abridge the power of the churches, but what they purposed was for the good of the commonwealth. Thus they satisfied the ministers, and both agreed "that their church assemblies might ordinarily break up in such season as people that dwell a mile or two off might get home by daylight." At their next May session, the court repealed their order for a conference about lectures, and left them to the direction of the churches.

Ezekiel Rogers is ordained at Rowley. In compliance with Cotton's advice, a voluntary contribution is ordered to be collected in Boston quarterly, for maintaining their ministers. "The note thereof remaineth with the deacons." Such a mode lasted a considerable period of years in that place.

8. The legislature † allow Charlestown meeting house to accommodate the town watch. Margaret Hindersam is sentenced "to stand in the market-place of Boston, with a paper," next market day, for misbehavior, and her husband is required to give bond of five pounds for her good conduct, and that he will bring her, at the hour appointed, to the premises of her punishment.

17. Governor Winthrop having made a present of the green to set a new meeting house on, and a majority of Boston being in favor of the change, a spirited discussion arose between them and others, who had purchased land and built in the market-place, because the house of worship was there. The former reply to this argument as follows: "The standing of y<sup>e</sup> meeting howse in the market-place hath bin to y<sup>e</sup> young beginnings of trading as a nurse to a child, or as a prop to some tender plant to vphold it from falling. Yet once in seaven yeares, without

\* Winthrop.

† General Court Records.



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y<sup>e</sup> nurse or prop, the child will goe, the tender plant will stand alone. So are we perswaded that the Lord will not suffer any decaying in trading to be found or complained of by our brethren, but that He who hath strengthened their hands and wayes will not withdraw his blessing from y<sup>m</sup>, though the meeting howse stand a little further from y<sup>m</sup> to helpe forward the same ends in another place." The proposal for a new location for the sanctuary was accomplished.

December 26. Gyles Fyrmin,\* of Ipswich, addresses a letter to Governor Winthrop, from which we have several passages: "My father-in-law, Ward, since his sonne came over, is very desirous that wee might sett down together, and so that he might leave us together if God should remove him from hence. The gaines of physick will not finde mee with bread." He then speaks of a plan for a new settlement, which was effected the next year: "I am strongly sett upon to studye divinitie." This he did, and thus greatly extended the sphere of his usefulness.

In the manuscript treatise of John Cotton, dated this year, on the Doctrine of the Church, we have the following passages, to show his impressions of several subjects which received much attention in that period: "Nationall, provinciall, and diocesan churches are such as y<sup>e</sup> people never heard of in y<sup>e</sup> New Testament. A pastor or teacher is of one church, and no more; therefore non-residence is against y<sup>e</sup> rule of Christ. The worke of the pastor is to attend to exhortation, and therein to dispense a word of wisdom. But y<sup>e</sup> teacher's office is to attend vnto doctrine, and therein to dispence a word of knowledge. Y<sup>e</sup> office of y<sup>e</sup> ruling elders is to assist y<sup>e</sup> pastors and teachers in diligent attendance to all other acts of rule besides exhortation and doctrine, as becomes good stewards of y<sup>e</sup> household of God. The office of a deacon is to receive the offerings of y<sup>e</sup> church, which are brought vnto y<sup>m</sup> and laid downe before y<sup>m</sup>, and therewith to serve tables, distributing with simplicity, not onely to y<sup>e</sup> ministers of y<sup>e</sup> church, but to any other of y<sup>e</sup> brethren, as their need shall require. Deacons [are] to cast about how all y<sup>e</sup> tables of y<sup>e</sup> congregation may be provided for, not onely y<sup>e</sup> Lord's table and y<sup>e</sup> officers, but also the tables of y<sup>e</sup> poore brethren, who, though they make not knowne their owne necessity, yet y<sup>e</sup> deacons' care should be to see that they be provided for in all things sufficient for this naturall life, and therefore to provide that they may have gardens and planting grounds, etc., by which they may live. Widdows of threescore years of age, well reported of for good workes, are to be taken into y<sup>e</sup>

\* Hutchinson's Collections.

number of deacons. This was the practice of y<sup>e</sup> primitive church long after y<sup>e</sup> apostles' times." They who are to be received as members of the church "are called of God out of y<sup>e</sup> world vnto y<sup>e</sup> fellowship of Jesus Christ, and doe willingly offer and ioyn themselves first to y<sup>e</sup> Lord, and y<sup>a</sup> to y<sup>e</sup> church by confession of their sins, and profession of faith, and laying hold of his holy covenant."

The same author writes on "y<sup>e</sup> covenant which a company doe enter into when they become a church, and which a particular person enters into when he becomes a member of a church. We doe not say simply, a covenant makes a company a true church, but a covenant to walke in such wayes of worship of God and edification of one another as y<sup>e</sup> gospell of Christ requireth. For who doubts but there may be a confederation among Papists, especially since y<sup>e</sup> councill of Trent. But y<sup>e</sup> religion of y<sup>e</sup> Papists is so farr from trueth y<sup>t</sup> whosoever liveth and beleueneth according to it without repentance cannot be saved. Witnesse their doctrine in y<sup>e</sup> point of villifying y<sup>e</sup> Scriptures, in y<sup>e</sup> point of freewill and of justification by works, of y<sup>e</sup> pope's supremacy, of y<sup>e</sup> sacrifice of y<sup>e</sup> masse, of worshipping of images. Agreement in such a religion will never prove y<sup>e</sup> to be true churches, nor any assemblies of Arrians, Anti-trinitaries, Anabaptists or Familists."

The objector says to us, "When you were in England, you were not of this mind, and therefore no marvile if you change, since your coming to New England be suspected and offensive." We answer, "Some of vs, when we were in England, through y<sup>e</sup> mercy of God, did see y<sup>e</sup> necessity of church covenant, and did also preach it to the people amongst whom we ministred, though neither so soone nor soe fully as were meete, for which we have cause to be humbled, and to judge ourselves before y<sup>e</sup> Lord."

Speaking of the desire entertained by the non-conformists in England for emigration to our shores, Hanbury remarks that our land "was chiefly, in their eye, a Puritan plantation from the beginning, and therefore fitter for the growth of the Zuinghian or Calvinian gospel than any country whatever." He then quotes from the Rump, being a collection of poems and songs for the times, several stanzas, with the caption, "The Zealous Puritan, 1639." From these we have the following lines as a sample:—

"My brethren all, attend ye!  
And list to my relation.  
This is the day — mark what I say —  
Tends to your renovation.  
Stay not among the wicked,  
Lest that here, with them, you perish;  
But let us to — New England go,  
And the pagan people cherish."

## PLYMOUTH.

1638, September 4. An event occurs which greatly tries the friends of moral and religious reform: Arthur Peach, Thomas Jackson, Richard Stinnings, and Daniel Cross are tried for killing Penowanyauquis, an Indian at Misquamsquece, and took from him five fathoms of wampum, and three coats of woollen cloth. Cross made his escape. The first three were condemned and hung. Christopher Winter, of Scituate, for "publishing himself in marriage with Jane Cooper contrary to order," is fined ten shillings.

December 4. Eight persons are fined at Scituate for illegally receiving strangers into their houses. Samuel Gorton, of Plymouth, is arraigned. The record says, that for his misdemeanor, in open court, towards the elders, the bench, and stirring up the people to mutiny, he is sentenced to pay twenty pounds, give bonds for good behavior, and depart from the colony in fourteen days. As he could find no sureties that he would keep the peace, he is committed. Morton says that this is done because "he carried so mutinously and seditiously." Winslow's *Hypocrisy Unmasked* gives particulars as follows: "When Gorton came to Plymouth, Rev. Mr. Smith offered him and his family the use of his house without any charge. Tired with his deportment, Smith requested him to find another tenement; but Gorton 'refused, sayeing hee had as good intrist in the house as Mr. Smith had.' Another count was, that a woman of his acquaintance, who came to Plymouth, was charged with 'vnworthy and ofenciue speeches and carriages.' The governor commanded her to leave the jurisdiction; but Gorton said 'shee should not goe,' and he hid her. For this he was committed till he could procure sureties for his good behavior 'till y<sup>e</sup> next court.' When this body sat, while one of the Assistants stated facts, Gorton, 'stretching out his hand toward his face, sayd with a loud voyce, 'If Sathan will accuse y<sup>e</sup> brethien, let him come down, from Jehoshuah's right hand and stand here,' and turned himself to y<sup>e</sup> people, and sayd, with his armes spread, 'Ye see, good people, how ye are abused: stand for your liberty, and let them not bee partys and judges.'"

Among those whom Gorton prevailed on to embrace his principles were John Weeks and his wife. These, as Morton relates, having soon become atheists, and being cast out of Plymouth church, went to Rhode Island.

1639, February 12. Desirous to keep from their limits denominations differing from themselves, as the disciples of Gorton, the government empower several persons, relative to the

1639.]

formation of plantations and churches. They observe, "Whereas, by reason of distance, we cannot so well see to the receiving in of such persons as may be fit to live together in the fear of God and obedience to our sovereign lord, the king, in peace and love, as become Christian people," we require, "that all of them be conscientiously faithful to receive in peaceable and faithful people," and to dispose of them as Providence may seem to direct.

March. Emigrants from Sandwich begin a settlement at Yarmouth. Matthews became their minister.

About this spring, a majority of Lothrop's church leave Scituate, and locate themselves at Barnstable. The previous year, they obtained permission "for the seating of a township for a congregation" at Seipican, afterwards Rochester; but they changed their purpose. By June 4, they had so far progressed in the arrangement of their municipal concerns as to have a constable appointed by the court. Their pastor did not join them till the 11th of October.

The relation of William Vassall and others gives the ensuing facts as to events at Scituate. Before Mr. Lothrop and the greater part of his church left that town for Barnstable, in 1639, they assembled with the rest, so that they might leave the latter in a church state. The pastor desired those who wished to remain in this manner to show themselves, and they were eight brethren. Then he propounded to the majority whether they judged these men fit to be left as a church by themselves, and they gave an affirmative answer. The pastor said to those who purposed to remain behind, that they must enter into covenant, according to the word of God. To this they agreed. When the pastor began to declare this decision, on the Sabbath, one of the eight brethren desired him to forbear, without any consent of the others. Afterwards a day was set apart, when these persons were declared to be a church. Such a transaction was published by the pastor on the Lord's day. The church so constituted communed with other churches, and called and settled Mr. Chauncey.

September 3. The committee of Sandwich are required to appear before the Court of Assistants and answer the following complaint: that, contrary to the confidence reposed in them, they had received into their township various persons unfit for church fellowship, so "that, without speedy remedy, our chief end will be utterly frustrated." The committee are forbidden to dispose of any more land until further instruction from the court. A man, for intemperance, is disfranchised of his freedom.

25. According to the relation of Morton, Massasoit and his son come to the General Court, and request that the league

between him and them may be continued. The sagamore and his son promise that they and their subjects will conduct peaceably with other Indians, and will not dispose of their lands without the consent of the authorities in this colony. On the other hand, these obligate themselves to defend such allies against all who shall unjustly deal with them. This was a renewed encouragement to those who hoped and prayed that the gospel might be sanctified to the dark-minded heathen.

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MAINE.

1639, January 4. Walter Barret, Walter Sandy, and Company, of Bristol, merchants, desire leave to send over one hundred and eighty persons, who are conformists, to their settlement, and state they "have disbursed great charges for many years in settling of a plantation."

April 3. After anxious delay, Sir F. Gorges obtains a charter of Maine\* with the royal seal. It includes the north half of the Isles of Shoals, Nantucket, and Martha's Vineyard. He, as lord palatine of the province, immediately gives public notice that if any companies would emigrate hither, they shall have sufficient lands secured to them, on condition of paying annually a quitrent from two shillings to two shillings sixpence for one hundred acres, and that individuals may come and have lands assigned them at fourpence or sixpence an acre, according to situation. The territory and population are incorporated by the charter as "The Province or County of Maine." This document allows Gorges, his heirs, and assigns to have full control of their grant, in its civil, judicial, ecclesiastical, and all other concerns, on conditions of supreme fealty, the annual payment of one quarter of wheat, and besides the usual reservation of one fifth of the silver and gold which may be discovered, the same proportion of "pearle fishings," to and for the crown. Making provision for the establishment of the Episcopal religion here, it gives them power to regulate "all patronadges and advowsons, free disposicons and donacons of all and every such churches and chappels as shall be erected within the said province." It says, "Our will and pleasure is, that the religion now professed in the church of England, and ecclesiastical government now vsed in the same, shall be ever hereafter professed, and, with as much convenient speed as may bee, settled and

\* York County Records. Gorges's New England. Williamson.

established in and throughout the said province and premisses, and every of them." It permits the proprietor or his agents to form and name cities and manors, and to keep in the latter courts leet and courts baron. It empowers them to fit out war-like fleets. It forbids any to trade or reside here without their leave. Indeed, the charter is so ample in its privileges to Gorges, he could reasonably ask no more, even as the governor general of all New England. The king and his council, in devising and expressing its contents, very probably purposed to have Maine for his residence in such an office to which they had appointed him, and would have done it, had they been able, by their threats, to drive Massachusetts from the resolve to maintain her Congregational forms, doctrines, and liberties, even by the last resort of defensive force. A supposition of this kind is confirmed by a similar proposal with regard to this province, years before.

From the sequel, it appears that Gorges concluded to reserve the supreme power to himself, and govern the province through a council of seven, dependent on his own choice, and a house of deputies, elected by the counties.

Of the officers whom he designates are a master of ordnance, an admiral, and chancellor. Among his social divisions are hundreds, parishes, and tithings. "Every hundred shall have two head constables, and every parish one constable and four tything men." Evidently Gorges meant that his jurisdiction should be an imitation of England in its laws, in the rank and titles of its population, and in its usages of church and state, so far as a province could copy its parent kingdom.

May 6. Some person, having occasion to visit the library of Burdet, and discovering a copy of his letter to the archbishops, forwarded it to the governor of Massachusetts, who gives the account. This communication stated that its author delayed returning to England, because he was desirous to become more fully acquainted with the purposes of the colonists in respect to their allegiance. It further remarked, "that it was not discipline that was now so much aimed at as sovereignty; and that it was accounted perjury and treason in our General Courts to speak of appeals to the king." By the earliest arrivals from England letters are brought to Burdet from the same dignitaries, with thanks for the interest he takes in their policy with regard to Massachusetts, and remarking, that when they are less occupied by national difficulties, they will rectify the abuses charged upon that colony.

July 21. Gyles Elbridge, merchant of Bristol, has a permit to send over eighty passengers to his plantation.

22. As an occurrence calculated to counteract the plan of

Gorges and the court supporters in England, with regard to his province, Thomas Purchase conveys the territory of Pejepscot, on both sides of the Androscoggin River, to the Massachusetts Company, reserving certain privileges to himself, family, and heirs.

September 2. Gorges signs a commission for the council of Maine. These are Sir Thomas Josselyn, Richard Vines, of Saco, Henry Josselyn, of Black Point, Francis Champernoon, of Kittery, Richard Bonython, of Saco, William Hook, of York, and Edward Godfrey, of Piscataqua. As the first person, who did not come to this country, declined, Thomas Gorges was substituted the 10th of next March. This successor was cousin to Sir Ferdinando, who called Champernoon his nephew. The commission requires each one of these officers to take oath of faithfulness to the proprietor, part of which is, "I will not conceal from him and his council any matter of conspiracy or mutinous practice against my said lord, his heirs and assigns; but will, instantly after my knowledge thereof, discover the same unto him and his said council, and seek to prevent it, and by all means prosecute the authors thereof, with all severity according to justice."

After relating his experience as to his long and arduous efforts to settle New England, Sir Ferdinando remarks, "Being now seized of what I had travelled for above forty yeares, together with the expences of many thousand pounds, and the best time of my age loaden with troubles and vexations from all parts, I will now give you an account in what order I have settled my affaires in that my province of Maine." He then proceeds to mention the substance of what has been already given. As about to be involved in the civil commotions of his native country, which soon prevent his active energies from being employed in American affairs, and terminated his earthly career, we quote the pertinent adieu of so good and great a man: "But I end and leave all to him who is the onely Author of all goodnesse, and knowes best his owne time to bring his will to be made manifest, and appoints his instruments for the accomplishing thereof, to whose pleasure it becomes every one of us to submit ourselves, as to the mighty God, and great and gracious Lord, to whome all glory doth belong."

4. An event, contained in Winthrop, had recently transpired, which illustrates the protective influence of reading the Bible. Thomas Willet commanded the trading plantation of Plymouth at Kennebec. He had large quantities of provision. The adjacent Indians were much in want of it, and conspired to kill him and his men, that they might take and carry it away. Some of them entered the room where he was reading the Scriptures.

The subject presented to him on the sacred page made a solemn impression on his heart, which appeared evidently in his countenance. With this aspect he raised his eyes upon them. They instantly retreated, and told their confederates without, that they knew the captain had discovered their treachery, because he looked so seriously.

November 19. William Tompson, whose gospel labors had been much blessed at York, is settled at Braintree.

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#### NEW HAMPSHIRE.

1638, September 6. Massachusetts legislature give leave to the following persons to begin a plantation at Winnacunet, afterwards Hampton: "Mr. Stephen Batchelor, Christopher Hussey, widow Mary Hussey, Thomas Crumwell, Samuel Skullard, John Osgood, John Crosse, Samuel Greenfield, John Molton, Thomas Molton, William Estow, William Palmer, William Sergeant, Richard Swayne, William Sanders, Robert Tucke, with diverse others." Of these, Batchelor was afterwards chosen for their pastor. Timothy Dalton, who received his A. B. at St. John's College, Cambridge, in 1613, is soon associated with him as teacher. The cause of Puritanism, for which he left the endearments of his native land, he faithfully sustained in his newly-adopted country.

November. In compliance with legislative instruction, as Winthrop relates, he wrote to Burdet, Wiggin, and others, of Dover. He stated that the authorities of the Bay objected to their "entertaining and countenancing" some whom they "had cast out," as an infringement on the friendly relations which had existed between the people of this place and Massachusetts. Burdet returned an uncivil answer. As he had taken an oath of allegiance to that colony, and was still a member of the Salem church, it was proposed to have him summoned thither for contempt; but it was concluded to let the matter rest. A reason for this was, lest that prosecution should "ingratiate him more with the archbishops, with whom he had intelligence." It was thought best to send back the facts in the matter to Edward Hilton, advising him and his friends to be on their guard against the designs and proceedings of Burdet. At the same time, Winthrop wrote to the same persons that the authorities of the Bay could not be satisfied, if they should promote Underhill, who was not only cast out from them, but that developments had been recently made which placed him in a very unfavorable



light. But such a message was intercepted by the individuals whom it charged as dangerous men in society. To retaliate, they immediately forwarded information to London, as Winthrop says, discovering what they knew of "our combination to resist any authority that should come out of England against us." Underhill, of himself, sent a threatening message to Cotton, for the incipient steps taken at Boston to discipline him on the charge of immorality, and another to the governor, in quite a different strain, desiring pardon for his past failings, and disclaiming every purpose of revenge. We are not to understand, by the request made to the chief inhabitants of Dover, that they should forbid any banished from the Bay to live among them and share in their social privileges; but that, in conformity with their professed friendliness, they should be careful not to promote persons like Underhill, whose position was such as to need clearing up before he should be intrusted with any public office.

1639, January 6. The Boston church records contain the subsequent entry: "This day dismissions granted to our brethren, Mr. John Wheelwright, Richard Morrys, Richard Bulgar, Philemon Pormort, Isaac Grosse, Christopher Marshall, George Baytes, Thomas Wardall, and William Wardall, vnto y<sup>e</sup> church of Christ at y<sup>e</sup> Falls of Paschataqua, if they be rightly gathered and ordered." This was done at the written request of these individuals. It indicates that, though Wheelwright was banished from the Bay because he so promoted his doctrines as to be accounted a civil offender, and those here named with him were of like sentiments, neither he nor they were cut off from communion with the church at the seat of Massachusetts government. Such facts show that ecclesiastical discipline was exercised and legislative decisions were made there independently of each other.

March. According to Winthrop, the settlers at Hampton had been disturbed by the claims of those at Exeter, whose purchase included the former location. He says that the General Court, over which he presided, had seen letters, urging such a title, and replied to the authors of them, "that they looked at this their dealing as against good neighbourhood, religion, and common honesty," because they had taken possession of the premises two years before.

3. The records of the Boston church say, "Dismission granted to these: sister Susanna Hutchinson, widdowe, Mary, y<sup>e</sup> wife of Mr. Wheelwright, Lenora, y<sup>e</sup> wife of Richard Morrys, and to Henry Elkin, our brother, and to Mary, his wife, our sister, vnto y<sup>e</sup> church at y<sup>e</sup> Falls, now called Exeter."

5. The Court of Assistants, at the Bay, grant safe conduct to

Underhill, that he may visit Boston, and be tried by the church there for charges of an immoral nature against him. But as he excused himself on the plea that such an allowance was not sufficient, he being banished by the General Court, this body, who began their session on the 13th, allowed him like permission. Instead of compliance, as Winthrop says, he prevailed on a new church at Dover, who had Hanserd Knollys for their minister, to take his part. This body, so inclined, wrote to the Boston church in favor of Underhill, whom they style "their honoured governour; all which notwithstanding," he is "proceeded with." The legislature of Massachusetts addressed the chief inhabitants\* of Pascataquack, and sent them a copy of his letter, wherein he "professeth himself to be an instrument ordained of God for" their "ruin, to know whether it were with their privity and consent that he sent such a defiance." The people of Portsmouth and Dover, thus questioned, replied, that they had no hand in the policy of Underhill, and that they were ready to have him tried whenever proper witnesses should come forward. They desired one thing — that no military force should be sent to take him.

May 22. The Bay legislature allow Winnacunet to be a town, choose their officers, make regulations for themselves, and send a deputy to their body. Such privileges tend to weaken the claims of Wheelwright and his company.

July. The copy of a letter was forwarded to Winthrop, as he relates, which had been sent by Knollys, of Dover, to his friends in London. It represented the government of the Bay as "worse than a high commission;" that nothing but oppression, and "not so much as a face" of religion, existed there. Being informed that such correspondence was exposed, Knollys was much troubled, and immediately addressed Winthrop, confessed that he had done wrong, and desired that his retraction might be published.

September 4. As an indication of confidence in the authorities of Massachusetts, the people of Dover had made proposals to come under their laws and protection. Their commissioners, having gone to the Bay for the purpose, now sign a contract to this effect. Exeter had made similar overtures, but they concluded to remain separate.

October 4. Having formed a church, and supposing themselves without the limits of Massachusetts, Wheelwright and thirty-four others combine, according to Hazard, as a distinct body politic. Their contract for this purpose has the subse-

\* Thomas Wiggin, Francis Champemoon, Francis Williams, Thomas Worton, Edward Hilton, James Treworthy, and their neighbors.

quent passage: We, the "loyal subjects" of King Charles, "brethren of the church in Exeter, with other inhabitants there, considering with ourselves the holy will of God and our own necessity, that we should not live without wholesome laws and civil government among us, of which we are altogether destitute, do, in the name of Christ and in the sight of God, combine ourselves together to erect and set up among us such government as shall be, to our best discerning, agreeable to the will of God, professing ourselves subjects to our sovereign lord, King Charles, according to the liberties of our English colony of Massachusetts, and binding of ourselves solemnly by the grace and help of Christ, and in his name and fear, to submit ourselves to such godly and Christian laws as are established in the realm of England, to our best knowledge, and to all other such laws, which shall, upon good grounds, be made and enacted among us according to God, that we may live quietly and peaceably together in all godliness and honesty." This combination is the expression of hearts set on the privileges of freedom, as interpreted by heavenly wisdom. It indicates that its subscribers, however disallowed to spread their particular religious sentiments at the Bay, were decided to acknowledge the validity of her charter, though revoked by royal mandate, as the standard of their rights, and of compliance with the statutes of England. In their affliction, they stood fast by the claims of Puritanism. As reflection considers the honesty and elevation of their purpose, sympathy regrets that the deficiencies of human nature separated them from their late connection with men of equal merit.

As a specimen of the manner in which persons continued to be received from one town to another, we have the ensuing extract from Hampton records: "Liberty is granted to William Fuller, of Ipswich, upon request, to come and sit down here as a planter and smith, in case he bring a certificate of approbation from the elders."

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#### RHODE ISLAND.

1638, December 13. The journal of Winthrop informs that the persons who accompanied Mrs. Hutchinson to the Island "fell into new errors daily." He instances Nicholas Easton as among this class. He mentions one Herne, who held that women had no souls, and that Adam was not created without sin, because he apostatized.

On this subject, Cotton, in a letter to Davenport, about this

date, has the following remark: "The truth is, the body of the island is bent on backsliding into error and delusion. The Lord pity and pardon them, and me also, who have been so slow to see their windings, and subtil contrivances, and insinuations in all their transactions, whilst they propagated their opinions under my expressions, diverted to their construction."

1639. January 24. Constables and sergeants of the island are to "inform, in general, of all manifest breaches of the law of God, that tend to civil disturbance."

February 2. Having served as the chief and only ruler of the island, Coddington has three elders chosen by the colonists, to aid him in his duties. Their service is expressed as follows: "to assist the judge in the execution of justice and judgment, for the regulating and ordering of all offences and offenders, for drawing up and determining of all such rules and laws as should be according to God."

As an extended guard against the abuse of such power, the subsequent provision is adopted: "It is agreed and consented unto that the judge, with the elders, shall be accountable unto the body, once every quarter of the year, (when as the body shall be assembled,) of all cases, actions, and rules, which have passed through their hands, by them to be scanned and weighed by the word of Christ; and if, by the body or any of them, the Lord shall be pleased to dispense light to the contrary of what, by the judge and elders, hath been determined formally, that then and there it shall be repealed as the act of the body; and if it be otherways, that then it shall stand till farther light concerning it, for the present to be according to God and the tender care of indulgent fathers." Such license to counteract the rules and decisions of the judge and the elders even "by any" of the voters at their quarterly conventions, might naturally be distrusted as a wide inlet to intrigue and confusion. It evidently bears the impress of Mrs. Hutchinson and her disciples' belief in special revelation from God as paramount to his will contained in the Bible.

6. "In regard of the many invasions that the island is subject unto," an alarum is ordered for all the inhabitants to repair to the house of the judge, for "defending the island or quelling any insolencies that shall be tumultuously raised within the plantation." The alarum is to be "three muskets to be discharged distinctly, and a herald appointed to go speedily through the town and cry, Alarum! alarum!"

7. The records of their court give the ensuing extract: "Mr. Aspinwall, being a suspected person for sedition against the state, it was thought meet that a stay of the building of his boat should be made; whereupon the workman was forbidden

to proceed any further." The individual so censured was more conservative in his religious persuasion than the most around him and this probably led him to wish that they would be less radical in their policy.

March 16. Having become an Anabaptist, through the influence of a sister to Mrs. Hutchinson and wife to Richard Scott, who went to live at Providence the preceding year, Williams, as stated by Winthrop, was lately immersed. The person who performed this rite for him was Ezekiel Holman, who had gone to reside there from Salem. Williams then did the same for him and ten others, and thus they form a church. Winthrop adds, "They also denied the baptizing of infants, and would have no magistrates."

The same author gives us several facts concerning Rhode Island. Mrs. Hutchinson preached here publicly. She and her followers "would have no magistracy." She forwarded an admonition to the Boston church, but, as she had been ejected from them, it was merely read there in private. Two men, cut off from the Roxbury church, were entertained on the island, and one of them permitted to preach. For this the Boston church questioned some of their members who resided here. Coddington, who was present with them, was admonished, because he did not regard the matter so seriously as they did.

About this time, Thomas James, who appears to have been the minister that had dissolved his connection with the Charlestown church, leaves Providence for New Haven colony. The first we see of him in the plantation of Williams is the 10th of June, 1637, when land was confirmed to him. He held a prominent stand among the settlers of Providence, and the *Annalist*, of this place, supposes that he preached to its inhabitants. The prevalence of Anabaptism here was probably one occasion of his departure for a location more suited to his belief and labors.

April 28. Nine persons of the island agree to form another plantation. They did this on the south-west end, and, on the 16th of May, it was named Newport.

May 11. Winthrop informs us that, in a tumult, the rulers of Rhode Island had been displaced, and William Hutchinson, the husband of Ann, made the sole successor of them. Some have denied this statement, because they do not find it on the records. That Winthrop was so informed, and that he had no doubt of it, is evident from his relation. Whether the change, as irregular and sudden, if it took place, was reversed, and not thought requisite to be noted with the court proceedings, is a question which cannot be solved at this late period. The opinion of the writer is, that more confidence should be put in the

1638.]

positive declaration of Winthrop than in lack of records kept for a small and unconsolidated colony.

The same author says, that a church was gathered in this place. "They took some excommunicated persons, and others who were members of the church of Boston and not dismissed."

June. Winslow's Hypocrisy Unmasked relates of Gorton,\* "Hee went to Rhod Island, and there had entertainment, because hee made them beleewe that hee was persecuted for his religion at Plymouth; but hee quickly shewed them what religion hee had beene of at Plymouth, and was more turbulent and insolent there then hee had beene at Plymouth."

July. Williams had questioned his second baptism, as in Winthrop, because not derived from the apostles, except through Episcopal ministers of England, whom he considered as insufficient authority. He thought that God would raise up some purer apostolic power. "Therefore he bent himself that way, expecting (as was supposed) to become an apostle; and having, a little before, refused communion with all, save his own wife, now he would preach to and pray with all comers; whereupon some of his followers left him, and returned back from whence they went."

Richard Scott, after he turned to the Quakers, remarked, as to the change of opinions by Williams, "I walked with him in the Baptists' way about three or four months, in which time he brake away from the society, and declared at large the ground and reasons of it; that their baptism could not be right, because it was not administered by an apostle. After that he set upon a way of seeking (with two or three of them that had dissented with him) by way of preaching and praying, and there he continued a year or two, till two of the three left him." This differs from the position of Judge Staples, that Williams was pastor of the church in Providence four years.

The Salem church, having excommunicated Williams, Throckmorton, Olney, and Westcott, with their wives, Mary Holman, and widow Reeves, because they refused to hear their admonition, and to allow the churches in Massachusetts to be true churches, give notice thereof to the Dorchester church. They also do the same with regard to John Elford, William James, John

\* Some writers have stated, that Gorton must have been banished from Plymouth a year sooner (that is, December 1, 1637) than Morton states, because, say they, in accordance with Callender, he became an inhabitant of Rhode Island, June, 1638. But there is another fact, which Morton gives, namely, that Gorton, soon after his sentence, went to Rhode Island, which was neither bought of the Indians nor settled by the English till the fore part of 1638. Therefore there is more probability that a mistake is made of the year in which Gorton is said to have become a resident of Rhode Island, and that it was in June, 1639, rather than 1638. It was a custom of New England colonists to try a man at least several months before they granted him such a privilege.

Talby, and William Wolcott, the last for refusing to have his child baptized, and the others for irregular walk.

November 25. It is ordered by the authorities of the island, that no man shall go two miles from town unless armed with gun or sword, and "none come to any public meeting without his weapon; upon default of either, he shall forfeit five shillings." Nicholas Easton and John Clark are requested to inform Mr. Vane concerning the condition of the colony, and desire him to obtain a patent of the island from the king, and likewise write to Mr. Thomas Burwood, brother of Easton, relative to the same subject.

Hull, in his diary, subsequently remarked, of what he called the errorists, who went to the island, "After they were removed, the Rev. Mr. Cotton and the church of Boston ceased not, for some years, to send letters, and some of their able and godly brethren, to endeavor their reducement, and some few were regained."

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#### CONNECTICUT.

1638, November 24. The settlers at Quinnipiack\* make a treaty with Momauguin, the sachem who owned the territory in that quarter. In view of the protection afforded him by the English against the Pequods and Mohawks, he vests his whole title to such land in the hands of Eaton and the rest of the company, and agrees to treat these as his friends. They who are so invested contract to defend him and his tribe against all assaults, and to allow them sufficient land for planting. They also present to these Indians twelve coats of English cloth, twelve alchemy spoons, twelve hatchets, twelve hoes, twenty-four knives, twelve porringers, and four cases of French knives and scissors.

They are glad to hold such friendly intercourse with a people who needed their guidance in revealed truth, and to whom they were desirous to impart its light and benefit.

December 11. The same proprietors purchase a large tract of land, chiefly north from Quinnipiack, of Montowese. Being the richest company who had come to New England, they could well make just provision for the accommodation of others, who might choose to live under their jurisdiction, and partake of the privileges divinely bestowed on them. They well understood the principle, that in benefiting others they would secure enjoyment for themselves.

\* New Haven Records. Trumbull.

December 13. The emigrants from Massachusetts on Connecticut River had appeared to be cool in their deportment towards the authorities of that colony. The reason, as expressed by Winthrop, "was their shyness of coming under our government, which, though we never intended to make them subordinate to us, yet they were very jealous" of, "and therefore, in the articles of confederation which we propounded to them, and whereby order was taken, that all differences which might fall out should be ended by a way of peace, they did so alter the chief article as all would have come to nothing." This article was that a majority of the confederate commissioners should decide any question before them. But Connecticut would have their decision only advisory. The same author remarks that such a mode of procedure "would never have attained the end, for it was very unlikely that all the churches in all the plantations would ever have accorded upon the same propositions." He further relates, that the government at the Bay intended to set off Springfield to Connecticut; but as the rulers here were strenuous in claims which they considered not allowable, they determined to withhold that place from them, because contained in their bounds. Of this the people of Connecticut had notice; but still they exercised jurisdiction over Springfield. They were desired by Massachusetts to desist from this until the boundaries were run.

1639, January 14. The three towns on Connecticut River, concluding that they were beyond the limits of Massachusetts, form themselves into a separate government. The constitution adopted by them furnishes the ensuing extracts: "Forasmuch as it hath pleased the Almighty God, by the wise disposition of his divine providence, so to order and dispose of things, that we, the inhabitants and residents of Windsor, Hartford, and Wethersfield, knowing where a people are gathered together, the word of God requireth, that to maintain the peace and union of such a people, there shall be an orderly and decent government, established according to God, to order and dispose of the affairs of the people at all seasons, as occasion should require, — do therefore associate and conjoin ourselves to be as one public state or commonwealth, do, for ourselves and successors, enter into combination together, to maintain and preserve the liberty and purity of the gospel of our Lord Jesus, which we now profess, as also the discipline of the churches, which, according to the truth of said gospel, is now practised amongst us." Under article first, the governor and magistrates "shall have power to administer justice according to the laws here established, and for want thereof, according to the rule of the word of God." — "The governor shall be always a member of



some approved congregation" or church. In "the General Court shall consist the supreme power of the commonwealth, and they only shall have power to make laws or repeal them, to grant levies, to admit freemen, to dispose of lands undisposed of, and to call other courts into question." The document thus made the basis of legislation and authority for the public welfare, long answered the end of promoting the civil and religious liberty of its subjects. Coming from men who had tasted the bitterness of oppression in their fatherland, it honored their intelligent perception, their love for human rights and improvement, and their pious affections and principles.

February 12. Wopowage,\* afterwards Milford, is purchased of Indians by Peter Prudden and others. These paid for the premises "six coates, ten blankets, one kettle, twelve hatchets, twelve hoes, two dozen knives, and a dozen of small glasses." They took possession of the soil by the English form of "twig and turf." When they prepared the township for residence, they exercised the precaution, as the natives were numerous around them, to enclose a mile square of their plantation with strong palisadoes.

April 11. As a sample of the mode in which the authorities of Connecticut endeavored to keep their commonwealth under a moral and religious influence, we select one of several sentences against workers of iniquity. A man is "to stand vpon the pillory from the ringing of the first bell to the end of the lecture, (at Hartford,) then to be whipped at a cart's [tail], and to be whipt in like manner att Windsore within eight dayes following."

May. Haynes and Hooker† go to the Bay, and tarry there nearly a month. Their object is to restore amicable intercourse and relations between their own inhabitants and those of Massachusetts. They perceived that the Dutch at New Amsterdam were disposed to take advantage of the disaffection existing between them, and to push their claims for territory held by Connecticut. Therefore they used means so that the proposal for resuming the treaty for a confederation was laid before the legislature of the Bay and accepted. A chief reason why Massachusetts acceded was, that they wished to avoid all alienation that might injure the great cause of religion, which the colonists on both sides came over to promote.

May 26. While preaching before a large congregation at Cambridge, for a quarter of an hour, Hooker remarked to the audience, that he had neither strength nor matter to proceed. He retired, and came back in a half hour, and "went on to very good purpose about two hours."

June 1. Individuals who, the next September, purchase Me-

\* Trumbull.

† Winthrop.

nunkatuck, afterwards Guilford, enter into the following covenant : \* “ We whose names are hereunder written, intending by God’s gracious permission to plant ourselves in New England, and, if it may be, in the southerly part about Quinnipiack, we do faithfully promise each to each, for ourselves and our families, and those that belong to us, that we will, the Lord assisting us, sit down and join ourselves together in one entire plantation, and to be helpful each to the other in any common work, according to every man’s ability, and as need shall require ; and we promise not to desert or leave each other, or the plantation, but with the consent of the rest or the greater part of the company who have entered into this engagement. As for our gathering together in a church way, and the choice of officers and members to be joined together in that way, we do refer ourselves until such time as it shall please God to settle us in our plantation.” This was signed by Henry Whitfield and twenty-four others. He was the son of a distinguished lawyer, who educated him for his own profession at one of the universities, and afterwards at the Inns Court. But, religiously inclined from childhood, he preferred the ministry, and settled at Ockham, in Surrey. Here and in the vicinity, his labors were greatly blessed in winning souls to Christ. For twenty years he continued in the national church. In this period he extended his protection to many persecuted Puritans, and gave them shelter under his own roof. At last his convictions of duty led him to embrace the cause of non-conformity. For this, but particularly for declining to read the Book of Sports, Archbishop Laud proceeded against him. He resigned his benefice and his beloved people. As no prospect encouraged him to remain in England, he sold his estate, and embarked for the land where he could freely labor for God, as his own heart dictated and desired. In such removal, he was accompanied by a considerable number of religious friends, who join with him in the covenant and in the work of settling the plantation. Distance from their native country endeared them the more to each other, and greatly added to the preciousness of their spiritual privileges.

As the colonists of New Haven are about to adopt the forms and principles of a body politic, it may be well to precede the occasion by adducing a discussion † which had taken place between Davenport and Samuel Eaton, his colleague. This appears from a tract written by the former, though erroneously attributed to John Cotton. The question debated follows : “ Whether a new plantation, where all or the most considerable part of the free planters profess their purpose and desire of securing to themselves and to their posterity the pure and peace-

\* Manuscript Collections.

† Bacon’s Discourses.

able enjoyment of Christ's ordinances — whether, I say, such planters are bound, in laying the foundations of church and civil state, to take order that all the free burgesses be such as are in fellowship of the church or churches which are or may be gathered according to Christ; and that those free burgesses have the only power of choosing from among themselves civil magistrates, and men to be entrusted with transacting all public affairs of importance according to the rules and directions of Scripture?" Davenport pleads for the affirmative of this, as promotive of civil and religious interests, and "by consequence to the common welfare of all." His arguments very probably had much influence in the public adoption of his sentiments.

June 4. The constitution\* of government for the colony of New Haven is adopted. All the free planters assemble in Robert Newman's barn. Davenport introduces the business of the occasion by a sermon from the passage, "Wisdom hath builded her house; she hath hewn out her seven pillars." He endeavors to show that every church, being the house of God, should be composed of seven principal brethren, to whom all other members should be added.

After attending to the counsels derived from revelation, they consider and adopt the fundamentals of their colonial government. The mode in which they approved of them is by raising the hand twice to each article, once when it is propounded, and again when it is read a second time. Some of the articles follow. First. "That the Scriptures hold forth a perfect rule for the direction and government of all men in all duties which they are to perform to God and men, as well in families and commonwealth as in matters of the church." Third. They "who have desired to be received as free planters, and are settled in the plantation, with a purpose, resolution, and desire, that they may be admitted into church fellowship according to Christ, as soon as God shall fit them thereunto," repeat their wish. Fourth. "All the free planters express" that they hold "themselves bound to establish such civil order as might best conduce to the securing of the purity and peace of the ordinance to themselves and their posterity according to God."

Having proceeded thus far, they come to the very important question, What characters should have the administration of their laws? Davenport speaks prudently and impressively on the subject. He then inquires of the assembly whether they are ready to act now, or will put off the matter to some other day.

After a pause, Eaton and others propose present action—

\* Trumbull.

They agree, as their fifth article, that church members only shall be "free burgesses," who are to elect the colonial rulers from among themselves. "That twelve men be chosen, that their fitness for the foundation work may be tried; that they choose out of themselves seven, that shall be most approved of by the major part, to begin the church."

At this meeting, a solemn oath is agreed on, for the freemen, binding them to conform with the constitution. Sixty-three sign this document, and fifty others soon after.

Thus did they lay the foundation of government, which made the civil power depend for its constitution and exercise on members of the church. In this manner did they manifest their purpose to secure their religious privileges as the best guaranty for civil liberty and every boon of the social compact. No wiser nor better scheme could ever be devised by men, wherever the church is spiritually pure, and contains a majority. Not the real merits of such a plan, but the abuse of it by corrupt minds and hearts, have brought upon it the reproaches of many. Its design of honoring the church, as it then was, more than the state, accords with reason and Scripture. Cotton justly remarked, "It is better that the commonwealth be fashioned to the setting forth of God's house, which is his church, than to accommodate the church frame to the civil state."

With regard to the desire and purpose of the New Haven settlers to evangelize the natives, and the great difficulty of so good a work, Davenport remarked, "These very Indians, that worship the devil, will not be under the government of any sagamores but such as join with them in observance of their pawawes and idolatries."

This year, Ephraim Huit arrives from England, and is settled colleague with Mr. Wareham, of Windsor. Brook states that he had been minister of Wroxhall, in Warwickshire, and was prosecuted for his non-conformity. He has the quotation, of 1638, from Laud's papers, "My lord the Bishop of Worcester proceeds against him, [Huit,] and intends either to reform or punish him."

Ludlow, from Windsor,\* and others settle Unquowa, afterwards Fairfield. He was soon joined by emigrants from Watertown and Concord. Those from the latter place were accompanied by their minister, John Jones.

Cupheag and Pughquonnuck, subsequently Stratford, is alike occupied. Adam Blackman is their minister. He entered Christ College, Oxford, as from Staffordshire, May 23, 1617,

\* Ludlow took possession of Unquowa, and kept his cattle there the preceding winter.

aged nineteen. He was episcopally ordained, and noted as a preacher at Leicester, and then in Derbyshire. He came to this country for the enjoyment of religion, unrestricted with hierarchal statutes. He was accompanied by some of his flock, whose language was like that of Ruth, "Whither thou goest we will go."

July. Two ships, as in Winthrop, arrive at Quinnipiack or New Haven. In one of them George Fenwick, wife, and family, with others, come to carry on a settlement at the mouth of Connecticut River, where the fort had been kept for several years. Such an enterprise had been delayed by the Pequod war and other hinderances. He has a commission from the company of Say and Seal and Brook. He promptly effects his purpose, and calls the township Saybrook, in honor of their lordships. Thomas Peters, who appears to have accompanied him across the ocean, ministers to them in the gospel. The inhabitants are governed by regulations, as allowed by the chief proprietors in England. Peters was brother to Hugh Peters, of Salem, Massachusetts. He had been minister in Cornwall, England, whence he was obliged to depart, leaving his wife behind.

August 8. Apprehensive lest the Dutch should take the lands which they claimed, the court of Connecticut designate commissioners to confer with Fenwick about a confederation of the colonies for mutual protection, "which is desired agayne to be on foot with the Bay." These commissioners are also instructed to consider the patent under which his authority is exercised. They found him favorable to the former proposition, but desiring that the latter subject may remain till he can hear from the proprietors.

15. The same court resolve to despatch one hundred soldiers against Sowheag and his tribe, because he would not surrender some of his men, who helped the Pequods to commit the destruction of life and property which they did at Wethersfield. But they were dissuaded by New Haven from their purpose, lest it should injure their plantations and prevent ships coming over the next year.

August 22. The church of New Haven has members added to its seven pillars. Milford and Guilford churches are similarly organized, and soon after move to their settlements. They act in accordance with the remark, that "it is of more importance to save and be governed by the steeple than the state." Tradition relates that, soon after this, Davenport was ordained pastor of the church first named, and that Hooker and Stone, of Hartford, assisted on the occasion. Lambert says, that the primitive settlers of New Haven were believers in the advent of Christ, and that he would reign on the earth a thousand years. There being no records for the first years of Whitfield's church, we

have no account of his reordination, though this was probably done according to the New England custom. He and others, on the 29th of September, have articles signed, by which their township is secured to them.

26. The Connecticut assembly order a party of men, put under Mason, assisted by Uncas and his warriors, to dislodge Pequods, who, in violation of their treaty, had returned and settled at Pawcatuck. The expedition is successful. They order a public thanksgiving to be observed the 18th of September, in their several towns.

October 10. They incorporate their towns, and invest them with full municipal privileges. They pass this order: "For the better keeping in mind of those passages of God's providence which have been remarkable since our first undertaking these plantations," a committee named "are desired to take the pains severally in their severall townes, and then ioyntly together to gather vp the same, and deliver them into the Generall Court in Aprill next, and yf it be iudged then fitt, they may be recorded; and for future tymes whatsoever remarkable passages shall be, yf they be publique, the sayd parties are desired to deliver in the same to the General Court."

25. All the church members of New Haven colony who desire to take part in the General Court of Election meet at the capital. Here, on being admitted to such a privilege, a solemn charge is publicly given them, of the same import as the freemen's oath which they had taken, and which they now repeat. The oath of fidelity is also administered to them. Davenport expounds to them several portions of Scripture, as to the qualifications of magistrates. They then proceed to the choice of these officers. Among these is Theophilus Eaton. The same clergyman addresses them from Deut. i. 16, 17, "And I charged your judges of that time, saying, Hear the causes between your brethren, and judge righteously between every man and his brother, and the stranger that is with him. Ye shall not respect persons in judgment, but ye shall hear the small as well as the great; ye shall not be afraid of the face of man, for the judgment is God's; and the cause that is too hard for you, bring it unto me, and I will hear it."

The court agree that the word of God shall be the only rule for their colonial government.

To guard against surprise by land and sea, they order, "that every man appointed to watch, whether masters or servants, shall come every Lord's day to the meeting completely armed, and all others also are to bring their swords, no man exempted" except Governor Eaton, Messrs. Davenport, James and Samuel Eaton, and "the two deacons."

October 30. The same authorities decide that Nepaupuck, a

noted Pequod captain, for the murder of John Finch, of Wethersfield, and assisting to kill others, shall have his head cut off. This sentence was executed. Though repulsive to the feelings of humanity, its authors passed it, as an act of exemplary justice.

This month, Fenwick addresses a communication to Winthrop, governor of Massachusetts. Extracts follow: "Concerning the last part of your letter, I can yet say little, only thus much: that whatsoever tends to mutual defence, and shall conduce to the settling and maintaining unfained love, you may expect from me and all those who are interested in this place." He then refers to the matter of settling the bounds of the colony, of which he has the oversight, and says in relation to it "When there shall be a fitt time for anything betwixt us, you shall find us in all things to submit to right and good conscience." He proceeds, "I am lastly to thank you kindly on my wife's behalf for your dainties. We both desire and delight much in the primitive employment of dressing a garden, and the taste of soe good fruits in these partes gives us good incouragement."

November 20. The people of Milford pass the ensuing votes at their first general meeting: "Agreed that the power of electing officers and persons to divide the land into lots, to take order for the timber, and to manage the common interests of the plantation, should be in the church only, and that the persons so chosen should be only from among themselves: they will guide themselves in all their doings by the written word of God, till such time as a body of laws should be established."

25. The following edifice\* was for the town of New Haven. The colonial government order, "that a meeting house shall be built forthwith, fifty fcete square; and that the carpenters shall fall timber where they can finde it till allotment be layd out. and men know their own proprieties." They empower a committee to grant "house lotts to such persons as they shall judge meete for the good of the plantation, and that none shall come to dwell as planters here without their consent and allowance."

29. Forty-four proprietors of Milford subscribe the following: "Those persons, whose names are hereunder written, are allowed to be free planters, having, for the present, liberty to act in the choyce of public officers, for the carrying on of public affayres in this plantation." They were from New Haven and Wethersfield. Among them is Mr. Prudden, who had preached at the latter place, and Jasper Gunn, a physician. Ten others, who were not freemen, put down their names immediately after.

\* The New Haven colony records place this under 25th of November.

## CHAPTER XIII.

**MASSACHUSETTS.** Wives of Peters. — Knowles. — Underhill. — Rashley. — Excommunicated persons. — Expositions. — Colony. — Missions. — Office — Manchester. — Lady Moody. — Pentucket. — Lectures. — Lord Say. — Pierson. — Inquiries. — Indians. — Embarrassments. — Discipline. — Twelve articles. — E. Rogers. — Impressions. — Parliament. — Heresy. — Two pastors. — Churches in England. — Affairs. — Laud. — Prices. — Mrs. Eaton. — Principles. — Mrs. Hibbins. — Opinions. — Council. — Agents. — Scots. — Pynchon. — Petition. — Knight. — Jews. — Singing. — Sermon. — Haverhill. — Nantasket. — Venner. — Pierce wounded. — Objections. — Ecclesiastical. — Deaconesses. — Number for a church. — Excommunicant. — Presbyterianism. — Prophesying. — Questions. — Ruling elders and deacons. — Exchanges. — Worship. — Baptism. — Communion. — Contribution. — Indians. — Marriage. — Funerals. — Advice. — Agents for England. — Bulkley and Blinman. — Parliament. — Discipline. — Charter privileges. — Company's stock. — Fast. — Idolaters. — Ambition. — Peck. — Laws. — Association. — Judicials of Moses. — Elections. **PLYMOUTH.** Condolence. — Profanity. — Immersion. — Communion. — Retraction. — Saxton. — Hook. — Censure. — Hooker's remarks. — Presentments. — "Old comers." — Prosecutions. — Claim. — Taxes. — Baptism. — Fines. — Matthews. — Armed at worship. — Chauncey. — Lechford. — Churches. — Reyner. — Hook. — Street. — Doughty. — Blinman. — Bulkley. **MAINE.** Hook at York. — Gibson. — Gorges. — Burdet. — Children to be baptized. — Agamencus chartered. — Jenner's letter. — Need of ministers. **NEW HAMPSHIRE.** Knollys. — Larkham. — Underhill. — Episcopal society. — Excommunicants. — Roberts. — Commissioners. — Glebe. — Gibson. — Underhill. — Banishment. — Combination. — Tumult. — Parties. — Conveyance to the Bay. — Underhill. — People received. — Batchelor. — Petition. — Knollys embarks. — Meeting house. — Hull. **RHODE ISLAND.** Gorton. — Report. — Mr. and Mrs. Hutchinson. — Portsmouth. — Officers. — Commission. — Conscience. — Lenthal. — F. Hutchinson. — Collins and Hales. — Discipline. — Indians. — Admonition. — Gorton. — Williams. — Lechford. — Doughty. — Providence. — Appeal. — Arnold's reasons. — Bearing arms. — Magistracy. — Denial. — Excommunication. — Imprisonment. — Schism. — Advice. — Aspinwall. — Request. — Order to depart. **CONNECTICUT.** Stocks. — Mrs. Higginson. — House of correction. — Marriage — Ordination. — Norwalk and Hartford. — Dutch. — Alarms. — Immoralities. — Rippowams. — Arms at worship. — Mr. Eaton. — Excess. — Extortion. — Lady Boteler. — Divisions. — Pynchon. — Letter. — Charges. — Delaware Bay. — League. — Peters. — Youngs. — Church members. — Censure. — The Bay. — Mrs. Hutchinson. — Synod.

## MASSACHUSETTS.

1640, January 2. Mrs. Deliverance Sheffield, that was now the wife of Hugh Peters, is dismissed from Boston church to Salem church. To his first wife he was much attached, and of her he made honorable mention. She, like many a noble sister



of humanity, made large sacrifices for the rich heritage which we enjoy. Though for their dust no

"frail memorial still erected nigh  
Implores the passing tribute of a sigh,"

still it will awake and assume its spiritual form, which will rejoice in the endless smiles of Deity.

March 1. John Knowles is recommended by the Boston church to preach for the church at Watertown. He was born, as Calamy says, in Lincolnshire, educated at Magdalen College, Cambridge, chosen fellow of Catharine Hall, 1625, was lecturer at Colchester, and silenced by Archbishop Laud, and came over in 1639.

5. Underhill, having come from Dover, under a pass, has his case considered by the Boston church, and they excommunicate him. On the 8th, Thomas Rashley, a preacher, is admitted to their fellowship. He was subsequently employed to preach at Gloucester. Calamy places one of his name among the ejected ministers, and as having been settled at New Sarum, and afterwards lived at Abrey. On the 18th, Norris is ordained teacher of the Salem Church.

23. With regard to the question presented to Boston church by messengers from Dover church, whether public and private communion, except that of the Lord's supper, should be had with a person excommunicated, Cotton gives the subsequent replies: "We thinke it not vnlawfull to admitt excommunicate persons to the preachinge of the word and to prayers, if they will and saye amen to them, and will singe psalmes with vs, we forbid them not. For priuite communion, if a master of a family be at prayers with his family, and an excommunicate person come in, we doe not thinke it meete y<sup>t</sup> he should giue over his prayers or his exercise with his famely for him. And for eatinge in priuat with them, if thay be as sojourners in a howse, thay may be allowed victualls at another table and in another roome, but not let them sitt at table with themselues to eate with them. And for such as doe not bare some publike place in the commonwealth, it wear to be desired y<sup>t</sup> such as are cast owt of God's sight and owt of the church may carry themselues soe lowly and humbly as cast owt of God's sight, and to stand as excommunicate persons aloofe, and not aspier into any open or eminent places in the church, and to take some lowe and meane place."

April. To this time, Cotton had been recently giving expositions on the thirteenth chapter of Revelation. From them we have several extracts: "In reference to a late law of Massachusetts, not long ago it was a question whether the court should

not punish excommunicated persons, who did not return before long. But it was a good providence of God that such a thing was prevented. Let not any court, *ipso facto*, take things from the church. A diocesan or national church is but an image of the great beast. As we are to be thankful, so we are to be faithful to God, that hath purchased these liberties for us, and be no more willing to be entangled with the former state than you would be to fall into the mouth of a lion. It is meet that magistrates in the commonwealth, and so officers in churches, should desire to know the utmost bounds of their own power; and it is safe for both. All intrenchments upon the bounds which God hath not given, they are not enlargements, but burdens and snares." Referring to the manifestation on the part of many emigrants to seek for other settlements, we have the remark, "What is the reason that, upon the least motion, men are ready to remove to a new plantation, as if they moved from Old England in a pang. If men had a calling on just grounds to come hither, then, when we come where the ordinances of God are, we should sit down under the ordinances, under the shadow of the Almighty, and never look for more."

While discussing the subject of Papacy, Cotton proceeds, "I will not be too confident, because I am not a prophet or the son of a prophet, to foretell things to come, but so far as God helps by Scripture light, about the time 1655, there will be then such a blow given to this beast, and to the head of this beast, which is *Pontifex Maximus*, as that we shall see a further gradual accomplishment and fulfilling of this prophecy." Though this suggestion was not signally accomplished, it is noticed as an indication of the opinions then expressed with regard to such a topic. Cotton says, "We have reason to thank God that we desire not to be accounted Catholics or hierarchies, nor stand members of a diocesan, or provincial, or cathedral, or national church, but bear witness against them all; that He hath given us churches and congregational assemblies by his covenant, to worship him in all his holy ordinances, that he hath given us to look for no laws but his word, no rules nor forms of worship but such as he hath set down in his word, no platform of doctrine but such as are held forth in the word of the prophets and apostles."

May. A report,\* here and abroad, is encouraged to a considerable extent, that it was the duty of pious people to settle in Virginia and the West Indies for the purpose of forming churches there, and obtaining a better sustenance. It was complied with by those who believed it, and a considerable number left Massachusetts for such objects, though openly discouraged

\* Winthrop.

by the magistrates and elders. These present three considerations, "How dangerous it was to bring up an ill report upon this good land, which God had found out and given to his people, and so to discourage the hearts of their brethren. To leave a place of rest and safety, to expose themselves, their wives and children, to the danger of a potent enemy, the Spaniard. Their subjection to such governors as those in England shall set over them." John Humphrey, who had taken an active part to advance the temporal and spiritual welfare of this colony, and many others, are persuaded to sell their estates and prepare to embark for Providence, of which he had been appointed governor; but they were crossed in their purpose.

May 2. In remarking\* on the plan of the authorities to send missionaries among the neighboring Indians, Lechford inquires whether it would not be beneficial as well as legal to do it by leave from the crown. This person, previously to his arrival in our country, 1638, had been imprisoned for his non-conformity, but, by this time, had altered his opinion.

13. Thomas Dudley† is elected governor instead of Winthrop, who willingly retired from an office which he had filled in one of the most perilous and responsible periods of the colony. As a natural result of the Congregational order in the churches, the elders are much interested in the change. Assembled in Boston, they assure Winthrop that with "sincere affections and respect towards him," they wish a successor to him for the present, "fearing lest the long continuance of one man in the place should bring it to be for life, and, in time, hereditary."

On petition‡ from Salem, a village is allowed by the legislature at Jeffries Neck, afterwards Manchester. Among the proprietors is William Walton, preacher at Marblehead, who was here before November, 1638.

The inhabitants at Mount Wollaston are allowed to become a town, called Braintree, fulfilling their contract with Boston.

A man is brought in guilty of "forgery, lying, and other foul offences," and is sentenced "to be bound to the whipping-post till the lecture from the first bell, and after the lecture to have his ears cut off," and to leave the colony.

Rev. Henry Flint, confessing his fault for signing the remonstrance relative to Wheelwright, has his name on it crossed, and is thus excused.

Rowley was granted two years' immunity from public taxes, because of their great loss, charge in purchasing lands, and hindrance in planting the last year.

\* Lechford, 3 s. 3 v. Massachusetts Historical Society Collections.

† Winthrop.

‡ General Court Records.

Lady Deborah Moody,\* who was a member of Salem church, and had bought the farm of Humphrey, at Swampscott, in Lynn, is granted four hundred acres of land.

Rev. Nathaniel Ward and others are allowed, conditionally, to have a plantation at Cochichawick or Pentucket, the former subsequently Andover, and the latter Haverhill. They afterwards chose the last place. Here John Ward, son to the specified grantee, was afterwards minister to the inhabitants.

Such as go to Lynn village, since Reading, are to be exempted from public taxes for two years from the time when they have seven houses built and seven families settled there.

The court, perceiving that their order, restricting lectures to daylight, was viewed by the churches as an infringement on their right to regulate such affairs, vote for its repeal.

May 17. The Boston church has this extract: "Our brethren Valentine Hill and Jacob Elyott were chosen, and by y<sup>e</sup> laying on of y<sup>e</sup> hands of y<sup>e</sup> presbytery, ordeyned to y<sup>e</sup> office of deacons."

Understanding that Lord Say persuaded persons who intended to embark for this colony to change their minds, and settle in the West Indies, Winthrop, who gives the fact, had written to him on the subject, and received his answer. This advocated the writer's position, which was, that New England had done well for a refuge, but was less desirable for a permanent residence than those islands.

20. As "a breviae of laws was formerly sent forth to be considered by the elders of the churches and other freemen," they are desired "to ripen their thoughts and counsels about the same," and send them to the court of October. Among the exempts from watches and wards are church officers. Goods of emigrants from Ireland are to be free from the tax just ordered.

June. Some members of the Lynn church went to Long Island, and purchased a plantation at its western end, from the agent of Lord Stirling. But the Dutch, who claimed it, displacing them, they repaired to the eastern part of the island, and took steps to form a church. This place was subsequently called South Hampton. Abraham Pierson received a call to become their minister. He was from Yorkshire; had his A. B. at Trinity College, Cambridge, 1632; came to Boston, 1639; joined the church here, September 5, 1640, and had leave, the next October 11, from them to join in gathering a church at

\* She joined Salem church April 5, 1640. She gave eleven hundred pounds for the farm, which embarrassed her affairs.

Long Island. But a small part of the company there, being at Lynn, he unites with them, in November, as a church, and then proceeds to their settlement on the island. His people, according to advice of magistrates in the Bay, "entered into a civil combination."

Desirous to supply their churches with a new translation of the Psalms into verse, the ministers of New England had encouraged such an enterprise. "The chief divines in the country took each a portion, among whom were Mr. Weld and Mr. Eliot, of Roxbury, and Mr. Mather, of Dorchester." Having accomplished the work assigned to them, it is committed to Henry Dunster and Richard Lyon for revision, and printed this year, at Cambridge. Prefixed to it is "a discourse declaring not only the lawfulness, but also the necessity, of the heavenly ordinance of singing Scripture psalms in the churches of God." The preface closes thus: "Wee have respected rather a plaine translation then to smooth our verses with the sweetness of any paraphrase, and soe have attended conscience rather then elegance, fidelity rather then poetry, in translating the Hebrew words into the English language, that soe wee may sing in Sion the Lord's songs of prayse according to his owne will, untill hee take us from hence, and wipe away all our teares, and bid us enter into our Master's ioye, to sing eternal halleluiahs."

Emigration from England is mostly at a stand, though abundant quantities of provision are sent for trade from that kingdom and Ireland. One cause of it, as well as the reports favorable to settling at the West India islands, was the prospect that the dissenters would be able to secure their rights in the parent country, without coming hither to enjoy them.

July 20. As a matter having much influence on our concerns, the following fact, with its preceding and causative transactions, calls for our notice. Charles I., after perplexed and prolonged difficulties, takes measures to raise an army for subduing the Scots. On the foregoing April 16, Parliament having assembled in London, the Commons renew their complaints as to ship money, monopolies, the Star Chamber, High Commission, breach of their privileges, and innovations in religion. On May 4, the king sends a message to the Commons for supplies to assist him against the Scots. Vane, secretary of state, returned to him with a reply, that they would make no grant for such a purpose. Therefore the king dissolves Parliament. But the Convocation, which met when they did, continue their session, and, on the sixteenth, vote him six subsidies. On October 26, he agrees to a cessation of arms, the Scotch forces having gained decided advantages.

July 28. Lechford writes to a friend in London, that his views and sentiments do not harmonize with the republican spirit of church and state in Massachusetts. For this reason, he says that he is kept from ecclesiastical privileges and political preferment, and that he is scarcely able to earn his living by occasional writing. He continues here only by advice of friends, "hoping that the Lord will shortly give a good issue to things both in our native country, Scotland, and here, as well as in all other of his majestie's dominions." He observes that the "Lord Bishop of Exeter's book" and Mr. Ball's book have lately reached Boston, and he hopes that they will do much good.

August 15. "A straying minister, newly come out, being called forth to prophecy, a question was propounded or scruple was made whether it be lawfull for one that is a member of no church to prophecy to members, or whether it be lawfull to hear such." This occurs in the Boston church. Cotton observes, "It is a question that was lately discussed amongst the elders, and it was concluded to good satisfaction of the most that it is lawfull to call out such to prophecy, and to hear them, and many reasons were given for it."

27. As the successor to Eaton, Rev. Henry Dunster becomes president of Harvard College. He had his A. B. in 1630, and his A. M. 1634, at Magdalen College, Cambridge. Compelled to leave England for his Puritanism, he came over the year of his induction into office. He was noted for his talents, attainments, and especially for his knowledge of Oriental languages.

31. "William Douglass is allowed to be a townsman" of Boston, "he behaving himself as becometh a Christian."

This month, Edmund Brown is ordained pastor of the Sudbury church, which is supposed to have been organized by 1638. He came over the year before such formation.

September 9. Lechford sends questions to the Boston ministers, whether laymen may form themselves into a church, and ordain their own officers. They reply to him affirmatively.

October 7. The legislature have a communication from Connecticut, New Haven, and Aquedneck, or Rhode Island. It expresses their dislike to the proposal of some for destroying the Indians "as of the cursed race of Ham." It then desires the coöperation of Massachusetts "in seeking to gain them by justice and kindness, and withal to watch over them to prevent any danger by them." The authorities here require, that an answer of ready consent to such treatment of the aborigines be sent to the two former colonies, but not to the third. With regard to the last and their agents, who signed the letter about this subject, they express themselves as follows: "excluding Mr. Coddington and Mr. Brenton as men not to be capitulated

withall by us, either for themselves or the people of the island where they inhabit, as their case standeth." The case here mentioned, as it appears, comprises several particulars. Leaving individuals on the island had entered into church fellowship with excommunicated persons. They denied the right of the Boston church, whom they had previously joined, to deal with them for such conduct, and who had sent messengers to them to perform this duty, and still had the question before them what further steps they ought to pursue on the subject. Their position was considered by the rulers of Massachusetts as adverse to the Congregational order, which they counted an essential element in the preservation of their civil and religious interests. Hence the latter so viewed the course of the former, that they felt themselves justified to decline contracting with them in the matter proposed.

Thomas Weld, of Roxbury, is allowed by the legislature five hundred and thirty-three acres of land for his encouragement. To promote the college, they grant it the ferry between Boston and Charlestown.

Great apprehensions, here and abroad, are entertained lest the institutions of this colony be impaired, if not prostrated, by excess of embarrassment in its pecuniary affairs. In prospect of such perils the legislature pass the subjoined resolve: "Whereas many men in the plantation are in debt, and heere is not money sufficient to discharge the same, though their cattle and their goods should bee sould for halfe their worth, as experience hath showed vpon some late executions, whereby a great part of the people in the country may bee undone, and yet their debts not satisfied, though they have sufficient, upon an equall valewation, to pay all, and live comfortably upon the rest. It is therefore ordered, that upon every execution for debts past, the officer shall take land, houses, corne, cattle, fish, or other commodityes, and deliver the same in full satisfaction to the creditor at such prizes" as three referees shall decide. The storm, though alarming, showed the power of the churches and the commonwealth to endure heavy trials, and thus restored greater confidence and influence to them.

The elders and magistrates, as Winthrop says, had desired the General Court to define the distinctive rights of the church and state. The magistrates introduce the matter. They request that it may be so decided, "that the civil magistrate should not proceed against a church member before the church had dealt with him, with some other restraints which the court did not allow of. So the matter was referred to further consideration, and it appeared indeed that divers of the elders did not agree in those points." A question on this subject arose from

the banishment of church members by the legislature for so carrying out their imputed errors in religion as to become chargeable with offence against the civil law, before they had been disciplined by their respective churches. This sent away such members from the convenient means of being dealt with and watched over, and produced in them a feeling that they had been wronged, both of which put them without the influence which otherwise might have been employed for their restoration from what others called false doctrines. Considerations of this kind made a strong reason why elders and the prominent members of their churches should wish that trespasses on ecclesiastical rules might be considered by the proper church, before those on civil orders might be called up by the legislature, when both offences were simultaneous and committed by the same person.

In the course of this month, Cotton delivers a sermon from 1 Cor. xi. 19, respecting heresies, which is soon known as "The Sermon of the Twelve Articles." He maintains that a belief of these may be properly required as a condition of church fellowship. They are as follow: The Trinity. God is the Creator of the world, and Dispenser of reward to the good, and of punishment to the wicked. He is the only proper object of supreme worship. This worship is by command of Scripture, and not by human authority. Since the fall of man, his race have not worshipped God as they should, and have thus subjected themselves to the loss of his promised favor, and are naturally under the curse of law. So situated, they cannot be delivered from condemnation by their own desert. Jesus Christ became manifested in the flesh, and, by his sufferings, delivered his elect from the dominion of sin and destruction. Salvation is offered in the gospel to every one who has true faith in the Redeemer, and only to such. No man can come to the Savior, unless the Father draw him by his word and spirit. All who follow Jesus are justified freely through grace. The justified are renewed and sanctified. They who are thus highly favored are imperfect on earth. To these doctrines the sermon adds that the rewards and punishments of another world are endless, and that a knowledge and reception of them are essential to the foundation of religion. It teaches that difference of views about baptism and imposition of hands should not hinder church communion. It takes exceptions to the Apostles' Creed as to the descent of Christ into hell, and not inculcating that the Scriptures are the only rule of faith and conduct, and not plainly setting forth the doctrine of justification.

Ezekiel Rogers, in pressing the claims of his parish for the enlargement of their limits, before the legislature, said to them.



because they did not fully consent to his proposal, that "he would acquaint the elders" with the matter. The court considered this as a threat, and required satisfaction of him, which he made by an apology, that he only intended by the expression a purpose to consult on the subject with his brethren in the ministry.

October 13. Lechford gives his impressions of our churches to a correspondent: "They hold their covenant constitutes their church, and that implies, we that come to joyne with them were not members of any true church whence we came, and that I dare not professe. Againe, here is required such confessions and professions, both in private and publique, both by men and women, before they are admitted, that three parts of the people of the country remaine out of the church, so that in short time most of the people will remaine unbaptized, if this course hold."

November. The church of Boston send another admonitory letter to their members at Rhode Island.

2. In view of the burdens with which Massachusetts was borne down, Hooker writes to Shepard, of Cambridge, and proposes his removal to Matabeseck.

December 1. Lechford confesses to the Court of Assistants, that he had erred in arguing for the ministry of bishops and the order of Episcopacy. He also engages to cease from such controversy, and attend to his calling.

A jury bring in a verdict that Hugh Buet is guilty of heresy, and that his person and errors are dangerous for the infection of others. He is commanded to leave the jurisdiction by the 24th instant, on pain of death. Winthrop relates, that Buet claimed to be free from original sin, and that he had done nothing wrong for the six previous months, and that he held that "all true Christians after [blank] are enabled to live without committing actual sin." This individual went to Providence.

9. John Knowles is ordained pastor over the Watertown church, though Phillips still remained their pastor, and they had no teacher. Thus they differed, as Winthrop says, "from the practice of the other churches, as also they did in their privacy, not giving notice thereof to the neighboring churches, nor to the magistrates, as the common practice was." Lechford confirms this statement. He remarks that, however the churches, in general, make a distinction between the pastor and teacher and their duties, "some hold them all one, as in the church of Watertown there are two pastors, neither will that church send any messengers to any other church gathering or ordination."

11. The ecclesiastical state of England is increasingly favorable to our civil and religious freedom. A petition of many, in

and about London, is laid before the House of Commons. It prays that Episcopacy "with all its dependencies, roots, and branches, may be abolished, and all laws in their behalf made void, and the government according to God's word may be rightly placed amongst us." From the phrase it contains, it was called the "root and branch petition." It is accompanied with twenty-eight grievances, "caused, practised, and occasioned by the prelates and their dependants." The 4th of them is, "The restraint of many godly and able men from the ministry, and thrusting out of many congregations their faithful, diligent, and powerful ministers, who lived peaceably with them, and did them good, only because they cannot in conscience submit unto and maintain the bishop's needless devices; nay, sometimes for no other cause but for their zeal in preaching, or great auditories. 9. The hindering of godly books to be printed, the blotting out or perverting those which they suffer, all or most of that which strikes either at Popery or Arminianism; the adding of what or where pleaseth them, and the restraint of reprinting books formerly licensed, without relicensing. 10. The publishing and venting of Popish, Arminian, and other dangerous books and tenets, as namely, that the church of Rome is a true church, and in the worst times never erred in fundamentals; that the subjects have no propriety in their estates, but that the king may take from them what he pleaseth; that all is the king's, and that he is bound by no law. 21. Prophanation of the Lord's day, pleading for it, and enjoining ministers to read a declaration set forth (as 'tis thought) by their procurement for tolerating of sports upon that day, suspending and depriving many godly ministers for not reading the same only out of conscience, because it was against the law of God so to do, and no law of the land to enjoin it." One of the dangerous consequences which follow from the 28th grievance is, "The general hope and expectation of the Romish party, that their superstitious religion will ere long be fully planted in this kingdom again, and so they are encouraged to persist therein, and to practise the same openly in divers places, to the high dishonour of God, and contrary to the laws of the realm."

December 17. The Scottish commissioners offer a charge to the House of Lords against the prelate of Canterbury. On the 18th, he is accused of high treason, and "committed to the custody of the gentleman usher." Thus fallen into the hands of those who considered him as a prime cause of their national sufferings, the condition of Archbishop Laud becomes more hopeless, and his tragic end is well known. With his ruin, all the protracted policy and efforts to bring New England under hierarchal rule cease to be continued. His adversity brings relief to our fathers

from their long-continued anxiety lest they should be stripped of their charter rights, and be compelled to flee from the land of their adoption to some other refuge.

December 19. Lechford writes to a friend in England, "Sorry and grieved are we at the heart to heare of the troublous estate and condition of our native countrey. Wee here also meete with our troubles and distresses in outward things, and some in spirituall matters also. Never, since I saw you, have I received the sacrament of the Lord's supper. I have disputed in writing, though to my great hindrance, in regard to outward things, yet, blessed be the Lord, to my better satisfaction at the last. Our chiefe difference was about the foundation of the church and ministry, and what rigid separations may tend unto, what is to be feared, in case the most of the people here should remaine unbaptized. Blessed be the Lord, now some of the chiefe leaders of the churches here hold the churches in England true churches, and your ministry lawfull, though divers corruptions there may be among you."

At the latter part of this month, news arrives that the Scots had entered England; a parliament was called, and hope prevailed of thorough reformation in national affairs. Such tidings produce an unsteadiness of purpose. Some decide to return, and dwell in their native country. Others, concluding that they could not obtain convenient support there, make up their minds to emigrate southward. Hence they part with estates at very low prices. This, with the scarcity of money, causes a great abatement in the value of all property, which would bring no more than a fifth of its common price; whereby, as Winthrop observes, "God taught us the vanity of all outward things."

Shepard states, this year, that, having composed and published notes on six of the nine principles in England before he came over, he had now finished the notes on the other three principles, and "so sent them to England, where they are also printed."

1641, February 1. Mrs. Anne Hibbins is excommunicated\* from the Boston church, for charging mechanics, who worked on her husband's house, with extortion, and refusing to retract when privately admonished by members of the church, and accusing the church of injustice because they had dealt with her on the subject. When the sentence was pronounced, her husband said,† "I desier leaue to speake one word before the congregation be dismissed. It is my humble, and earnest request to the congregation, first to our reuerend elders, and then to euery brother and sister in the congregation, that both in publike and priuate they would remember my afflicted condition be-

\* Boston Church Records.

† Keayne's Manuscript.

fore the Lord, and earnestly pray to God that this ordinance of his may be sanctified to my wife, for the good of her sowle and for the returninge of her back agayne, first to herself and then vnto yow." She was the unhappy woman subsequently hung on the charge of witchcraft.

February 2. Mr. Burr had united with the Dorchester church, and received a call from them to be colleague with Mather. Having deferred an acceptance of the invitation, he continued to preach for the parish. He delivered some doctrines,\* which, as his hearers thought, partook of "Familism." The church desired him to explain, but his replies did not satisfy them. The matter was then left for discussion between him and Mather. The former wrote down his views on the doubtful points, and presented them to the latter, who drew up his objections, and laid them before the brethren, without the qualifications made by Burr. When this was published, Burr denied that he held the sentiments imputed to him. It caused division in the church; part sided with him, and others with Mather. A council, of Governor Dudley, Winthrop, and ten of the neighboring elders, assemble to reconcile their differences. After a session of four days, the result was, that Burr had been too backward to explain his doubted opinions, and Mather too forward to declare them wrong. This they both confess, and renew their harmonious coöperation.

A trouble, which often existed then and since on similar occasions, was experienced in Boston about the situation of a new meeting house. But it was settled quietly. The cost of it, being a thousand pounds, was raised by weekly contributions. This was done without complaint, while other churches had been much disturbed when called to meet a like charge by taxation.

Friends in England had written over for this colony to send agents thither, commissioned to petition Parliament, whose power was much enlarged, for needed favors. This was probably done by such men as Matthew Cradock, the fast friend of Massachusetts, who was then a member of that body. On the first consultation, our authorities declined the overtures, lest it should bring them into prejudicial subjection.

3. The subsequent events, favorable to the cause of dissenters in England, are alike related to the same cause in our land, as they take place in their order. The Commons grant three hundred thousand pounds to their brethren of Scotland, and thus favor their stand against the king. To conciliate the anti-royalists, he admits Lord Say and other disaffected lords to his privy

\* Winthrop.

council, but with little effect. On the 3d of May, a protestation, like that of the Scotch Covenant, is made by the Lords and Commons, to secure their rights and privileges, and circulated over the whole kingdom. On the 12th, the Earl of Strafford, charged with a purpose to alter the constitution, so that it may favor absolute monarchy, is beheaded on Tower Hill. On July 5, a bill passes to nullify the Star Chamber and High Commission Court.

March 2. The Assistants advise with elders on the subject of foreign agents. The conclusion is, that it would be well to send commissioners to "negotiate both in furthering the work of reformation of the churches there, which was now like to be attempted, and to satisfy our countrymen of the true cause why our engagements there have not been satisfied this year, as they were wont to be in all former time, since we were here planted," and to promote a trade in cotton, at the West Indies, for the manufacture of cloth among the colonists. The individuals designated for the mission are Peters, Weld, and Hibbins. A letter from many of the principal men was addressed to the Salem church, desiring them to relinquish their pastor. The governor applied to the Roxbury church for a like purpose, who, after deliberation, consented to give up Mr. Weld. But the Salem church were not ready to comply. Endicott, having objected to Peters's departure, still retained the same ground. Some of his reasons were, "that officers should not be taken from their churches for civil occasions; that it would be reported that we were in such want as we had sent to England to beg relief, which would be very dishonorable to religion; and that we ought to trust in God, who had never failed us hitherto." But the principal objection was, lest Peters should remain in England, or go thence to the West Indies with Humfrey, who intended to embark with him, and was engaged as governor in the latter quarter by Lord Say and others. As a confirmation of this opinion, Humfrey severely argued against Endicott's position before the Salem congregation. This liked to have caused a breach between them. But both, confessing publicly that they had been too much excited on the subject, became reconciled. Still their church sent an answer to the authorities, with reasons for non-compliance. This delayed the embassy, and it was relinquished for a time. The discussion was a prominent topic of public discourse.

23. William Pynchon states that he is to be disciplined by those of Connecticut. He says, "The main matter is about falling from the government of the River to the Bay jurisdiction." He remarks that his son Smith and Rev. Mr. Moxon are implicated with him. He asks advice of the Roxbury

**elders.** The next June 2, he has a renewed commission from the Bay authorities to govern Springfield, the place of his residence.

**March 31.** The Lords of England petition \* the lord high treasurer, that the people of New England, who complain that their trade is restricted, may have relief.

**April 27.** A gentleman of Somersetshire writes to Thomas Lechford, in Boston, that disorder reigns in the church and nation of Old England.

**May.** The people of New Meadows, subsequently Topsfield, begin to have preaching. Robert Fordham, minister, as Lechford states, resides at Sudbury. He became minister of Southampton, L. I.

Cotton advances the opinion from Revelation xv. that no more of the Jews or Gentiles would be called, except occasional proselytes, until Antichrist be destroyed.

**June 1.** The Court of Assistants release Mr. Edward Tomlins, who had declared against singing in the churches.

**2.** Nathaniel Ward preaches the election sermon. Winthrop remarks of it, "He delivered many useful things, but in a moral and political discourse, grounding his propositions much upon the old Roman and Grecian governments, which sure is an error, for if religion and the word of God makes men wiser than their neighbors, and these times have the advantage of all that have gone before us in experience and observation, it is probable that by all these helps, we may better frame rules of government for ourselves than to receive others upon the bare authority of the wisdom, justice, etc., of those heathen commonwealths."

Rev. John Ward and his company are to have the bounds of the plantation, afterwards Haverhill, determined, if they erect six houses there by the October session of the court. A settlement is allowed at Nantasket. White people had lived here prior to 1624. The gospel had been preached to them at different periods.

The trial of great depression in all country produce and live stock, and in the continued wages of servants, laborers, and mechanics at the former rates, is so great, "that many think better to lay aside their business (which would tend to ruin the churches and commonwealth) than spend the small remnant of their estates for the maintenance" of such helpers. The court therefore enact, that persons who are hired to work shall lower their wages, and take pay in the productions of their labor, or other commodities of the colony.

\* From manuscript of Mr. George Adlard.

One means of such depression was the knowledge that very few emigrants came, or intended to come, from England, because of the parliamentary reform in political and ecclesiastical government, and that, as a consequence, foreign commodities were scarce and high.

The elders are requested to "make a catechism for the instruction of youth in the grounds of religion."

The court repeat their wish to the churches of Salem, Roxbury and Boston, for relinquishing Peters, Weld, and Hibbins to visit England. The object of their embassy was to congratulate the dissenters on their success; to apologize for our merchants, who had not made remittances for their goods, on account of the low price which our productions brought; to improve opportunities for our colonial welfare; and to advise, if desired, about the platform of church government. But they were cautioned not to commit the colony by asking for assistance in any objectionable manner. Winthrop adds, "for we were resolved to wait upon the Lord in the use of all means which were lawful and honourable."

A committee are appointed to hold a meeting with the elders, "to consider of the jurisdictions" of the churches and commonwealth. A description of the colony in its "present state," as "tendered" by Endicott, is, after revisal, to be published.

They order Jane Hawkins, a particular friend of Mrs. Hutchinson, to leave their jurisdiction to-morrow morning, and not to return on "pain of severe whipping and such other punishment as the court shall think meet." Her two sons are required to give bond for twenty pounds, that she be carried away.

21. Tidings had reached \* Boston that a small Puritan church at Providence, in the West Indies, had been persecuted, and their pastor, with another minister, had been sent as prisoner to England. Thus afflicted, they desired the sympathy, prayers, and aid of our churches. A company there had previously purposed to go and reside there. Not discouraged by what they now heard, they conclude to proceed and strengthen their oppressed brethren. The elders and magistrates, though considering that they were needed at Providence to sustain a drooping church, yet, as things stood here, it was not their obligation to venture. Thomas Venner,† of Salem, a leader among these

\* Winthrop.

† Life of Rev. John Wilson. Venner was a cooper. He went to England, and united with the "Fifth Monarchy" sect. After Charles II. came to the throne, he persuaded some followers, that if they would take up arms, "Jesus would come to put himself at their head." They complied with his advice. The most of them were killed. Venner was taken with others. He was hanged, drawn, and quartered, January 19, 1661, in Coleman Street, London.

emigrants, stood up with some others, and said "notwithstanding what has been offered, they were clear in their call to remove." Wilson replied, that if they disregarded the advice given them, they would not prosper. This prediction was sorrowfully verified. The company of thirty men, five women, and eight children set sail in two small vessels. One of them was commanded by William Pierce, who had been noted for his useful labors in promoting the settlement of New England. When he arrived in the harbor of Providence, he was fired on by Spaniards, who had recently captured the place. He and Samuel Wakeman, of Hartford, were mortally wounded. The former died in an hour, and the latter lived ten days. On the morning of so sad an event, Pierce read in course to the company from Genesis, "Behold, I die; but God shall bring you again to the land of your fathers." From this passage he gave them a serious exhortation. Thus forced to relinquish their enterprise, they returned to Boston the 3d of September.

July 5. Lechford, being requested by one of the chief men to express his objections to state and church here, gives the succeeding reply. He doubts whether the mode of discipline and worship of Congregationalism are so beneficial as those of Episcopacy; whether sufficient efforts are made to evangelize the Indians; whether the manner of election in church and commonwealth will be safe; and whether the best inhabitants will continue here unless there be a reform.

25. John Winthrop, Jr., and William Hibbins, being about to sail for England, are recommended to churches there by the Boston church.

August 3. The subsequent facts are collated from Lechford, who now embarks for England. He was an intelligent and conscientious lawyer. He came hither much disposed to favor Congregationalism, but, after a while, he returned to his previous inclination for hierarchy.

As to the gathering of a church, "a convenient number of Christians, allowed by the Generall Court to plant together, at a day prefixed, come together, in publique manner, in some fit place, and there confesse their sins and professe their faith one unto another, and being satisfied of one another's faith and repentance, they solemnly enter into a covenant with God and one another." On such occasions, messengers of other churches are present, and one of them questions the persons forming the new church, and if satisfied with their creed and life, gives them the right hand of fellowship. After a church elects its officers, as pastors, teachers, elders, and deacons, they appoint a public day of fasting and prayer for their ordination. This service is done by two or three laymen of their number, if no min-



ister be of their company, but if he be, he takes part in the work with them. When such duty is performed, and ministers of other churches are present, these give the right hand of fellowship to each of the new officers, or else one, in the name of the rest, does it with an address.

Besides the officers already named, the churches feel themselves authorized to choose "deaconesses or widows," though Lechford did not know of any females holding such a trust.

If any persons wish to join a church, they make it known to a ruling elder and a private assembly at his house. Desired to give an account of their religious knowledge, they do it, if men, standing, but if women, sitting. When their relation is satisfactory to the brethren present, one of the ruling elders propounds them before the whole congregation. He then remarks, "If any know any thing or matter of offence against them, for their unfitness to join with them, such are required to bring notice thereof to the elders." Provided that the individuals so presented have no charge against them, one of the ruling elders calls them forth in the assembly, "most commonly upon the Lord's day, after evening exercises, and sometimes upon a week day, when all the church have notice to be present." They come forward. He speaks: "Brethren of this congregation, this man, or this woman, A B. hath been heretofore propounded to you, desiring to enter into church fellowship with us, and we have not, since that, heard any thing from any of you to the contrary of the parties admittance, but that we may go on to receive him." If valid objections are offered, the reception is delayed; but if not, further progress is made. The person, being a man, again relates the work of grace upon his soul; but being a woman her relation, made privately to the elders, is read, most usually, by the pastor to the assembly, in Boston. "At Salem, the women speak themselves, for the most part, in the church; but of late, it is said, they do this upon the week days there, and nothing is done on Sunday but their entrance into covenant." The next step for the candidate is to profess his faith, his view of the constitution of a church in its officers and members, and their respective duties. If unable to do this for himself, he is assisted by questions and answers. At this point, the elder says, "Brethren, if you are satisfied, express your consent to receive him, by your usual sign, which is the erection and extension of the right hand." The last act is entrance into covenant; the part relating to the candidate is read to him by the elder, which he promises to perform by divine help; and then that of the church to the candidate; and thus he becomes admitted.

Continuing his remarks on such new members of the church—

the same author adds, "Then they may receive the sacrament of the Lord's Supper ; and their children be baptized, but not before ; also till then they may not be freemen of the commonwealth."

"Of late some churches are of opinion that any may be admitted to church fellowship that are not extremely ignorant or scandalous ; but this they are not very forward to practice, except at Newberry."

"Although some have held that three, or two, may make a church, yet I have heard Master Cotton say, that a church could not be without the number of six or seven, at least ; and so was their practice while I was there, at Weymouth and New Taunton, and at Lynn for Long Island ; because if there are but three, one that is offended with another cannot upon cause tell the church, but one man."

In cases of discipline, if a member holds erroneous opinions, the teacher declares the decision against him ; if he be guilty of immoral conduct, the pastor performs such a duty. "The ruling elders do not usually denounce any sentence."

While an excommunicated individual is allowed to attend worship with the rest of the congregation in other towns, he is not permitted in New Haven, but must stand "at the door, if he will hear." It has been decided in Boston, that if a person thus cut off from ecclesiastical privileges be a father, his children may eat with him, and, if he be a magistrate, he ought to be obeyed in civil concerns.

There is a difference of opinion on the question whether offences between brethren should not be brought to their church before the magistrate takes cognizance of them. Still, "the magistrates and church leaders labor for a just and equal correspondence in jurisdictions, not to intrench one on the other ; neither the civil magistrate to be exempt from ecclesiastical censure, nor the minister from civil ; and whether ecclesiastical or civil power first begin to lay hold on a man, the same to proceed, not barring the other to intermeddle."

The churches have no control over each other except by advice. Though they are generally independent of the government, yet, in some cases, the legislature overrule their decisions. "Of late divers of the ministerie have had set meetings to order church matters, whereby it is conceived they bend towards Presbyterian rule."

Some of the churches have their branches in villages, as Boston had at Braintree, and still has at Rumney Marsh, and Salem at Marblehead. A member of the principal church officiates at the branch, "which is called prophesying" in such a place. The members of the latter church come and partake of the sacrament with the former.

[Mass.]

In Boston church, they rule, when they can, by unanimous consent ; but, if not thus able, they refer the question to select brethren to "hear and end, or to certify the church, and any brethren that will, to be present" at their private discussion. In Salem church, the majority rule ; "you that are so minded, hold up your hands ; you that are otherwise minded, hold up yours."

A part of the congregations have no ruling elders ; some have one, and others have two. They differ as to the number of their deacons, some having one, others two or three. The opinion limitedly exists, that "one minister is enough for a small number of people."

When a minister exchanges with another, the ruling elder in the society to whom he comes says to him publicly, after the psalm is sung, "If this present brother hath any word of exhortation for the people at this time, in the name of God let him say on."

While private brethren occasionally address the congregation from a text of Scripture at Salem, "it is generally held in the Bay, by some of the most grave and learned men among them, that none should undertake to prophesy in publick, unless he intend the work of the ministry."

Public worship, in Boston, is in the following order : It begins by the ringing of a bell "about nine of the clock or before." The pastor prays a quarter of an hour. The teacher reads and explains a chapter. A psalm is dictated by one of the ruling elders, and sung. The pastor preaches a sermon, and sometimes gives an exhortation without notes. The teacher closes with prayer and benediction. Services commence at two in the afternoon. The pastor proceeds as in the forenoon. A psalm is sung. The teacher delivers a sermon. "He was wont, when I came first, to read and expound a chapter also before his sermon. After and before his sermon, he prayeth." Singing and blessing. "In some churches, nothing is read on the Lord's day, but a psalme dictated before or after the sermon, as at Hingham."

Baptism is administered next to the prayer which follows the sermon. It is done by either pastor or teacher, standing in the deacons' seat, below that of the elders. He commonly addresses the church and parents on the subject. Baptism is by "washing and sprinkling, in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost." It is required that, at least, one of the parents be a member of the church. No godfathers or godmothers are required.

The sacrament is partaken of once a month, of which notice is given a fortnight beforehand. "Then all others departing,

save the church, which is a great deal less in number than those that go away," they receive the elements, "the ministers and ruling elders sitting at the table, the rest in their seats or upon forms." The pastor or teacher prays, blesses and consecrates the bread and wine. He delivers the "bread in a charger to some of the chief," who carry it round to the communicants. In a similar manner the cup is circulated. The other prayers after each of these memorials is received. On the next like occasion, the pastor and teacher change services; he who began ends. If any member of another church be present, and wishes to commune, he mentions it to one of the ruling elders, "who propounds his name to the congregation," who, if having no objection, grant him the privilege. Persons not members of the church are allowed to be spectators at such times.

Prior to the dispersion of the people in the afternoon, a contribution is taken. "One of the deacons, saying, 'Brethren of the congregation, as God has prospered you, so freely offer,' the magistrates and chief gentlemen first, and then the elders and all the congregation of men, and most of them that are not of the church, all single persons, widows, and women, in absence of their husbands, come up one after another one way, and bring their offerings to the deacon at his seate, and put it into a box of wood for the purpose if it be money or papers; if it be any other chattle, they set or lay it down before the deacons, and so pass another way to their seats again. I have seen a fair gilt cup, with a cover, offered there by one, which is still used at the communion." The amount so collected is appropriated, by the deacons, towards the support of the ministers, the assistance of the poor, and other occasions. At Salem, only church members bring such offerings in public. Other worshippers are waited on at their houses, to give for the ministers' salaries. In some other places, all the parish are taxed to meet their current expenses.

On "extraordinary occasions, as the building and repairing meeting houses and other necessities, the ministers press a liberal contribution, with effectual exhortations out of the Scriptures."

A reason offered by some why the gospel was not prevalent among the Indians was, that "it is not probable that any nation more can be converted till the calling of the Jews; till the seven plagues finished, none was able to enter the temple, that is, the Christian church." Dunster, of the college, "deserves commendation above many" for his endeavors to have the natives evangelized.

The marriage ceremony is performed only by magistrates. There is neither reading nor a sermon at funerals. The neigh-

bors assemble at the tolling of a bell, accompany the corpse to the grave, and there stand till it is buried. "The ministers are most commonly present."

"The ministers advise in making of laws, especially ecclesiastical, and are present in courts, and advise in some special causes."

The commissioners for England, with John Winthrop, Jr., Thomas Lechford, and thirty-nine others, sail for Newfoundland. Here they expected to find ships to conduct them the rest of their passage. They were fourteen days in going thither. Peters and Weld preached to the people on the island, "who were much affected with the word taught."

Chalmers, in his Political Annals, thus expresses himself with regard to Peters and his associates: "Though their instructions have not been preserved, the object of their mission at that critical juncture is now known to have been to promote the interest of reformation, by stirring up the war and driving it on." He asserts that this position is proved by the trial of Peters. But an examination of this document affords no such positive conclusion. A witness, who had betrayed the confidence of the accused, and from a violent republican had become a zealous royalist, uses language of doubtful interpretation. His words are, that Peters, for the advancement of reformation, "was employed out of New England" to stir up and promote the civil war. No doubt the rulers of Massachusetts were earnestly desirous for the cause of civil and religious freedom to be advanced in their parent country, as a direct means of securing its continuance among themselves. But there is strong doubt that they ever encouraged the commissioners to visit England for the purpose of kindling the flames of warfare. The phrase "employed out of New England" is not satisfactorily definite. However it may be construed, Peters positively and immediately denied that such was the design of his voyage to England. His words are, "When I came over, I found the wars begun; I began no war. I was sent over to his majesty, that we might have a little help in point of excise and customs and encouragement of learning; being sent over upon occasions of the country and not upon any designe."

Thus bound on an experiment of serving their adopted country under difficult and mutable circumstances, Messrs. Peters and Weld, having thus taken their final leave of our shores, call for a limited notice.

Mr. Peters, not only before and during his agency for Massachusetts, but all his life after, proved himself its fast and efficient friend. He was among the foremost of able, eloquent, and energetic advocates and promoters of civil and religious

freedom in his native country. His heart was filled with benevolence and sympathy for the distressed, near and afar off, and his exertions for their relief were disinterested and abundant. His ardent engagedness for what he believed the benefit of his fellow-men and advancement of his Savior's kingdom drew upon him the shafts of reproach and slander. But the rectitude of his purpose and the consciousness of his integrity were a shield to preserve his inward peace and outward reputation, with all the eminent men who most knew his course, and most loved the dictates of truth. As well known, his end was tragical. He was executed in London, October 16, 1660, on the charge of high treason. His second wife, who had been long afflicted with insanity, survived him, and was living in London, 1677, supported by Mr. Cockquaine's church, as she had been since his execution. Then Mr. Cockquaine made application to the Salem congregation, and others who might sympathize with her troubles, to render her some assistance. Mr. Peters left a daughter, Elizabeth, baptized in 1640, before he left the colony. In his parting advice to her, he observed, "Your faithfulness to me and your mother will find acceptance in heaven, I trust." She was a widow Barker, of Deptford, in Kent county, in 1703, and was living six years afterwards.

Besides the *Legacy*, printed 1660, the following works of Peters were issued from the press: A Preface to Church Government and Church Covenant, 1643; A Message from Sir Thomas Fairfax; the Full and last Relation of all Things concerning Basing House; Report from Bristol, 1645; God's Doings and Man's Duty, a sermon; Last Report of English Wars; Declaration of his Service in the West of England; General Propositions presented to the Members of the House of Commons, concerning the Presbyterian Ministers of this Kingdom, etc.; Message to both Houses from Sir Thomas Fairfax, with the Narration of the Taking of Dartmouth, 1646; A Word for the Army and Two Words to the Kingdom; *Amesii Lectiones in Psalmos, cum Epist. Dedic.*, 1647; Address to the Watery Generation abroad, their Admiral at Gravesend, taken in Short Hand, 1649; Epitaphs on Henry Ireton, 1651; Good Work for a good Magistrate, or a Short Cut to Great Quiet, 1651; A Sermon on Seeking the Lord; the Case of Hugh Peters, impartially communicated to the View of the whole World, written by his own Hand, 1660. Besides these, taken from the *Bibliotheca Britannica*, we have another from Allen, "*Brief aen Vaeder la Chaize*."

With the usual infirmities of our race, Mr. Peters was as far removed from their dominion, and possessed as many excellences as the most of his day, the remembrance of whose worthi-

ness we cherish with more than ordinary respect and esteem. The tribute we heartily render to these should not be withheld from him. The crown we award them for having run well is equally his due.

After having attended to the duties of his agency, Mr. Weld returns to the higher trust of dispensing the doctrines of his Redeemer. He settled over a parish at Gateshead, St. Mary's. The sweep of ejection, in 1662, comprises him as well as many others. The time of this occurrence shows that the date of his decease in the Roxbury church records, as being in 1661, cannot be correct. He was engaged with Governor Winthrop, Sen., in preparing the Rise, Reign, and Ruin of Antinomianism etc., in New England. He published an answer to W. R.'s Narration of the Opinions and Practices of the Churches lately erected in New England, vindicating these churches, 1644. "He, with three other ministers of Newcastle, wrote the Perfect Pharisee under Monkish Holiness, showing the Quakers' Opposition to the Fundamental Principles and Doctrines of the Gospel," 1654. He took part with a like number in publishing a tract, entitled A False Jew, etc., on Discovery of a Scot, who pretended to be a Jew, and then an Anabaptist. Of Mr. Weld's children were John, minister of Riton, in the county of Durham; Edmund, graduated at H. C., 1650, became minister of Inniskean, Ireland, and died March 2, 1668, aged fifty (?); and Thomas, who resided at Roxbury, had a family there, and died 1683. The life of Mr. Weld was marked with more than ordinary events. But in them all he exhibited a firm reliance on the immutable promises of the gospel.

August 15. Edward,\* son of Rev. Peter Bulkley, of Concord, is dismissed by Boston church to that of his father. He succeeded Blinman† at Marshfield, who left there this year, and ere long preached at Gloucester.

September 2. In view of the success‡ of Parliament against the royal party, "a day of thanksgiving was kept in all our churches."

7. While Bellingham and other members of the Quarterly Court are dealing with Francis Hutchinson and his brother-in-law, William Collins, the former of these two, still a member of Boston church, is ordered to prison, as well as the latter. The constable, Anthony Stoddard, says to the governor, "If you should proceed with a brother otherwise than you ought, I

\* Boston Church Records.

† As Blinman became freeman of Massachusetts October 7, 1641, he appears to have moved hither from Marshfield, by such date, though Morton implies that he may have been there in 1642.

‡ Winthrop.

might deal with you in a church way." For such a speech he is committed. On conversation with ministers and others, he confesses that he erred in supposing that "the magistrate ought not to deal with a member of the church before the church had proceeded with him." He acknowledges the same the next day in public assembly. Still, for example's sake, he is bound to appear at next court, and is fined twenty shillings.

Persons from this colony, as Winthrop relates, being in London, and perceiving it to be a fit opportunity to apply for redress of grievances, sent a petition to the House of Lords. This body treated it with friendliness, and took off the restraint on vessels and emigrants for New England, and confirmed to Massachusetts her charter privileges. Thus they revived this document, which had been nullified and recalled. Such favor entirely turned the tables with regard to the men powerfully combined for the overthrow of our Congregational colonies. It once more bid these be of good cheer, and more fully trust in Omnipotence, who often brings deliverance for the oppressed from the counsels and efforts intended for their utter desolation.

We are told by Johnson, that "there was another town and church erected upon Cape Ann, being peopled with fishermen, till the Rev. Richard Blinman came from a place in Plymouth Patent, called Green Harbor, with some few people of his acquaintance, and settled down with them, and gathered into a church, being but a small number, about fifty persons. They called to office this godly man, whose gifts and abilities to handle the word is not inferior to many others, laboring much against the errors of the times, of a sweet, humble, heavenly carriage." Thus highly recommended for the new sphere of his labor, Blinman girds himself for the arduous duties of his station and calling.

October 7. Mr. William Perkins is granted four hundred acres of land for fifty pounds which his father paid towards the stock of the Massachusetts Company. The former person was a preacher at Gloucester, in 1651, and subsequently at Topsfield. A fast is designated for November 4, "in regard of our wants and the danger of our native country."

10. James Forrett, agent for the Earl of Stirling, who claimed all islands between Cape Cod and Hudson River, grants to Thomas Mayhew, Sen. and Jr., both of Watertown, Nantucket and two small islands. On the 23d, he also assigns to them Martin's (alias Martha's) Vineyard and Elizabeth Islands. The condition of such grants is the payment of a quit rent. Thus a sphere is opened for a family who did much to promote the interests of religion.

A church is gathered at the Vineyard, and Thomas Mayhew,



the younger, becomes its pastor. It is supposed that white inhabitants occupied the island several years before the purchase previously stated, and that he preached for them in that period.

In a subsequent communication of his to the Society in London for the Evangelization of the Indians in New England, we have these passages: "When the Lord brought me to these poor Indians on the Vinyard, they were mighty zealous and earnest in the worship of many false gods and devils, of things in heaven, earth, and sea. They had men, women, and children gods, besides innumerable more feigned gods belonging to many creatures, to their corn and every colour of it. The devil also with his angels had his kingdom among them. Account him they did the terror of the living, the god of the dead, under whose cruel power and into whose deformed likeness they conceived themselves to be translated when they died. By him they were often hurt in their bodies, distracted in their minds; wherefore they had many meetings with their pawwaws (who usually had a hand in their hurt) to pacify the devil by their sacrifice, and get deliverance from their evil. The pawwaws counted their imps their preservers, had them treasured up in their bodies, which they brought forth to hurt their enemies and heal their friends; who, when they had done some notable cure, would shew the imp in the palm of their hands to the Indians, who, with much amazement looking on it, deified them, then at all times seeking to them for cure in all sickness, and counsel in all cases. This diabolical way they were in, giving heed to a multitude of heathen traditions of their gods, and many other things, under the observation whereof, they with much slavery were held, and abounding with sins, having only an obscure notion of a God greater than all, which they called Mannit; but they knew not what he was, and therefore had no way to worship him." This extract is given as a specimen of the spiritual darkness which covered the Indians, and the difficulty of bringing them to the light of gospel truth.

Thomas Shepard makes the following note: "When I saw the gifts and honour attending them in another, T. H., (Thomas Hooker,) I began to affect such an excellency. And I saw hereby that usually in my ministry I did affect an excellency, and hence set upon the work. Whereas the Lord hereupon humbled me for this, by letting me see this was a diabolical pride. And so the Lord made me thankful in seeing it, and put me in mind to watch against it." On the 29th, he remarks, "I was much troubled about the poverty of the churches." But soon perceiving it intended as a trial of Providence, he bowed in hopeful submission.

1641.]

October 27. Rev. Robert Peck leaves Hingham, and embarks with his wife and son Joseph, for his native land. His recent arraignment before the legislature was probably one inducement for such departure. Cotton Mather relates that he was invited by his friends of Hingham, in England, to renew his pastoral relation with them, "where he was greatly serviceable for the good of the church." He died 1656, in the midst of a beloved flock, with whom he suffered and labored for the cause of godliness.

November 13. An extract from Shepard's diary follows: "I was considering the state of the country by reason of its poverty. I had two arguments suggested to make me hope the Lord would relieve us. 1. Because, if the Lord had given himself for his people, to redeem them from the greatest sin of the world, then from out of those sins by which our distresses are occasioned now. 2. Because we are a poor, afflicted people, cast out of our own country from our friends and comforts there, and all our sorrows and sufferings here are in part by reason of their cruelty and persecution, and that therefore the Lord will deliver, if we seek."

December 10. At a session of the legislature, beginning at this date, a body of laws, prepared chiefly by Nathaniel Ward, is adopted. Nineteen transcripts of it are to be made and signed by a committee, and each town is to pay ten shillings for one of them.

As a bonus for being the first who set up printing in the colony, Stephen Day is granted three hundred acres of land. For their important duties, John Cotton and Nathaniel Ward are each allowed six hundred acres.

From the code just accepted, the subsequent passages are taken. In the introduction, "The free fruition of such liberties, immunities, and privileges as humanity, civility, and Christianity call for as due to every man in his place and proportion, without impeachment and infringement, hath ever been and ever will be the tranquility and stability of churches and commonwealths; and the denial or deprivation thereof, the disturbance, if not the ruin, of both."

Among the natural rights, it is declared, that "no man's honour or good name shall be stained, unless by virtue or equity of some express law of the country, or, in case of the defect of a law, by the word of God."

"Civil authorities hath power and liberty to see the peace, ordinances, and rules of Christ observed in every church according to his word, so it be done in a civil, and not in an ecclesiastical way.

"Civil authority hath power and liberty to deal with any church

member in a way of civil justice, notwithstanding any church relation, office, or interest.

"No church censure shall degrade or depose any man from any civil dignity, office, or authority he shall have in the commonwealth."

After declaring that idolatry, witchcraft, and blasphemy shall be punishable with death, the code proceeds to detail ecclesiastical liberties.

"The elders of churches have free libertie to meet monthly, quarterly, or otherwise, for conferences and consultation about Christian and church questions and occasions.

"All churches have liberty to deal with any of their members in a church way, that are in the hand of justice, so it be not to retard or hinder the course thereof.

"We allow private meetings for edification in religion amongst Christians of all sorts of people, so it be without just offence for number, time, place, and other circumstances."

For preventing error and offences, and promoting brotherly communion, it is allowed that "once in every month of the year, when the season will bear it, it shall be lawful for the ministers and elders of the churches near adjoining together, with any other of the brethren, with the consent of the churches, to assemble by course in each several church, one after another, to the intent, after the preaching of the word by such a minister as shall be requested thereto by the elders of the church where the assembly is held, the rest of the day may be spent in public Christian conference about the discussing and resolving of any such doubts and cases of conscience, concerning matter of doctrine, or worship, or government of the church, as shall be propounded by any of the brethren of that church, with leave also to any other brother to propound his objections or answers for further satisfaction, according to the word of God."

Some of the legislature urged that the code should contain additional laws, which should impose fixed penalties on "lying, swearing, etc." But the majority carried the principle, that "all punishments, except such as are made certain in the law of God, or are not subject to variation by merit of circumstances, ought to be left arbitrary to the wisdom of the judges."

The Body of Liberties had less capital laws than the "Judicials of Moses," previously drawn up by Cotton, but not adopted by the General Court. Among the distinctive features of the latter were its requisitions that wilful perjury, false witness, unchastity, contemptuous profanation of the Lord's day, reviling of the highest magistrates, and rebellion against parents, should be punished with death. The former, being of a more general character, was applied as its administrators judged the

necessities of society required. The great question, which has always been asked in civilized nations, how far legal justice shall exercise severity on the criminal in order to throw protection around the innocent, was asked in relation to that code, as it has been since to its remaining essentials and additions. It is still far from being satisfactorily settled. There is a limit somewhere, to which retribution should extend, so that the pillars of social purity, order, safety, and happiness may not be cast down and destroyed. Human perception will probably never discover that line, while darkened by the influence of sin. When the Great Physician shall remove the obscurity of its vision, there will be no need of applying primitive enactments, because transgressors will have become moulded and assimilated to his most holy will.

A proposal, as Winthrop says, having been made to drop from the magistrates two who had expended much property, and been exemplary in efforts to advance the temporal and spiritual welfare of the colony, Cotton reproved it, at a Thursday lecture, as an ungrateful miscarriage. He maintained that men "well gifted and approved by long experience," whose estates had been injured by attention to the public good, deserved support from the country. His eloquence had its intended effect, and confirmed the practice of elections to high places of trust more for merit than fortune.

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#### PLYMOUTH.

1640, February 17. As Winthrop\* had been involved in a debt of twenty-three hundred pounds by the steward who managed his farm in England, Winslow, like others, addresses him with religious consolation: "How I have been and am affected with those losses and crosses as are befallen you by your unfaithful servant, He that made the heart best knoweth. If my presence may any way stand you in steed, you may command it and my best service therewith. Be you and yours saluted in the Lord, to whom my prayers are, that his comforts may exceed your crosses." These are expressions of a heart which strongly throbbed in unison with the one which it consoled, as to the great end of securing a rest for those of kindred faith.

March 3. The following order is passed: "Whosoever shall prophanely swear or curse by the name of God, or any of his

\* Hutchinson's Collections.



known by the title of *New England's Tears for Old England's Fears*. The discourse had particular reference to the alarming divisions in the mother country. It speaks of the manner in which our colonists were regarded there: "When sometimes a New England man returns thither, how is he looked vpon, looked after, received and entertained, the ground he walks upon beloved for his sake, and the house held the better where he is! How are his words listened to, laid up, and related frequently when he is gone! Neither is any love or kindness held too much for such a man." It contains a passage showing the attachment of our fathers for their native land: "Let us never go to our secrets without our censers in our hands for Old England, dear England still in divers respects, left indeed by us in our persons, but never yet forsaken in our affections. The good God of heaven have mercy on it, and upon all his dear people and servants in it for Christ's sake. Amen." The eloquent writer of this production was, in 1641, at Taunton, when it was published. About 1644-5, he was installed in New Haven.

September 1. William Chase is censured by the General Court for difficulty with Mr. Matthews and his church at Yarmouth. He is also bound for good behavior six months, and at the expiration of this time, is to depart from the town.

November 2. Hooker, in writing to his son-in-law, Shepard, has the subsequent paragraph: "I have of late had intelligence from Plymouth. Mr. Chancy and the church are to part, he to provide for himself, and they for themselves. At a day of fast, when a full conclusion of the business should have been made, he openly professed he did as verily believe the truth of his opinions, as y<sup>t</sup> there was a God in heaven, and y<sup>t</sup> he was settled in it as the earth was vpon the center. If ever such confidence fynd good successe, I misse of my mark. Since then he hath sent to Mr. Prydden [Prudden] to come to them, being invited by some of the brethren by private letters. I gave warning to Mr. Prydden to bethink himself what he did. And I know he is sensible and watchfull. Mr. Vmphry, I heare, invites him [Chauncy] to Providence, and y<sup>t</sup> coast is most meet for his opinion and practise."

December 1. Thomas Atkins and John Wood are presented for delivering five score herrings for the hundred, when they should have given six score and twelve. They are censured by the General Court, and required to make restitution to the persons so wronged. Mark Mendlove is discharged from the complaint against him for drawing celpots on the Lord's day, it appearing that he did it from necessity.

Notwithstanding the laws of traffic, if any person shall trade with Indians within the patent "for corne, beades, veneson, or

some tymes for a bears skin," he shall not be liable to prosecution. John Barns is charged with exaction for taking rye at four shillings and selling it at five shillings a bushel "without adventure and long forbearance." He is tried, and found not guilty. John Jordaine is accused of receiving "stuff to line a doublet throughout, and yet lyned not the skirts, and restored not the rest." He is cleared on condition that he pay for a yard of stuff.

1641, March 2. The "Old Comers" give up all their claim to the colonial territory except three tracts, particularly described to the whole body of freemen. They are thus mentioned: "William Bradford and divers others, the first instruments of God in the beginning of this greate work of plantacon, together with such as the alorderinge God in his providence soone added vnto them, have beene at very greate charges to procure the said lands, priviledges, and freedomes from all entanglements."

May 24. By a letter from Edward Winslow to Governor Winthrop, he states that Plymouth claim Segnouch, which Richard Cheeseborough and others wish to retain, by leave from Massachusetts, that when the line between the two colonies was agreed on, that place was excepted, as one which Plymouth considered hers. Besides, some from this colony planted there before Cheeseborough ever went there.

June 1. George Willerd, of Scituate, for denying the right of the civil authorities to order certain taxes, speaking disrespectfully to them, and severely condemning the practice of Plymouth and Massachusetts in not having the children of parents baptized, whether of the church or not, is fined forty pounds, and bound for his good behavior. On the 17th, Marmaduke Matthews is made a freeman, and exempted from taxes.

September 7. It is ordered that "every township carry a competent number of peeeces, fixed and compleat, with powder, shott, and swords, every Lord's day, to the meetings; one of a house from the first of September to the middle of November." Dread of Indian conspiracy is the cause of this requisition.

Lechford gives us the following passages: "One Master Blakeston, a minister, went from Boston, having lived there nine or ten yeares, because he would not joyne with the church. He lives neere Master Williams, but is far from his opinions." At New Plymouth they "have but one minister, Master Reyner; yet Master Chancey lives there, and one Master Smith, both ministers; they are not in any office there. Master Chancey stands for dipping in baptisme onely necessary, and some other things, concerning which there hath been much dispute; and Master Chancey put to the worst by the opinion of the churches

advised withall." We are informed, that this person, thus called to severe trials, begins to preach at Scituate.

With reference to Hook, of Taunton: "There is a church gathered of late, and some ten or twenty of the church, the rest excluded; Master Hooke pastor, Master Streate teacher. Master Hooke received ordination from the hands of one Master Bishop, a schoolmaster, and one Parker, an husbandman, and then Master Hooke joyned in ordaining Master Streate. One Master Doughty, a minister, opposed the gathering of the church there, alleadging that according to the covenant of Abraham, all mens children that were of baptized parents, and so Abrahams children, ought to be baptized; and spake so in publike, or to that effect, which was held a disturbance, and the ministers spake to the magistrate to order him. The magistrate commanded the constable, who dragged Master Doughty out of the assembly. He was forced to goe away from thence with his wife and children." Wilson, of Boston, and Mather, of Dorchester, attended on this occasion.

These two ministers visit Greenharbor to appease a controversy between "Master Thomas and Master Blinman." The latter had been a minister at Chepstow, Monmouthshire, and came over about the present year. His trouble induced him to leave for Gloucester, with some of his friends. He was soon succeeded at Greenharbor by Edward Bulkley.

"This church of Marshfield \* was begun, and afterward carried on by the help and assistance, under God, of Mr. Edward Winslow, who at the first procured several Welsh gentlemen † of good note thither, with Mr. Blinman, a godly, able minister." The cause of Mr. Blinman's moving was "a few gifted brethren made learning or prudence of little avail. They compared him to a piece of new cloth in an old garment."

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#### MAINE.

1640, February 10. Edward Godfrey addresses Governor Winthrop: "It is not vnknowne the many difficulties I have vndergone in the infancy of this plantation, now brought to som perfection. It is likely to suffer except you put to your helping

\* Miss Caulkins's New London, p. 112.

† Mr. Blinman, Mr. Henry Prychard, Mr. Obadiah Brewen, John Sadler, Hugh Cusken, and Walter Tibbetts were propounded, March 2, 1641, for freemen of Plymouth colony.



hand." He then speaks of William Hook,\* of Agamenticus, as then governor, and that he, by "large promise of accommodation, is determined to leave vs, and as I thinke for Nubury, I presume vnknowne to you." He proceeds: "The fauorable aspecte his father hath cast one him, vs, and the country in generall, you have seene, hee being the cheefe pattente heere, and to my knowledge resolueth to settle it, as now he hath fayrly begune. But yf our gouernor in the time of his gouernment should [leave] vs distracted, and before his going home to see his parents, whose presence they [very] much desyre, it may eclipse all this light, and this place may fayll to factions. Both myne and others humble request is, you would bee pleased to wright those at Nubery to forbcare their soelisatations, and that you would bee pleased to wright our gouernor priuately, not rashly, and, soe suddenly to leave vs, a people whose hartes ar soc set in reall affections one him, and to stay out his time of gouernment."

April 28. Richard Gibson,† minister, and his wife Mary complain against John Bonython for slandering her and calling him a base priest, and Gibson says that he is much disparaged thereby in his ministry.

This summer, as in Winthrop, Thomas Gorges arrives at Boston, with a commission from his kinsman, Sir Ferdinando Gorges,‡ as governor for the latter's province of Somersetshire or Maine. He was very respectable for education, talents, and character. He tarried a few days, took advice from Winthrop and other magistrates relative to the course he should adopt, and then departed for his jurisdiction. When he reached Agamenticus, he perceived that Burdet exercised a controlling but injurious influence. He was assured, that, instead of being a workman who had no need to be ashamed, he was "a man of ill name and fame."

Reflecting on the course which Sir Ferdinando Gorges felt himself bound to follow, Winthrop says that he "had sided with our aduersares against us, but underhand, pretending by his letters and speeches to seek our welfare. But he never prospered. He attempted great matters, and was at large expenses about his province here, but he lost all." It was true that Gorges wished and endeavored to have the Puritans here brought under the control of Archbishop Laud. While so disposed and active, he professed good will to our fathers, desiring, however, that it might be accomplished in the mode which he preferred.

\* He came to Maine about 1633, was one of the council there, 1639, was probably, while holding this office, governor pro tem., went to Salisbury, and there died, 1654.

† York Records.

‡ He wrote his name Gorgo.

In this he was consistent, though his opponents suspected him chargeable with deception.

September 8. Having been bound \* to appear at the General Court in Saco, Burdet is arraigned on two indictments of criminal connection with women. He was condemned to pay several fines, amounting to forty pounds. One of the females, thus implicated, was ordered, after a certain period, to "stand in a white sheet publicly in the congregation at Agamenticus two several Sabbath days, and likewise one day at this General Court, when she shall be thereunto called." Burdet appealed to the crown, but the governor would not allow it, and had his cattle seized to satisfy the sentence. So exposed, he soon took passage for England. Here he sided with the Cavaliers. When their cause failed, he was cast into prison. Iniquity found him out, and proved his ruin.

17. The court require of "all the inhabitants from Piscataqua to Kennebunk, which have any children unbaptized, that as soon as a minister is settled in any of their plantations, they bring their said children to baptism, and if any shall refuse to submit to the said order, that then the partie so refusing shall be summoned to answer this their contempt." This accords with the purpose of the lords commissioners to promote Episcopacy, as the only tolerated form of religion in the province.

1641, April 10. Sir Ferdinando Gorges, still consistent in striving to advance the same cause, though his expectation of fulfilling the duties of governor general in New England was daily and greatly discouraged by the progress of free principles in the kingdom, grants a charter for Agamenticus as a borough. This document declares, that "said corporation shall extend three miles every way distant from the church chappell, or place ordayned or intended for a church chappell or oratory, belonging to the plantation of Acomenticus."

26. Thomas Jenner, who had been settled at Weymouth, but now preaching at Saco, replies to a letter of Winthrop. In accordance with advice from the latter, he had not expressed his views about Episcopacy, to which the inhabitants were much addicted, but preached the doctrines of the gospel to them. He states that, notwithstanding such caution, several weeks after he began his labors, Vines and another told him, when he had delivered a discourse against Catholic forms, that he had aimed at the church of England. Vines, whose family were present, desired to discuss with him the question of infant baptism in connection with godfathers and godmothers. Perceiving his reputation, as a defender of the Congregational order, at stake, Jenner felt constrained to comply. He adds, "Now it pleased

\* York Records.

God so to strengthen me (through the riches of his mercy) ~~that~~ he was utterly silent ; and since that time hath manifested ~~more~~ respect and love to me and my Master than formerly, and ~~both~~ take notes of the sermons dayly, and repeateth them in ~~his~~ ~~that~~ ily very orderly. I have been solicited, both from the ~~habitation~~ itance of Straten's plantation and from those of Caskoe, to ~~be~~ ~~means~~ meanes to help each of them to a godly minister ; wherefore I do make bold to intreat your worship to do your endeavour to furnish them both." Such an inclination on the part of ~~the~~ people was encouraged by the prospect that Episcopacy would be prostrated in England, and consequently in their colony, ~~and~~ that they must be supplied with clergymen who were dissenters.

John, son of Nathaniel Ward, has a call to preach at Agamenticus. Lechford remarks of Maine, "There is want of good ministers there. The place hath had an ill report by some; but of late some good acts of justice hath been done there."

The same author speaks of "the French plantation, who take up bever and keepe strict government, boarding all vessels that come neare them, and binding the masters till the governor, who is a nobleman, know what they are." The person here referred to is D'Aulney, a strenuous Catholic.

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#### NEW HAMPSHIRE.

1640, February 20. Knollys, not satisfied with a written apology for his attempts by letters to increase the prejudice in England against the political and religious policy of Massachusetts, visited Boston, as Winthrop relates, by a pass from the authorities there, to make further retraction. In the presence of most of the elders and magistrates of that colony, on a lecture day, he repeated his confession, that he had unjustly slandered them.

About this date, Thomas Larkham appears at Dover. His birth was at Lyme, Dorsetshire, May 4, 1601, and he graduated at Jesus College, Cambridge. He was settled as minister at Northam. For his Puritanism, he was arraigned in the Star Chamber, the High Commission Court, and otherwise suffered often and severely. Thus afflicted, he came to this country, so that he might discharge the duties of his calling without molestation. But brought in collision with others of different interests, his experience was far from being in accordance with his anticipation of harmony and happiness. Northam, the name of the town whence he came, being given, for a time, to Dover, seems to indicate as if it was so done on his account. Belknap

remarks of him, "not favoring the doctrine, nor willing to submit to the discipline of the churches in Massachusetts."

March 5. The Boston church records have this passage: "Our brother Captain John Vnderhill was in publique congregacon, by our pastor in y<sup>e</sup> name of y<sup>e</sup> Lord and of y<sup>e</sup> church, excommunicated for committing adultery, as allsoe for revyling y<sup>e</sup> governor and other y<sup>e</sup> magistrates, threatning revenge and destruction to y<sup>e</sup> countrey, and writing slaundersous letters to y<sup>e</sup> state of England for y<sup>t</sup> end; all which he confessed, but not in such measure of humiliation as might satisfye y<sup>e</sup> church, his confessions being mingled with sundry causelesse self-justifyings and some falsehood, as saying he never abused y<sup>e</sup> Scripture to draw on any to sinne, whereas it was proved y<sup>t</sup> he had intised some to folly or lewdnesse vpon pretence to knock y<sup>m</sup> off from their owne righteousnesse." Here we have the oft-repeated abomination of clothing vice with the semblance of piety, or al-luring to transgression on the pretence that divine grace may the more abound, for the gratification of depraved motives and purposes.

6. Thus cut off, Underhill spends the Sabbath in Salem, on his way home. He goes to the meeting house, and "gettinge in a lowe place vnder y<sup>e</sup> gallery, the elder of the church, Mr. Sharpe, sent to him to come into a more eminent place." It is probable that the elder had not yet heard the result of his case, as Cotton afterwards stated.

About this date, an Episcopal society is formed at Portsmouth, where they were far less inclined to Congregationalism than in other parts of New Hampshire.

23. Knollys, with letters from the Dover church, appears before the Boston church for advice about scruples of the former body, whether they might have public and private communion with an excommunicated person, except "in the sacrament of the Lord's supper." Wilson says, "We desire those godly brethren that came from the church of Dover to declare themselves, how they came to heare y<sup>t</sup> ovr church did allow it, and that it was ovr opinion to hold such communion with those y<sup>t</sup> are justly excommunicate." Knollys replies, "We wear soe informed by Captayne Vnderhill when he returned home after he was cast owt." On the question's being propounded whether "Christians might converse with such, Cotton affirms y<sup>t</sup> it was the judgment" of the Boston church "y<sup>t</sup> excommunicate persons might come and be present at prayers and preachinge, and other ordinances of the church," except at the Lord's supper. Knollys remarks, "It is desired by ovr church that the elders of this church would certifie their judgments by letter, lest Captayne Vnderhill should not beleue ovr testimony."

Such information is obtained as one means of ejecting Underhill from his office of governor. Connected with a discovery of his intrigue to break off the alliance between Dover and the Bay, it soon becomes the cause of his removal. Prior to his deposition, he endeavored to gain favor with the state in England and some Episcopalians at Portsmouth, by sending thirteen armed men to take Gabriel Fish, under durance at Exeter; the words spoken against the king, and bring him to Dover. At this time, the magistrates of Exeter were in Boston to obtain advice in the case of Fish. Having chosen Mr. Roberts to succeed Underhill, the people of Dover return Fish to Exeter.

Winthrop says of such a release, "which was considerably done, for it had been a dangerous precedent against them, being a weak plantation, if the commissioners from the lords of the council, who were daily expected, should have taken occasion to have done the like by them, though they held themselves to be out of that province which was granted to Sir Ferdinando Gorges." It appears from this that the board who had charge of the decree for bringing back New England to the national church had appointed persons to visit Maine, to execute their purpose so far as opportunity might afford. In view of such a fact, it was indeed hazardous for the authorities of Dover colony to countenance the forcible removal of an individual, charged with verbal opposition to the king, from another plantation, entirely independent of them, and have him brought to answer before their court. Had they not reversed the transaction, they would have set an example in their deed, for the commissioners expected at Maine, to deal with them in like measure for their favor to the cause of confederacy against the will of the crown.

May 25. Francis Williams, governor of Portsmouth, and others, as Adams states, grant fifty acres of land, "for a glebe, to Thomas Walford and Henry Sherburne, church wardens, and their successors" in that town. A parsonage house and chapel were already erected on the premises. Mr. Mason had furnished the chapel from England with a Bible, service books, and communion furniture. Richard Gibson officiated for them. He had been employed at Richmond's Island. His wife's name was Mary, who partook with him in the trials of his precarious and shifting ministrations.

September 3. Underhill, having gone to Boston, under a permit, "is this day, vpon his publique penitentiall acknowledgment of diuers scandalls, received againe into y<sup>e</sup> fellowship of y<sup>e</sup> church" there. On October 7, he appears before the General Court of Massachusetts, and bewails his sins against God and the commonwealth. They forgive him, but suspend the nullif-

cation of his banishment till the end of the next court for elections, which was June 2, 1641, when the sentence was revoked.

October 22. Larkham and forty more of Dover form a combination for their own government.

1641, April 13. Serious troubles had existed at Dover, between Thomas Larkham and Knollys. The people of the latter, for the most part, left him, and chose the former for their pastor. Thus two churches existed as rivals. Larkham received all into his church, even immoral persons, who promised amendment. He baptized any children offered, and introduced the Episcopal service at funerals. A controversy began between him and the magistrates, sustained by a portion of the inhabitants. Knollys and his church excommunicated Larkham and others who sided with him. Thus disciplined, he "laid violent hands upon Knollys, taking away his hat on pretence that he had not paid for it," whereupon a tumult arose. Some of the magistrates joined Larkham, and raised a company to compel the attendance of Underhill, one of their number, on their court for trial. The captain, so threatened, gathered a party, professedly for self-defence and the preservation of the peace. He then proceeded with his men to Larkham's house, they calling themselves Scots, and their opponents English, "one carrying a Bible upon a staff for an ensign, and Mr. Knollys with them armed with a pistol." When Larkham perceived that he was likely to be overpowered, he sent a dispatch to Governor Williams, at Portsmouth, for assistance, who immediately complied. Lechford adds, "The gentlemen of Sir F. Gorge's plantation came in, and kept court with the magistrates of Piscataqua." This was effected by an armed force, who surrounded Knollys's house, where Underhill was, and who constantly guarded them. Williams sat as judge at the trial of these and their associates. The verdict was, that Knollys pay one hundred pounds fine, and Underhill the same, and nine others be whipped for being concerned in a riot. But neither sentence was executed. The spirit and conduct of the parties on this occasion were an imitation of the eventful scene which had already begun in the mother country. The aid sent to Larkham was more readily given, because the authorities of Portsmouth and Maine sympathized with him in his zeal for the national church.

One reason assigned for the prosecution of Underhill was, that he had advised a large part of the people at Dover to offer themselves again to come under the protection of Massachusetts. He forwarded a petition to that colony for assistance, who sent Bradstreet, Peters, and Dalton to ascertain how matters stood. These messengers succeeded to compromise the difficulties. On

their advice, the excommunication of Larkham was recalled, and the sentences against Knollys and his supporters repealed.

June 14. A change agreeable to those who were for the revolution in the mother country, and offensive to such as were opposed to it, takes place. The nature of it may be learned from the subsequent extract: "Whereas some lords, knights, and gentlemen, and others did purchase of Mr. Edward Hilton and some merchants of Bristol two patents, one called Wecohannet, or Hilton's Point, or Northam, the other set forth by the name of the south part of the River of Pasacataquack, beginning at the seaside and thereabouts, and coming round said land by the river unto the falls of Quamscott. And whereas also the inhabitants residing at present within the limits of both the said grants have of late and formerly complained of the want of some good government amongst them, and desired some help in this particular from the jurisdiction of Massachusetts Bay, whereby they may be ruled and ordered according unto God, both in church and commonwealth, and for the avoiding such unsufferable disorders, whereby God hath been much dishonored amongst them, these gentlemen, whose names are here specified, George Willys, Robert Saltonstall, William Whiting, Edward Holliock, Thomas Makepeace, partners in said patent, do, in behalf of the rest of the patentees, dispose of the lands and jurisdiction of the premises as followeth, being willing to further such a good work, have hereby for themselves, and in the name of the rest of the patentees, given up and set over all that power of jurisdiction or government of the said people dwelling or abiding within the limits of both said patents unto the government of the Massachusetts Bay, by them" to be governed. The patent on the south side of the River Piscataqua and one third of the territory, with all improved land in the other patent, are retained by the grantees, as having a true interest therein, except the jurisdiction of Massachusetts. In this manner, Portsmouth and Dover, each having a distinct government, come under the laws of the Bay colony. The great object of their original proprietors, to have them under Episcopal order, thus utterly failed.

August 22. The Boston church, having received Underhill again to their communion, September 3d of the last year, grant letters of recommendation to him and his wife Helena, a Dutch woman, to the Exeter church.

September 28. It appears that Knollys and others had "lately entered and taken possession of some part of Long Island;" for a note of Savage, in Winthrop, contains a protest of James Forreth, an agent for the Duke of York, against such an act.

1640.]

October 9. The General Court at the Bay order that the people at Piscataqua be received under their jurisdiction.

November. Batchelor, who, as pastor of Hampton church, had been excommunicated two years for immorality, is released from such excision, but not restored to his office. Wilson writes him a letter on this occasion, which should have witnessed a repentance on the part of him so addressed never to have been repented of.

Batchelor takes a dismissal from his people. His wife, Mary, according to the York Records, was ordered to receive, in 1651, forty lashes for unchastity. In 1656, she petitioned General Court for a divorce from her husband, who, she stated, had gone to England and taken another wife. It seems from her petition, that he had wrongfully left her; but the punishment just mentioned shows that he had sufficient cause. He is supposed to have been, at this date, over ninety-five years old. His sojourn here was one of trials.

Earnestly desired by his aged father to return home, and having little attraction to detain him, Knollys embarked with his wife and child, and reached London the 24th of the succeeding month. Thus in his native land he labored diligently in the vineyard of the gospel. After several years, he united with the Baptist denomination, and did much to promote their particular interests. Brook assigns to him twelve publications, including two prefaces. He died with the reputation of an eminent minister, September 19, 1691, in the ninety-third year of his age.

Prior to the current year, a meeting house was erected on Hog Island, one of the Isles of Shoals, where Mr. Hull was a preacher. He appears to be the minister who had taken his dismissal from Weymouth.

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#### RHODE ISLAND.

1640, February. About this date, Winslow informs us that a "servant maid," who lived in Gorton's family, violently beat an old woman, who was driving her cow from his field. The aggressor was complained of, and bound over for trial. When the time came for her arraignment, Gorton refused to let her appear, and declared that he would stand in her stead. This was allowed, though with great reluctance. When the facts were committed to the jury, he "said the court had perverted justice, and wrested the witnesses with very many high and reproachfull termes." The cause went against him.

Among the charges in his presentment were his assertion



"that the government was such as not to bee subjected unto," and that he insinuated that the deputy governor had lost his ears. When his sentence was pronounced, he appealed to King Charles. "They told him hee should first have his punishment, and then afterwards hee might complain." He "being com-manded to prison, emperiously resisted y<sup>e</sup> authority. The governor said, 'All you y<sup>e</sup> owne y<sup>e</sup> king; take away Gorton, and carry him to prison.' Gorton replied, 'All you that doe owne y<sup>e</sup> king, take away Coddington, and carry him to y<sup>e</sup> prison.' When he was committed, Weekes, Holden, etc., his abettors, stopped the way with such insolency, as the governour was forced to rise from the bench, to helpe forward the command with his person in clearing the way, put Weekes in the stocks, and was forced to command a guard of armed men to preserve themselves and the peace of the place. Taking occasion to search the houses of that party that adhered to him, they found many of their peeeces laden with bullets; and so they whiped him and banished him. Gorton left Rhod Island with two other men, Wickes and Holden, and so went to Providence."

February 16. The church of Boston have the subsequent entry: "Our brethren, Mr. Willyam Hibbon, Captaine Edward Gibon, and Mr. John Oliver were chosen and deligated by y<sup>e</sup> church to goe to y<sup>e</sup> Iseland of Aquethnicke to inquire of y<sup>e</sup> state of matters amongst our brethren there, and to require some satisfactory aunswer about such things as wee heare to be offensive amongst y<sup>m</sup>."

March 16. These brethren, having finished the commission so assigned to them, give a relation of it, through Mr. Oliver: "Now for the succes of ovr jorney to our bretheren at the Iland. We aquaynted them with our purpose in cominge, and desired y<sup>t</sup> thay would procure vs a meetinge y<sup>t</sup> daye; but for reasons in thear owne brest, and because of the snowe, thay did not thinke meete then to give vs a meetinge, but the next day, thay promised and did give vs a meetinge, Mr. Ashpinwall, our brother Easton, brother Sanphord, and others; and we deliuered ovr message and the church's letter, which thay read and gaue vs satisfactory answers. The next day we went to Portsmouth, where beinge entertayned at our brother Cogshell's house, we desired them to procure vs a meetinge to deliuer ovr message and the church's letter. But when we expected a meetinge, Mr. Cogshell sent vs word that by reson of a ciuill meetinge y<sup>t</sup> was befor apoynted, and but for a meetinge,\* thay did not know what power one church hath over another church, and thay denied ovr commission, and refused to see ovr letter;

\* This sentence is obscure in its original manuscript.

and they conseaue one church hath noe power ouer the member of another church, and doe not thinke thay are tide to vs by our couenant; and soe were we fayne to take all thear answers by going to thear seuerall howses. Mr. Hutchinson tould vs he was more nearly tied to his wife than to the church; he thought her to be a seruant of God. We came then to Mrs. Hutchinson, and tould her that we had a message to doe to her from the Lord and from our church. She answered, 'There are lords many and gods many; but I acknowledge but one Lord: which lord doe you meane?' We answered, 'We came in the name but of one Lord, and that is God.' Then sayth she, 'Soe far we agree and wheare we doe agree, let it be set downe.' Then we tould her we had a message to her from the church of Christ in Boston. She replied, she knew no church but one. We tould her, in Scripture, the Holy Ghost calls the churches [spouses]. She said she had but one spouse. We tould her we had in some sort as many spouses as churches. But for our church, she would not acknowledge it any church. Mr. Cotton said, 'Time beinge farr spent, it will not be seasonable to speake much. We blesse God with our brethren for thear protection in thear jorny assunder and together, and we finde thay haue faythfully and wisely discharged their trust and care put vpon them.'" He then proposed that the church take the subject into consideration, and make up their minds so as to decide, at some proper time, how they should deal with their members at the Island.

Winthrop tells us that the letters of the messengers were addressed to Coddington and other members of the Boston church who lived on the island, to learn from them whether their religious opinions were the same as they had maintained, and "to give account of their unwarrantable practice in communicating with excommunicated persons."

This month, Pocasset is named Portsmouth. It is ordered at the island, that the judge shall be called governor, the elder next to him deputy governor, and the other two elders magistrates.

June 14. Robert Harding, who had come from Boston to visit his wife here, and accepted a captain's place, asks the advice of the church there about his holding such an office.

July 27. Among the articles of government adopted by thirty-nine men of Providence is the clause, "We agree as formerly hath been the liberties of the town, so still to hold forth liberty of conscience."

August 6. Robert Lenthal, having lately come to the Island from Weymouth, is made freeman. He had been invited to preach for the people here. He is also soon employed to teach school. The next year, he returned to England.

12. Francis Hutchinson, of the Island, having written to the

Boston church, under date of July 9th, has an answer prepared and sent in the name of Cotton. The latter observes, "You desired to be recommended to y<sup>e</sup> word of Gods grace according to Acts xx. 32; and so to be dismissed from your covenant with vs, because you being forced to attend vpon your parents there where you live, you could not attend vpon y<sup>e</sup> duties of y<sup>e</sup> covenant. But though we finde the church willing to gratify you in any lawfull motion, because they heare a good report of your constancy in y<sup>e</sup> truth and faith of y<sup>e</sup> gospell, yet this motion they neyther can nor dare assent vnto you, as wanting warrant vpon Scripture light. The place which you quote doeth not suite with your case." After various reasons for this position, he continues, "Were you gifted of God to preach y<sup>e</sup> word to his people, or if there were elders y<sup>t</sup> could preach y<sup>e</sup> same to you in a church estate, (as they did at Ephesus,) wee should readily recommend you vnto them, and to y<sup>e</sup> word of grace dispensed by y<sup>m</sup>. But we dare not recommend you from a church to noe church. But y<sup>t</sup> which is y<sup>e</sup> summe of your request, so farr as it is lawfull, wee would be loath to neglect. Wee are desirous to recommend you to y<sup>e</sup> guidance and keeping of y<sup>e</sup> grace of Christ in all our solemne assembles, and if God will be pleased to give your father to hearken to our counsell, to remoove to any orthodox and orderly church, we shall, at your request, be willing to recommend you to y<sup>m</sup>; but further to goe, the Lord doth not allow vs." He proceeds with regard to Wilson, his colleague; "Our teacher being thought by some to say, that you forbore sitting at table with your mother, though others deny it, and others remember it not, nor he himself;" yet, that no wrong impression might remain, he publicly asserted that he meant to communicate no such idea, "for in y<sup>e</sup> generall he said indeede y<sup>t</sup> with excommunicate persons noe religious communion is to be held, nor any civill familiar communion, as sitting at table. But yet he did put a difference betwene other brethren in church fellowship and such as were ioyned in naturall or civill neere relations, as parents and children, husband and wife, etc.; God did allow y<sup>m</sup> y<sup>e</sup> liberty which he denyed others. To your father, and self, and others of our brethren, wee have written at large, to satisfy such doubts as wee vnderstand by our messengers have troubled y<sup>m</sup>. The Lord watch over you all for good, and keepe you spotlesse and blamelesse, faithfull and fruitfull to him, to his heavenly kingdome in Christ Jesus; in whom wee rest, your loving brethren."

This summer, a number of families, not permitted to enjoy their religion at Christopher without persecution, left, and came to New Haven. They dispersed in different directions, and

some returned to Ireland. They were accompanied to this country by their minister, Mr. William Collins. This person began to teach school at Hartford. A young man, Mr. Hales, who came with him, reached the Island. Here he soon embraced Mrs. Hutchinson's views. Collins wrote and cautioned him to beware of her influence. Hales returned an answer, which so affected his adviser, that he left Hartford suddenly, and he soon reached the place of her residence. He too listened to her speculations, received and zealously maintained them, and he married one of her daughters.

September 26. On the subject of discipline, as discussed by members of the Boston church, Matthew Button remarks, "I would expresse my thoughts. I being at the island this weeke, they exprest themselves to me, y<sup>t</sup> if we doe send to them in a church way, they would not heare vs. Therfor I thinke the best way wear to send priuēt messengers to deale with them." The pastor replies, "That hath bine done allready, and therefore if thay will not hear the church, it is playne that the church should take some other corse with them; if thay will not hear the church, 'let them be to the churches as heathens.'"

October 7. Coddington and Brenton, in behalf of the Island, with agents for New Haven and Connecticut, are subscribers to a letter laid before the legislature at the Bay. The object of it is to suppress the feeling of some that the Indians ought to be destroyed, and gain over these natives by justice and kindness, and guard against any surprise from these tribes. The body so addressed readily adopted the designated policy, and ordered their mind to be forwarded to the gentlemen of New Haven and Connecticut. But they declined to include those of the Island, because, as it appears, the latter had entered into church fellowship with excommunicated persons, and denied the right of Boston church to discipline such of her members here as had entered into a union of this kind.

November. The church at Boston send another letter of admonition to their members on the Island. It recapitulates the proceedings of the legislature of Massachusetts and of the Boston church with regard to them, and justifies both. It also disapproves of their errors and disturbance of the peace in the Bay, their remonstrance and Wheelwright's sermon, and gives a view of the manner in which they wronged that church.

1841, March 8. Williams writes \* to Winthrop, "Master Gorton, having foully abused high and low at Aquednick, is now bewitching and bemadding poor Providence, both with his uncleanne and foule censures of all the ministers of this country,

\* Winslow's Danger of Tolerating Levellers in a Civill State.

(for which myself have in Christ's name withstood him,) and also denying all visible and externall ordinances in the depth of Familisme, against which I have a little disputed and written, and shall (the Most High assisting) to death; as Paul said of *Ada*, I of Providence, (almost.) All suck in his poyson as at first they did at Aquednick. Some few and myselve withstand his inhabitation and town priviledges, without confession and reformation of his uncivill and inhumane practises at Portsmouth. Yet the tyde is too strong against us, and I feare (if the Framer of hearts helpe not) it will force mee to little Patience, a little isle next to your Prudence."

Lechford gives us the subsequent extracts: "At the island called Aquedney are about two hundred families. There was a church, where one Master Clark was elder. The place where the church was is called Newport, but that church, I heare, is now dissolved. At the other end of the Island there is another towne, called Portsmouth, but no church. There is a meeting of some men, who there teach one another, and call it prophesie. At Providence lives Master Williams and his company, of divers opinions. Most are Anabaptists. They hold there is no true visible church in the Bay, nor in the world, nor any true ministrie."

About this time, Francis Doughty, having left Taunton, comes with his family to the Island. Assisted by his friends, he soon applied to the Dutch authorities, and obtained a township at Mespat, afterwards Newton, on Long Island.\* He preached here March 28, 1642. The next year, they were attacked by Indians; some were killed, and others fled to New Amsterdam, where he was their minister. On the restoration of peace, he went back, staid a half year, and returned to New Amsterdam, where he dwelt several years. He claimed rents for the lands of Newton, which brought him into a lawsuit. In April, 1647, he lost his case. He appealed, which so displeased Kieft, the governor, that he fined him ten dollars, and had him imprisoned twenty-four hours.

The same year, he settled in the ministry at Flushing, at a salary of six hundred guilders, and remained there a year or more. John Underhill charged him with preaching against the rulers, and had the church doors closed upon him. Mr. Doughty, in 1648-9, went to the "Virginias," leaving his son, Francis, to obtain the payment of his salary. He had a daughter, Mary, married, in 1645, to "doctor of both laws, Adriaen Vander Donck."

May 24. Edward Winslow writes to Governor Winthrop

\* Annals of Newton, Long Island.

about Providence: "Miserable is the confusion that is amongst the English. Gorton, who crieth downe all our churches and church ordinances, Sabbath, etc., preacheth thrice a weake at Providence. Hee finds acceptacon with almost halfe of them, but the other part are resolved to remoue if he gett but admission as a dweller. I had much conference with Mr. Williams about his Anabaptistical tenents, and finde him very weake, whose lones [lowness] I much pittie."

May 25. William Arnold addresses the selectmen of Providence: \* "I doe not only approue of what my neighbours before mee have written, and directed their reasons to a serious consideration with vs concerning Samuells Gorton and his company; but this much I say, y<sup>t</sup> it is allso euident, and may easily be proued, y<sup>t</sup> [neither] y<sup>e</sup> sayd Gorton nor his company are fitt persons to bee receiued in and made members of such a body in so weake a state as our towne is in at present. My reasons are, first, Samuells Gorton having shewed himself an insolent, railing, and turbulent person, not only in and against those states of gouernment from whence hee came, as is to bee proued, but allso here in this towne since hee has sojourned in this towne, in such an inhuman behaiour as becomes not a man y<sup>t</sup> should bee thought to bee fit by any reasonable men to bee receiued into such a poor weak state as we are in at present." Secondly, he expressed him scornfully and deridingly of one of our selectmen, and, consequently, "of our siuill state." Thirdly, though a majority of the town have denied them a settlement here, yet they troublesomely continue their application; their coming hither "hath brought the towne almost y<sup>e</sup> one halfe against y<sup>e</sup> other; y<sup>t</sup> aboad so longe hear amongst vs is in hope to geet y<sup>e</sup> vitory over those y<sup>t</sup> layd y<sup>e</sup> first foundation of y<sup>e</sup> place, and afterwards to trampel them vnder their feet, as some of their words hold forth, or else driue them out to seeke new Providence." Fourthly, "Hee who is so well knowne to bee y<sup>e</sup> ringleader vnto y<sup>e</sup> breach of peace, y<sup>t</sup> has been so notoriously euill to bee a truble of all siuill stats where hee hath liued, y<sup>t</sup> are of farre greater forc than wee are of; what may wee then expect if hee geet himself in with and amongst vs, where are so many as wee see are dayly redey to tread vs vnder their feet, whom he calles his friends." "If it be obiected, as some haue blasphemously sayd, that wee are persecutors, and doe persecute y<sup>e</sup> saints in not receiuing of them into our towne fellowship, I answer, there cannot be proued y<sup>e</sup> least shew of any persecution of those persons either by vs or any other amongst vs. They haue quiet aboad

\* According to the manuscript published by Mr. Charles Dean, which, for its pronouns of *they*, reads *they*.

amongst vs, none molesting of them nor any thing they haue. It cannot be proued but by their owne relation, y<sup>e</sup> which hath been disproued, that they were sent out from those places from whence thay came for religion; nither are they medled with here for any such matter; but thay themselves, in their insolent behavior, are more reddey to meddle and to disturb others. Thay and others of their company and followers haue rather been troublers and persecutors of the saints of God y<sup>e</sup> lived here before any of them came; and thay doe but waite their opportunity to make themselues manifest in y<sup>e</sup> thay doe intend. Ergo, it cannot be truly sayd that any persecution is or has been offered by vs vnto them, if it could possibly bee sayd of them y<sup>e</sup> thay are saints." In Winslow's book, the letter has the subsequent passage: "If it be further objected, that wee doe not give them the liberty of men, neither doe wee afford them the bowels of mercy to give them the means of livelihood amongst us, as some haue said, to this I say, 1. There is no state but in the first place will seeke to preserve its owne safety and peace. 2. Wee cannot give land to any person by vertue of our combination, except wee first receive them into our state of combination, the which wee cannot doe with them for our owne and others peace sake. 3. Whereas their necessity has been so much pleaded, it is not knowne that ever they sought to find out a place where they might accommodate themselves, and live by themselves, with their friends and such as follow after them, where they may use their liberty to live without order or controule, and not to trouble us, that have taken the same course as wee have done for our safety and peace, which they doe not approue nor like of, but rather, like beasts in the shape of men, to doe what they shall think fit in their owne eyes, and will not be governed by any state."

July. Part of the people \* at the Island had recently become Anabaptists. They declared against wearing arms, denied "all magistracy among Christians," maintained that there have been no true churches since those formed by the apostles and evangelists, nor "could any be, nor any pastors ordained, nor seals administered, but by such, and that the church was to want these" while remaining as she is.

18. We have the ensuing extract from Boston Church Records: "Our brother Francis Hutchinson was by our pastour (with y<sup>e</sup> consent of y<sup>e</sup> church) excommunicated out of y<sup>e</sup> church for sundry errors, but chiefly these: 1. For denying particuler congregated churches since y<sup>e</sup> apostacy of Antichrist; 2ly. That there is or can be any presbytery without apostles or evangelists; and, 3ly, That Christ gave any power to pastours or

\* Winthrop.

teachers to baptize ; as also for giveing revyling speeches against this our church of Boston, calling it a whore, a strumpett, vpon this occasion, y<sup>t</sup> by some of y<sup>e</sup> members it was said to be y<sup>e</sup> spouse of Christ." The cherisher of these opinions seems to have been among the Seekers of his day.

September 7. Collins and his brother-in-law, Francis Hutchinson, having gone to Boston and been arraigned before the magistrate, receive their sentences.\* The record of the former is, "Being found a seducer, and his practices proved such, he is fined one hundred pounds, and to be kept close prisoner till his fine is paid, and then he is banished on pain of death." Of the latter, "for calling the church of Boston a whore, strumpet, and other corrupt tenets, he is fined fifty pounds, kept close prisoner till the fine is paid, and then banished on pain of death." On this subject, Winthrop has the remark, "We assessed the fines higher, partly that by occasion thereof they might be the longer kept in from doing harm, and also because that family had put the country to so much charge in the synod, and other occasions, to the value of five hundred pounds at least ; but after, (October session,) because the winter drew on, and the prison was inconvenient, we abated them to forty and twenty pounds. But they seemed not willing to pay any thing. They refused to come to the church assemblies except they were led, and so they came duly. At last we took their own bonds for their fine, and so dismissed them."

Easton, who had preached at Newport, Coddington, Coggeshall, and others, as Winthrop states, hold to the speculations, "that man hath no power or will in himself, but as he is acted by God, and seeing God filled all things, nothing could be or move but by him, and so he must needs be the Author of sin, etc. ; and that a Christian is united to the essence of God." When they were showed the "blasphemous consequences" of such positions, they denied the former, but still retained the latter. Clark, who preached, Lenthall, Harding, and others publicly opposed such principles, which produced a schism among the people.

October 7. The legislature of Massachusetts order letters for Connecticut, New Haven, and Plymouth, to "advise about the inlanders of Aquidnett." They also require Samuel Hutchinson to be examined by Wilson, Shepard, and Eliot. If they find him sound in judgment, they are to give notice accordingly. In this case, the Court of Assistants have leave to let him reside in the colony. But if the ministers perceive him incorrect in his views, a different course must be pursued. Richard Dum-

\* General Court Records of Massachusetts.



mer appeared, and gave "satisfaction only for his judgment." He is referred to be discoursed with by Wilson and Eliot. William Aspinwall is granted a safe conduct to go and satisfy the council there, and if they think proper, he has leave to stay in that colony.

November 17. A letter,\* signed by thirteen men of Providence, is directed to the authorities of the Bay. Several of its passages are quoted: "We counted it meet to give you true intelligence of the riotous carriages of Samuel Gorton and his company, which came from the Island of Aquednick, which with John Green and Francis Weston, two which have this long time stood against us and the fairest ways of proceeding in order and government for the peaceable preservation of ourselves and families. Also six or seven of our townsmen have openly proclaimed to take party with the aforementioned companies, and so intend, for aught we can gather, to have no manner of honest order or government either over them or amongst them. It would be tedious to relate the numberless number of their upbraiding taunts, assaults, and threats, and violent kind of carriage daily practised against all that either care or counsel seek to prevent or withstand their lewd, licentious courses." They state that in a case of lawful seizure of cattle, belonging to Francis Weston, for a just claim, a tumult was made, the attached property forcibly rescued, and "some few drops of blood were shed on both sides." "To relate the least part of their such words and actions, the time and paper would scarce be profitably spent; neither need we to advise your discretions what is likely to be the sad events of these disorders, if their bloody currents be not either stopped or turned some other way. If it may therefore please you, of gentle courtesy and for the preservation of humanity and mankind, to consider our condition, and lend us a neighbour-like, helping hand, and send us such assistance, our necessity urges us to be troublesome unto you to help us to bring them to satisfaction, and ease us of our burden of them, at your discretion, we shall evermore own it as a deed of great charity, and diligently labor in the best measure we can, if you should have occasion to command us in any lawful design." Though Roger Williams did not sign the communication with them, yet he felt as they did about their disorderly condition. The answer to their letter said that Massachusetts had no right to send an armed force to help them, unless they came under her jurisdiction, and, if they did this, they would be assisted against their lawless oppressors.

December 10. Collins and Francis Hutchinson are required to depart from the Bay, and not return but "at their utmost peril."

\* Hutchinson's Manuscript Collections.

## CONNECTICUT.

1640, February 5. A servant to Mr. Malbon, of New Haven, was "sett in the stocks for prophaning the Lord's day and stealing wine from his master, which he drunk and gave to others."

25. Mrs. Ann Higginson, the widow of Francis, who died at Salem, Massachusetts, having removed to New Haven, deceased here recently. At this date, a court divide her property among her eight surviving children. As a woman who suffered much, and exerted an excellent influence for advancing the best interests of a new country, her memory deserves to be gratefully and perpetually cherished.

April 10. As there was no place for the confinement of refractory persons in Connecticut, so that justice might be done to them, the General Court order that a house of correction be erected, twenty-four feet long and sixteen or eighteen feet broad.

Many having made agreements to marry inconsiderately, to the "great grief of themselves and friends," it is required by the same authorities, that intentions of marriage, before being lawful, shall be published "in some public place, and at some public meeting, in the several towns where such persons dwell, at least eight days before" they are married; also, the magistrate who performs the ceremony "shall cause a record to be entered in court of the day and year thereof."

18. Mr. Prudden is ordained at New Haven as pastor of the Milford church by imposition of the hands of three brethren, selected for this purpose from their members. Davenport and Eaton attended on the occasion. John Sherman was chosen teacher with Prudden, but he declined. This person was born at Dedham, in Essex, December 26, 1613, and took his second degree at Trinity College, Cambridge, 1633. Brought up by pious parents, and edified with the preaching of John Rogers, he was remarkable for his youthful piety and devotedness to the duties of his several relations. As a student, he distinguished himself in the studies of his course. Called to subscribe, when receiving his degrees, he declined from conscientious scruples. This brought upon him the taunts and sneers of being a Puritan. But he knew the Master whom he professed and served, and by him was endowed with a heroism which cowers before nothing but transgression. He left England for this country about 1634, and seems to have made Watertown, of Massachusetts, his principal place of residence. While here, he preached in various congregations to much acceptance. On 29th of March, 1636, he, with others, was dismissed from the church

of his adopted home, for emigration to Connecticut. On May 1, he is present at the General Court as one of the committees, who were soon after called deputies. So presented to us, he was worthy of the important office which he now declines.

Mr. Ludlow receives a deed of what was afterwards the eastern part of Norwalk, February 26, and Captain Patrick of the middle division of it, April 20. A few families located themselves there about these dates, and thus begin to prepare another position for the gospel.

April 25. The English of Hartford, "a good shot distance" from Fort Hope, prevent the Dutch there from ploughing land, which they claimed, and which was near them. Such prevention was used several years, and tended to widen the breach between the parties immediately concerned.

June 3. In New Haven records is an order for watches to be kept by armed men through the night, from an hour after sundown till a half hour after daylight. If the watchmen, who take their rounds two together, shall see cause to give an alarm, they shall discharge their guns, to be answered by the sentinel at the door of the watch house, and this seconded by the beat of the drum; if the watch perceive danger by fire, they shall cry, Fire! fire! if by an enemy, they shall cry, Arm! arm! "all the town over."

4. A man of Wethersfield is fined ten shillings for profanity, and also to sit in the stocks there two hours the next training day. Another, for immoral conduct, is adjudged to pay twenty pounds, and stand on the pillory at Hartford next lecture day, during the continuance of such religious service. On the 11th, a third person is brought before the court, at Hartford, for "casting out pernicious speeches, tending to the detriment and dishonor" of the commonwealth. He is fined forty shillings, and bound for his good behavior.

July. Rippowams, afterwards Stamford, is bought of its Indian owners for New Haven. The price is "twelve coats, twelve hoes, twelve hatchets, twelve glasses, twelve knives, two kittles, and four fathoms of white wampum." The colony sold it, October 30, to Andrew Ward and twenty-one others of Wethersfield, for thirty-three pounds, who settled it the next spring.

September 1. The General Court of New Haven order that "every man that is appointed to watch, whether masters or servants, shall come every Lord's day to the meeting completely armed, and all others also are to bring their swords; no man exempted, save Mr. Eaton our pastor, Mr. James, Mr. Samuel Eaton, and two deacons." They call Quinnipiack New Haven.

Samuel Eaton has a grant of Totoket, afterwards Branford,

from New Haven, provided he obtain a sufficient number of his friends in England to have it settled. He soon prepared to comply with the condition. On his way from New Haven, he called at Boston, where he was urged to settle with the church there. But he declined, and embarked for his native land. He collected a Congregational church at Duckenfield. He removed to Stockport, where he preached in a free school house. His situation here was rendered unpleasant by such as fancied themselves wiser than their teachers. After he was ejected, he attended on the ministry of Mr. Angier at Denton, as many of his own congregation did. His publications were, the *Mystery of God Incarnate*, against Knowles; a *Vindication of it*, against the same; and the *Quakers confuted*. He assisted Timothy Taylor in composing the *Congregational Way justified*. He died January 9, 1664, aged sixty-eight. "He was a very holy man, a person of great learning and judgment."

October 21. John Yonge,\* and a considerable number of his church from Hingham, in England, are reorganized at New Haven. At the close of the month, they and others begin a settlement at Yennicock, named Southold, on the east end of Long Island. They agree to conform with the laws of the colony from which they so emigrate, and which had lately bought their township. Their church afterward dispense with the rule of electing only church members to office, and to be freemen; and New Haven, in 1648, send a committee to deal with them, and they accordingly resume the practice, which continued twenty years longer.

November 2. Hooker writes to his son-in-law, Shepard, at Cambridge. His communication relates, among other topics, to what he considered the involved affairs and perilous situation of Massachusetts. Several passages are quoted. "You say y<sup>t</sup> which I long since supposed, the magistrates are at their witts ends. But is ther then nothing to be done but to sink in our sorrowes? I say ours, because the evill will retch vs really more then by bare sympathizing. Taking my former ground for graunted, y<sup>t</sup> the weaknesse of the body is such, y<sup>t</sup> it is not able to beare the disease longer, but is like to grow worse, and more vnfit for cure, which I suppose is the case in hand. Then I cannot see but of necessity this course must be taken. The debtors must reely and fully tender themselves and all they have into the hands and be at the mercy of the creditors. The churches and the commonwealth must make a privy search what have beene the courses and synfull carriages which have brought in and increased this epidemicall evill. When they have humbled

\* See page 285 of this volume.

themselves unfeynedly before the Lord, then sett vp a reall reformation ; leave the rest to the Lord, who will ever goe with those y<sup>t</sup> goe his owne way.

"I cannot see in reason but if you can sell, and the Lord afford any comfortable chapman, but you should remove. For why should a man stay vntill the house fall on his head? I will tell thee myne wholl heart. Considering, as I conceave, your company must breake, and considering things vt supra, if you can sell, you should remoove. If I were in your places, I would remoove hither." After alluding to Mrs. Hutchinson's sentiments, Hooker continues, "I vnderstand ther be severall persons by the seaside with vs that way, but wether it be knowne to the rulers of the place, I know not. My heart is marvellous apprehensive of hazards. Not many Sabbaths synce, Mr. Aspeynall was with vs, and it fell in my course to handle such a poynt as this: The gospell is the rule of the revelation of a man's good estate; ergo we must expect no other revelation for our rule besides this. The man, at night, supping with the governor, graunted all y<sup>t</sup> was sayd in open profession, and yet in his conference let this fall, y<sup>t</sup> the first evidence was now graunted, on all hands, by which you may see what intents they have, and what correspondence and intelligence they hold. Myself and my brother Stone are making out what forces we may agaynst it, for we feare a suddayne alarum; and ergo we would have our people have ther weapons in a readinesse. The elders here in the river conceave y<sup>t</sup> the printing of the synod would be now seasonable and singular vse, to outface these delusions."

This year the people of Hartford buy Tunix, extending to the Mohawk country, and afterward including Farmington and Southington. Persons of the same colony purchase Woronoke, subsequently known as Westfield, and soon begin a settlement there. Robert Feaks and Daniel Patrick buy the township called Greenwich for New Haven. But the first settlers there declared themselves under the Dutch jurisdiction. Captain Howe and others purchased from Indians on Long Island a tract on its northern side, "from the eastern part of Oyster Bay to the western part of Holmes's Bay to the middle of the great plain." Settlements were soon formed here. Such a breaking forth from the English so as to spread gospel influences, and occupy more of the territory which the Dutch had strenuously claimed, is very offensive to them, and increases the lack of kind sympathy and intercourse.

1641, February 7. A committee of Connecticut legislature are appointed to "consult with the elders of both plantations to prepare instructions against the next court for the punishing of the sin of lying, which begins to be practised by many persons in this commonwealth."

April 9. Though a late order was passed by the same court against excess in apparel, yet it is transgressed ; therefore they require the constables of the several towns to bring such offenders to trial, and also present all such as sell their commodities at too high a rate.

Lechford remarks, " Master Fenwike with the Lady Boteler at the rivers mouth in a fine house, and well fortified, and one Master Higginson, a young man, their chaplain. The lady was lately admitted of Master Hooker's church, and thereupon her child was baptized."

The inhabitants of Wethersfield, having had no settled pastor while there, to guide them in spiritual concerns, had fallen into contentions and animosities. Great pains had been taken by the ministers of their colony to reconcile them, but in vain. Davenport and some of his church visited them for the same purpose. They advised them, if there was no prospect of harmonizing their prejudices, that one of the parties form another settlement elsewhere. This counsel was approved by a portion of them, but the opponents could not agree which side should depart. The church consisted of seven brethren, three of them against four. The former claimed to be the church, and therefore that they ought to remain. The latter maintained that they were the majority, and hence they were not bound to seek another residence. As the Watertown church, whence these members emigrated, had not dismissed them, they sent brethren to deal with the parties. But the labor was ineffectual. At length, however, some of the chief inhabitants, who preferred to dwell in peace under another colony than in discord under their own, determined to move.

June 2. Some of the Connecticut people had faulted those of Springfield for adherence to Massachusetts. So complained of, Pynchon and others appealed to the authorities there, who now renew his commission for the government of the plantation. The legislature at the Bay order a letter for Fenwick. " It grieves us to meet with any occasion that might cause difference to arise between your people and us, standing in so near a relation of friendship, neighbourhood, and Christianity especially." It then refers to his grant for a trading house at " Woronock," and lands to Robert Saltonstall, both in the vicinity of Springfield, and claimed by Massachusetts. It proceeds, " We desire you to consider of it, as that which we apprehend to be an injury to us, and do us such right in redress hereof as you would expect from us in a like case. We have thought meet upon those occasions to intimate further unto you, that we intend (by God's help) to know the certainty of our limits, to the end that we may neither intrench upon the right of any of our neigh-

bours nor suffer ourselves and our posterity to be deprived of what rights belongeth unto us, which we hope will be without offence to any; and upon this we may have some ground of proceeding in our further treaty with you about such things as may concern the welfare of us all."

7. The legislature of Connecticut had expressed their sentiments as to what charges should be made by artificers and workmen, and hoped that they might be a law unto themselves; but they perceive little reformation. For this reason, they order, that "sufficient able carpenters, plow rights, wheelwrights, sawyers, joiners, smiths, and coopers, shall not take above twenty pence for a day's work, from the 10th of March to the 11th of October, nor above eighteen pence a day for the other part of the year, and to work eleven hours in the day summer time, besides that which is spent in eating and sleeping, and nine hours in winter; also, mowers for the time of mowing shall not take above twenty pence for a day's work. All other artificers or handicraftsmen and chief laborers shall not take above eighteen pence a day for the first half year as aforesaid, and not above fourteen pence per day for the other part of the year."

July 25. Mrs. Elizabeth Allen, now wife of Samuel Stone, is recommended by the Boston church to the Hartford church, of which he is minister, as colleague with Hooker.

August 30. The General Court of New Haven have the following entry on their records: "Whereas there was a purchase made by some particular persons of sundry plantations in Delaware Bay, at their own charge, for the advantage of public good, as in a way of trade, so also for the settling of churches and plantations in those parts in combination with this. And thereupon it was propounded to the General Court whether plantations should be settled in Delaware Bay in combination with this town, yea or nay. And upon consideration and debate, it was assented unto by the court, and expressed by holding up of hands." Captain Turner is allowed "to go to Delaware Bay for his own advantage and the public good in settling affairs thereof. It is ordered that those to whom the affairs of the town are committed shall dispose of all the affairs of Delaware Bay, according to the intent of the agreement for combination with this town in settling plantations and admitting planters to sit down there." The next year the settlers there suffer greatly from sickness and death.

September 9. A committee of the Connecticut legislature are authorized "to further the league with the Bay."

October 10. While Peters was on his passage, a commission is made out for him. It was signed by Haynes and Winthrop, the former governor of Connecticut, and the latter sustaining a

like office in Massachusetts. Its object was as follows: "Whereas the bearer, Mr. Hugh Peters, minister of Salem, is sent at the public request to England to negotiate with the present Parliament there about such matters as concern us, which we confide to his care and fidelity, this is to authorize him, if occasion permit him, to go to the Netherlands, to treat with the West India Company there concerning a peaceable neighborhood between us and those of New Netherlands, and whatever he shall further think proper touching the West Indies." Then several propositions were subjoined, which contain fair offers for the territory on Connecticut River, held and claimed by the Dutch authorities of New Netherland, and a continual source of perilous controversy between them and the English in that vicinity. In them the inquiry is made, on what conditions the company would allow English emigrants to settle on their lands, where they "can be employed in advancing the great work, being of the same religion with themselves." The last proposition is, "That the company would be pleased in all things to see the inhabitants of New England, who number about forty thousand souls, a people who covet peace in their ways, the planting of the gospel above all things, and not to cause trouble or injury in any manner whatever to the company."

A reason why Winthrop took part in the matter was, that Massachusetts exercised jurisdiction over some of the land conquered from the Pequods, and in the quarter liable to aggressions from the Dutch at Manhattan. Making a distinction between the corporation of Hartford and its colony, Winthrop remarked that the commission was not from the former. Not careful of such distinction, O'Callegan says that Winthrop was mistaken, while, in fact, he was correct.

October 24. The church of Windsor having censured Pynchon, he replies to them denying the sufficiency of the cause. This censure was predicated on a contract which he made to supply Connecticut with a large quantity of corn. They were dissatisfied about it, though he considered himself blameless in the matter.



## CHAPTER XIV.

**MASSACHUSETTS.** England. — Mr. Rashley. — Fast. — Virginia. — Education. — Defence. — Fast. — Sins. — Council. — Elders. — Concord. — Seven Vials. — Woburn. — Seamen. — Bulkley. — Conspiracy. — Hibbens. — Synod. — Parliament. — Missionaries. — Virginia. — West Indies. — Mrs. Reyner. — Fast. — Seamen. — College. — Union. — Catholics. — Graduates. — Embarrassments. — Inhabitants. — State and church. — Ordination. — Excommunicants. — Carter. — Jesuits. — Woodbridge. — Cotton. — Ball — Mrs. Thompson dies. — Fast. — England. — Baptists. — Salaries. — Commerce. — Laud. — Election sermon. — Worship. — Confederation. — England. — Emigrants. — Lady Moody. — La Tour. — Papal influence. — Endicott. — Negative vote. — Reconciliation. — Apology. — Mission to Virginia. — Vineyard. — Robinson's Apology. — Peten. — Thirty-two questions. — Westminster Assembly. — Brownism and Presbyterianism. — Friars. — Errors. — La Tour and D'Aulney. — Covenant — Synod. — College. — Preachers. — England. — League and Covenant. — Fins. — Gortonists. — Warwick. — Gibbons. — Sabbath. — Morton. — Green and Norcross. — Narragansett Bay. — Parker and Rogers. — First fruits. — Indians. — Gospel westward. — College. — Students. — Missionaries. — Reports. — Mr. James. **PLYMOUTH.** Arms. — Scoffers. — Providence. — Preachers. — Baptism. — Brewster. — Prosecutions. — Conspiracy. — Oath. — Penalty. — Scituate. — Mr. Hull. — Confederation. — Mowers. — Mrs. Matthews. — Military. — Freemen. — Prayer. — Insurrection. — Councils. **MAINE.** Georgeana. — Indians. — La Tour. — D'Aulney. — Lygonia. — Wheelwright. — Union. — Mr. Hull. — Letter. — Apology. — Safe conduct. — Missionaries. **NEW HAMPSHIRE.** Maud. — Underhill. — Magistrates. — Episcopal bias. — Gibson. — Mr. and Mrs. Maud. — Conspiracy. — Freemen. — Portsmouth. — Larkham. — Wheelwright. — Parker. — Exeter. — Wheelwright. — Magistrates. **RHODE ISLAND.** Providence. — Distress. — Democracy. — Persons disfranchised. — Aspinwall. — Mr. and Mrs. Hutchinson. — Gortonists. — Warrant. — Agent for England. — Throgmorton. — Elders Brown, Wickendon, and Dexter. — Deed. — Union. — Sachems. — Miantinomo killed. — Mrs. Hutchinson slain. — Holden's letter. — Commissioners. — Island. — Hostilities. — Cessation. — Gortonists imprisoned. — Charge. — Captive children. — Sentences. — Key of Williams. **CONNECTICUT.** Dutch. — Free school. — Stamford. — Denton. — Indian combination. — Virginia. — Worship. — Synod. — Alarm. — Dutch. — Arrowcoats. — Support of religion. — Education. — Courtship. — Absent husbands and wives. — Publishment. — Shuffleboard. — Falschood. — Profanity. — Ministers. — Sabbath. — Heresy. — Crimes. — Marriage. — Union. — French. — Higginson's petition. — Indians. — New Haven. — Freemanship. — Accusations. — Pequod convert.

## MASSACHUSETTS.

1642, January 3. As calculated to have great effect on the concerns of New England, the subsequent facts are presented. Having more fully discovered, that some members of Parliament corresponded with the Scots, so as to encourage them

against him, the king orders Lord Kimbolton, with Messrs. Pym, Hampden, Holles, Stroud, and Arthur Haslerig to be apprehended; whereupon the Commons resolve that, if any attempt be made to seize any of their members or papers, they shall "stand upon their defence." On the 5th, the king goes to the House of Commons, and demands the five members, who were not there, and then he issues a proclamation for their apprehension. The house vote that this is a breach of their privilege. On the 7th and 8th, a mob is raised in London to protect them. They adjourn for seven days, and appoint a committee to sit, in the meanwhile, at Guildhall. On the 10th, the mob had become so violent, the king and his family move from Whitehall to Hampton Court. The next day, the sheriff and military companies of London, with an armed multitude, carry the obnoxious members to their seats at Westminster. At the same time, many vessels with colors and armed men proceed from London bridge up the Thames, as abettors.

Thomas Rashley, according to Lechford, preaches this year at Cape Ann. He was a member of the Boston church, 1631. Calamy mentions one of his name as among the subscribers to the Testimony of the County of Wilts, with the London ministers, in 1648, to the Truths of Jesus Christ. Mr. Rashley is placed\* among the ejected ministers, and as having one of his residences at Abrey. Though but a line or two is left to show his name, employment, and place, yet the relations he sustained indicate that he was worthy to suffer in a good and great cause.

April 14. A fast is kept on account of the troubles in England and colonial "occasions."

May 24. Richard Bennet, Daniel Gookin, John Hyll, and others, to the number of seventy-one persons, direct the following letter:† "To the pastors and elders of Christ's church in New England, and the rest of the faithful, to whom these presents shall come, we, the inhabitants of the county of the Upper Norfolk, in Virginia, send greeting in our Lord God everlasting. Whereas, by the special grace and providence of God, we have been moved to labor that the word of God might be planted amongst us by faithful pastors and teachers, and by the same providence been directed to you, (reverend and much esteemed,) as by letter formerly, dated, viz., August 6, 1641, subscribed by us, may appear more fully. At which time we had prepared all things ready to send unto you for that end, but the season of the winter then approaching constrained us to defer it until the present. At which time we have greater cause to seek more

\* Nonconformist Memorial.

† Dunster Manuscripts.

earnestly for the supply of our wants. In regard to the present incumbent having fully determined to leave us, hath given us warning to provide ourselves. And in this vacancy, we have thought it necessary to divide the whole county, being of very large extent, into three several parts, for the more convenient and easy assembling ourselves together to the public worship of God, and sanctify the Lord's day, every of which parts being entire within itself, and the inhabitants of which willing to maintain a pastor. We have, therefore, for this very end, still resolved to commend our necessities to your Christian and serious consideration, and do by these our letters earnestly desire to be supplied from you by such pastors as shall be selected, nominated, and commended to us by you, with consent of the church, in such manner as we may hope for a blessing from God by their dispensations, being according to the order of the gospel; and such as shall be approved by Mr. Philip Bennet, our agent herein, whom we commend unto you for the matter, as also for his great willingness and earnest endeavor in this work, to whom we give order, in our name, to choose such as by you shall be commended to him, and so do faithfully promise to receive such pastors as shall be so commended and chosen for us; provided, that being tried, they be found faithful in pureness of doctrine and integrity of life. For although we are well persuaded of your sincere affection to Christ's truth, and of your holy walking in the order of the gospel, for which we do reverently and highly esteem you, yet we cannot rest on man's person or doctrine further than shall be approved by the word of God, and further than his preaching and government shall be according to the institution of Christ; and being such, are bound by the command of God, and shall willingly receive them, subjecting ourselves to their teaching and discipline. And we have good hopes, and do earnestly pray, that the Lord, according to his promise, will give us pastors after his own heart, which shall feed us with knowledge and understanding. Unto his mercy and truth, therefore, we commit ourselves and our spiritual necessities, looking for supply of them from the riches of his grace, who doeth great things and unsearchable, and worketh wonders without number. And in special manner, we commend this matter and ourselves likewise to your care over us, in that which concerns us, we highly resting in expectation of return of your answer, which we hope to receive by the presence of those whom you shall send unto us, in whom likewise we shall behold God's goodness and your Christian love to us."

June 14. The General Court require that the children whose parents neglect to educate them shall have the particular attention of the selectmen where they live, so they shall learn to

read and understand the principles of religion, as well as the capital laws.

In view of the great danger which threatens the commonwealth from foreign and domestic foes, they order every plantation to provide for the manufacture of saltpetre. Of the latter foes were the Indians in general, who were reported to have conspired throughout New England to destroy the colonists. Though encouraged by the progress of liberty in England, which had revived their charter rights, yet our fathers had much to try their belief that they should found a heritage of temporal and spiritual freedom for their descendants.

A fast is ordered, to be the 21st of the next month, "in regard of our own straits and the foul sins broken out among us, and the distractions of our native country, Ireland, Holland, and other parts of Europe."

The ministers are desired to consider a book before the court, composed by Richard Saltonstall, and adverse to the continuance of the standing council. They are requested to hand in the result of their examination of it the next session. At the same time, the court vindicate themselves and the said council from any improper motives. The latter body, formed, in one of the most perilous exigencies of the colony, to assist by their advice and action in preventing the prostration of its civil and religious liberties, had done much good. But the spirit of jealousy among the public, lest their continuance should lessen the freedom of the commonwealth, is an indication that they are vigilantly observed, and need make straight paths for their feet. This year, it is enacted that "the treasurer of the country shall defray the charges of the elders of our churches, when they are employed by special order of the General Court."

July 28. The church\* at Concord had not succeeded so well in their agricultural pursuits as they anticipated. They were doubtful about remaining there. They thought the support of two ministers more than they were able to afford. On this subject a council assemble among them. They advise the church not to move away, and to maintain their pastors as well as they can. They also propose, that if either of the ministers has a call elsewhere, he may convene a council to act on his dismissal. Another item of their result is, that the deacons should attend to the payment of the pastoral salaries — a duty which had not been required of them.

A book is brought from London containing sermons of Cotton on the seven vials.† They were published without the author's knowledge. Some person, who heard them in Boston,

\* Winthrop.

† Baillie mentions the book as printed in 1641.

took them down in short hand, and presented them to Humfrey before he embarked for England. The latter had three hundred copies for the manuscript. He intended it as a compliment to Cotton, who, however, was grieved that such a work was given to the public without his own revision and correction.

August 14. A church\* of seven brethren is formed at Woburn. The candidates and others assemble at eight o'clock in the morning. The council and messengers are from seven adjacent churches. According to the custom, that one or more of the magistrates should be present on such occasions, to promote order, prevent disturbance from erroneous opinionists, and encourage the work, Increase Nowell attends. "After Mr. Syms had continued in preaching and praying four or five hours," the persons entering into covenant, relate their spiritual experience, state the doctrines of their creed, and are questioned, as need seems to require, by members of the council. This body, satisfied with their statements, depute one to give them the right hand of fellowship. Speaking of the individuals thus formed, and of their disposition to prepare the way for the settlement of a pastor among them, Johnson remarks, "It being as unnatural for a right New England man to live without an able ministry, as for a smith to work his iron without fire."

John, son of Rev. Peter Bulkley, graduates, this year, at Harvard. He afterwards went to England, and settled in the ministry at Fordham, whence he was ejected, 1662. Thus deprived of his parish, he practised physic in the suburbs of London. He conversed on religious subjects, and prayed with his patients. His every-day life adorned the doctrines of his Savior, and so he preached powerfully to all with whom he was concerned. In 1689, when he had reached his seventieth year, he died at St. Katharines, near the Tower. His funeral sermon, from Proverbs xiv. 32, was delivered by Mr. James, of Nightingale Lane. He was "eminent in learning, and equally so in piety."

September 1. Tidings are brought from the authorities of Connecticut, as Winthrop remarks, that discovery had been made there, that the Indian tribes of the whole country were encouraging each other to unite their forces, and endeavor to exterminate all the English. Order is immediately given to disarm the Indians, which is partly executed. Still, after examining a few of the chiefs, they gave satisfaction to the rulers here, that they had no hand in the plot. The legislature, convened the 8th to consider the proposal of Connecticut for war upon the Indians, decide to answer them, that they do not perceive sufficient cause

\* Johnson's Wonder Working Providence.

to begin such hostilities. At the same time, they are careful to have the people guarded against surprise. One reason they offer why they should delay to draw the sword is, that the men who would be selected for it "were, for the most part, godly, and would be as well assured of the justice of the cause as the warrant of their call," which justice did not yet appear.

According to custom, Hibbens, who accompanied Peters and Weld to England, being returned in safety, gives an account to the Boston church "of all the good providences of the Lord towards him in his voyage to and fro."

September 6. Letters reach Boston from members of both houses in Parliament, and a few ministers, who "stood for independency in the churches." They are of the same tenor and addressed to Cotton of Boston, Hooker of Hartford, and Davenport of New Haven. They invite them to attend a synod in London for settling ecclesiastical government. An extract from them follows: "The conditoyon whearein the state of things in this kingdom doth now stand wee suppose you haue from the relations of others, whearby you cannot but understand how greate need there is of the healp of prayer and improvement of all good meanes from all parts for the seatlinge and composeing the affaires of the church. Wee doubt not these advantages will be sutch as will fully answer all inconveniences yoursealves, churches, or plantations may sustaine in this your voyage and short absence from them. The sooner you come the better." Of the lords who subscribed this communication were Warwick, Say and Seal, and Brook; of the Commons were Cromwell, Haselrig, and Marsham. The magistrates and elders, in and near Boston, immediately consulted on so interesting a proposal, and the most of them thought it should be complied with, but wished for longer time to consider. Hooker did not approve of the plan, but Davenport and Cotton did. While the subject was in agitation, news came of a rupture between the king and Parliament, with advice from Peters and Weld to have all decision on it suspended till further information. The advice was adopted, and finally it was concluded to send no delegates.

Letters by Mr. Bennet from Virginia, desiring that they may be supplied with preachers, had been received. The communications were treated as highly important. The change in England, which had removed the former opprobrium cast upon dissenters, and brought down the supremacy of the archbishops, was favorable to their effectual acceptance. On a lecture day in Boston, the letters were read publicly. In view of the statements thus made, the elders appointed a time for the special consideration of them. When the day came, they assembled.

They nominated three for the mission, Philips of Watertown, Tompson of Braintree, and Miller of Rowley.

September 8. After this date, but in the same month, to encourage the enterprise, the legislature voted, that if the churches would consent to have them go, the magistrates would recommend them to the government of Virginia. On the 16th, Peter Bulkley writes to Cotton, "If the business concerning Virginia be finished, I desire to know how it stands."

One of the reasons assigned for the designation of the three aforementioned was, that each of their churches would have a minister left if they should go. Philips declined the appointment, and his colleague, Knowles, consented to take his place. Miller did not accept, because his health was insufficient. "The main argument which prevailed with the churches to dismiss them to that work, and with the court to allow and further it, was the advancement of the kingdom of Christ in those parts."

Though a few calls of this kind had been answered as to Maine and New Hampshire, yet the mission to Virginia was considered more important in its relations than any other hitherto encouraged by the church and state of Massachusetts.

Near the same date, two vessels, which had been gone almost a year to Barbadoes and other West India islands, came home with loads of cotton. They brought letters, entreating for a supply of ministers. The elders, understanding that the people there "were much infected with Familism," did not think it well to act immediately, but wait for more information.

22. A general Fast is observed, appointed by the churches, as desired by the legislature. Its prominent occasions are the rupture between the king and Parliament, the Indian conspiracy, and excessive rains.

24. Cotton delivers a sermon to the captain "and divers godly seamen" of a ship built and made ready for sea by Boston merchants. It was intended to have this service on board of the vessel, but, as she could not accommodate the audience, who wished to be there, it was performed at the preacher's meeting house.

26. An extract,\* relative to learning, is from a letter of the governor and "diverse of the ministers," forwarded to England. "All things in the colledge are at present like to proceed as wee can wish; may it best please the Lord to goe on with his blessing in Christ, and stir up the hearts of his faithful and able servants in our owne native country, and here (as he hath graciously begun) to advance this honourable and most hopefull worke. The beginnings whereof and progresse hitherto (gen-

\* The First Fruits of New England.

erally) doe fill our hearts with comfort, and raiseth them up to much more expectation of the Lord's goodnesse for us hereafter for the good of posterity and the churches of Christ Jesus."

September 27. As in 1636 the college was committed to the care of six magistrates and six elders, and some of them had left the colony, it is ordered \* by the legislature that the corporation of this seminary shall be the governor, deputy, and "all the magistrates of this jurisdiction," and "the teaching elders" from Cambridge, Watertown, Charlestown, Boston, Roxbury, and Dorchester, with the president for the time being, to govern it "in piety, morality, and learning."

A large committee are appointed to confer with delegates from New Haven, Connecticut, and Plymouth, for the formation of a union to preserve their several interests of church and state, and particularly to avoid the threatened collision with Indians. A proposal is made to include Maine in the compact.

October 6. A vessel comes † to Boston with a request from La Tour, at St. Johns, for aid against D'Aulnay at Penobscot. Its company are Catholics. They attend worship in the meeting house, and otherwise acted so as to secure the respect of the people. A New Testament, with Marlorat's notes, was presented to their commander by one of the elders, which he accepted and promised to read.

7. Knowles and Tompson ‡ depart for Taunton so as to meet with the bark at Narragansett, which was to carry them on their mission to Virginia. They have a letter from the governor to the like officer there, which explains the object of their visit to his jurisdiction, and bespeaks his kind attention to them while in that quarter. They stopped at New Haven, where Mr. James, formerly of Charlestown, joined them in their gospel enterprise. They met with so many detentions and difficulties, it was eleven weeks before they reached the port of their destination. Such trials led them to doubt whether they had not gone beyond the line of their duty. But when they reached their field of labor, and met with much to encourage them, they took a different view.

9. As cause of deep interest to the Christians of New England, who felt the importance of having the churches and commonwealth supplied with pious ministers and magistrates of good education, the first commencement is held § at Harvard College, and nine students graduate. But the hope with regard to the continuance of these young men in this country was

\* Holmes's Annals have this under 1643, but the General Court Records have it under 1642. Winthrop, though not positively, seems to favor Holmes.

† Winthrop.

‡ Cotton's Way of Congregational Churches cleared.

§ Mather's Magnalia says, "Commencement was formerly the second Tuesday in August."



disappointed in the most of them, who, not able to find suitable employment here, sought it in England. Remarking on the design of those who founded this institution, Johnson says, it was "to make the whole world understand that spiritual learning was the thing they chiefly desired, to sanctify the other and make the whole lump holy, and that learning, being set on its right object, might not contend for error instead of truth."

October 18. All the elders\* of Massachusetts meet at Ipswich. The object of their convention is to consider the treatise of Richard Saltonstall on the standing council; as they had been requested by the General Court. They discuss three propositions, laid down by him, in regard to the matter, which follow: "1. In a commonwealth, rightly and religiously constituted, there is no power, office, administration, or authority, but such as are commanded of God. 2. The powers, offices, and administrations that are ordained of God, as aforesaid, being given, dispensed, and erected in a Christian commonwealth by his good providence, proportioned by his rule to their state and condition, established by his power against all opposition, carried on and accompanied with his presence and blessing, ought not to be by them either changed or altered, but upon such grounds, for such ends, in that manner, and only so far as the mind of God may be manifested therein. 3. The mind of God is never manifested concerning the change or alteration of any civil ordinance, erected or established by him as aforesaid, in a Christian commonwealth, so long as all the cases, counsels, services, and occasions thereof may be duly and fully ended, ordered, executed, and performed without any change or alteration of government."

The elders, in their reply, allowed these principles to be sound, except "with this distinction in the first, viz., that all lawful powers are ordained, etc., either expressly or by consequence, by particular examples or by general rules." They clear the advocate for them from intentional wrong, and from all actual breach of privilege, because he offered his views on the subject in compliance with the invitation of the legislature.

23. An event† expected by the people here with much solicitude, from counter movements of the royal and parliamentary forces, already communicated to them, now takes place. It is the severe battle of Edgehill. Both sides claim the victory, and the next day give public thanks. Thus the conflict assumes a more serious aspect, and its order of occurrences, as they come to the ears of our fathers, increases their hopes or fears relative to their own civil and religious institutions.

\* Winthrop.

† Salmon's Chronology.

November. The situation of the colony as to fewness of emigrants to its shores, in consequence of the revolutionary changes in England, — as to embarrassments of its trade, depreciation of its property, and scarceness of foreign commodities, — continues a restless spirit in many of the people, which induces them to look abroad for different residences. Some of them comply with encouragement of the Dutch governor to settle on Long Island, and others in the West Indies, and many to seek their fatherland. The most of such as went away for fear of want were brought to realize it in extremity. Among those who returned to England were Humfrey, the magistrate, John Phillips, and three other ministers, and a schoolmaster. The question whether the inhabitants should so leave the colony, for secular advantage, was much discussed. Winthrop, whose conscientious resolve was to stand or fall with the country, says, “Ask what liberty thou hast towards others, which thou likest not to allow others towards thyself, for if one may go, another may, and so the greater part, and so church and commonwealth may be left destitute in a wilderness, exposed to misery and reproach.” It is far safer, like Moses, “to suffer affliction with thy brethren, than to enlarge thy case and pleasure by furthering the occasion of their ruin.”

21. Allen, of Charlestown, writes to Cotton, of Boston: “You were pleased to express your willingness and desire to have my scruples propounded y<sup>t</sup> might be made about y<sup>e</sup> great buisyness, which the Lord hath bin pleased to direct you to speak off, (which I hope may, through his blessing, be very vae-full to the churches and people of Christ both here and elsewhere.)” He then proceeds to give a condensed view of his judgment on several questions.

1. About the power of magistrates. “It is to preserve and defend the churches from injuries and disturbances,” and not “constraine them to walk according to the word.”

2. About the power of “y<sup>e</sup> churches in matters ceremoniall.” They may “vary in the time of administration of y<sup>e</sup> Lord’s supper; we here doeing it in y<sup>e</sup> morning, and suppose others should doe it in the evening, according to y<sup>e</sup> 1<sup>st</sup> institution and y<sup>e</sup> primitive practises, sprinkling in baptism, others dipping, the time of church assemblings, for beginning, continuance. Some things be arbitrary to the churches to doe them or not. Wherein are the churches of England to be blamed in takeing such liberty?”

3. “About gathering churches. Question: whether any Christians in a towne, haveing been baptized, are not to be accounted of y<sup>e</sup> church till such time as they breake out into some scandall, for which they are to be censured. There was one

with vs this very day expressing himselfe, and many others in this country were of this judgment," whether "Christians may not gather into church fellowshipp in *consulto magistratu*, from Acts iv. 19, and from y<sup>e</sup> practice of y<sup>e</sup> apostolick times."

4. "About ordination. Qu.: whether imposition of hands be a necessary ordinance, or arbitrary, (as y<sup>e</sup> Scots hold.)" He then propounds queries relative to giving the right hand of fellowship, ministers pronouncing a blessing on the congregation, administration of the seals of the covenant, admission of members, offences and censures; "qu.: whether 'tis lawfull to have communion with an excommunicated person, or how farr. If such be only as an heathen, then 'tis lawfull to eat and drink, pray and converse, and deal ordinarily with him, and vnlawful only to have communion with him at y<sup>e</sup> Lord's table."

10. "About baptizing of children of Christian parents, not yet joyned in covenant to any particular church, for some reason, perhaps y<sup>e</sup> is unwarrantable, as suppose they are vncertaine of abiding in y<sup>e</sup> place where they are, or perhaps y<sup>e</sup> wife, being godly, would joyne, but y<sup>e</sup> husband will not suffer her, or y<sup>e</sup> like." He argues that such children should be baptized.

November 22. An ordination\* takes place at Woburn. Prior to the formation of the church there, Thomas Carter† preached among them, which he was invited to do, November 3, 1641, when he was a member of the Watertown church, where he seems to have been similarly employed. He continued his labors till the present. He had his A. B. in 1629, and his A. M. in 1633, at St. John's College, Cambridge. He came over in 1635, and was admitted freeman 1637. "After he had exercised in preaching and prayer the greater part of the day, two persons, in the name of the church, laid their hands upon his head, and said, 'We ordain thee, Thomas Carter, to be pastor unto this church of Christ.'" Then one of the neighboring ministers prayed. Winthrop informs us, that as the Woburn brethren had none among them "very fit" to impose hands on Carter, it was suggested by some, that the ordinance should be administered by elders from the vicinity. But others objected, lest it should introduce a dependency on other churches, and thereby a presbytery. The opinion of the latter prevailed. Thus a ceremony which has been long performed by ministers of the council was rigidly reserved, by our early churches, for a select number of the very church over which the pastor elected was to be placed.

\* Johnson.

† Massachusetts Historical Collections, s. 3, v. 8, p. 254. Here a Thomas Carter was about embarking, as a servant to George Gidding, for New England, April, 1635, aged twenty-five; which accords with the declared age of the minister of Woburn.

Mr. Pariah, a merchant, who had lived "many years at the Madeiras," visits Boston for purposes of traffic. He stated that the priests and Jesuits there told him, when about to embark for this country, that the people of "New England were the worst of all heretics, and that they were the cause of the troubles in England, and of the pulling down the bishops there."

November 28. Thomas Dudley, of Roxbury, writes to John Woodbridge, of Newbury, who had married one of his daughters, "I have often thought of you and of the course of your life, doubting you are not in the way wherein you may do God best service. Every man ought (as I take it) to serve God in such a way whereto he hath best fitted him by nature, education, or gifts, or graces acquired. Now, in all these respects, I conceive you to be better fitted for the ministry, or teaching a school, than for husbandry. I have been lately stirred up the rather to think hereof by occasion of Mr. Carter's calling to be a pastor at Woburn last week, and Mr. Parker's calling to preach at Pascattaway, whose abilities and piety (for aught I know) surmount not yours. There is a want of schoolmasters hereabouts, and ministers are, or in likelihood will be, wanting ere long." In compliance with this advice, Woodbridge prepared himself to keep school and preach, probably under Thomas Parker, colleague with his uncle Noyes.

This year, the True Constitution\* of a particular visible Church, by John Cotton, is printed in London. It discusses, by way of question and answer, "what officers, worship, and government, Christ hath ordained in his church." Several passages follow: "Before prophesying, it will be seasonable to sing a psalm, and by some of the teachers of the church, to read the word, and therewith to preach it by giving the sense, and applying the use. In dispensing thereof, the minister was wont to stand above all the people, in a pulpit of wood, and the elders on both sides. Where there be more prophets, as pastors and teachers, they may prophesy two or three, and, if the time permit, the elders may call any other of the brethren, whether of the same church or any other, to speak a word of exhortation to the people. And for the better edifying a man's self, or others, it may be lawful for any, young or old, save only for women, to ask questions at the mouth of the prophets.

The body of the church hath power from Christ to choose and call her own officers and members, to send forth any of them for her service, to inquire, and hear, and assist in the

\* This and the two consecutive works are mentioned by the Bibliotheca Britannica as of 1642 editions.

judgment of all public scandals. It is committed to the presbytery to call the church together, and to deliver the counsel of God to them with authority, to prepare matters for the church's hearing, and to propound and order them in the assembly; to administer ordination and censures, and to dismiss the assembly with a blessing, in the name of the Lord."

Another work of the same author is printed there. It is called *A modest and clear Answer to Mr. Ball's Discourse of Set Forms of Prayer*. It was considered as a desirable aid in England about their ecclesiastical consultations.

1643, January. While Tompson is engaged in his mission to Virginia, his wife Abigail dies.\* She was "a godly young woman, and a comfortable help to him." She left several young children, which were "well disposed of among his godly friends." Verses in the Records of the first Roxbury church, written soon after her decease, imply that she died of a cold taken while walking through the snow to public worship. They represent her as saying to her beloved husband, —

"Yea, if thou lovest Christ, — as who doth more? —  
Then do not thou my death too much deplore."

February. With regard to the eventful struggle between the king and Parliament, the churches, as in Winthrop, keep several fasts. Some of the magistrates doubt the propriety of having so many of these seasons for the same cause. But the matter is left to the discretion of the elders and their churches.

28. William Witter and Roger Scott, of Lynn, are arraigned before the Quarterly Court at Salem. "William Witter, now coming in, answered humbly, and confessed his ignorance and willingness to see light, and (upon Mr. Norrice, our elder, his speech) seemed to be staggered, inasmuch as that he came into court meltingly." He was charged with speaking very indecently of infant baptism. He was sentenced to confess his fault on a lecture day, and ask Mr. Cobbet's pardon for saying he spoke against his conscience. Scott is presented "for common sleeping at the publick exercise upon the Lord's day, and for striking him that waked him." This individual, not having amended his fault, was sentenced, the next December, to be "severely whipped."

March 5. As Winthrop relates, different views and plans of raising clerical salaries exist. Some pay them by taxation, and others by contribution. At Watertown, Mr. Briscoe considered it oppressive to be assessed for such a demand, "because himself and others were no members" of the church. He wrote a

\* His next wife was Ann, the widow of Simon Crosby, of Rowley.

book against it, and reflected on the officers of the church there. The publication caused much excitement in the town, and not a little in the colony." He and two more were convented before the court. He was fined ten pounds because he did not acquaint the magistrates with his grievance before he had it circulated abroad, and he slighted the court. One of the publishers was also fined forty shillings.

March 10. The House of Commons pass a special order in favor of this and other colonies. They head it as follows: "Whereas the plantations in New England have, by the blessing of Almighty God had good and prosperous success, without any public charge to this state, and are now likely to prove very happy for propagation of the gospel in those parts, and very beneficial and commodious to this kingdom and nation." With this caption, they allow New England to export their productions to the mother country and import thence such merchandise as they need, free of all customs.

When the legislature voted, on the 10th of May, to have record made of such kindness, they expressed themselves as follows: "Whereas it hath pleased the Lord, who, of his free grace and mercy, hath, from time to time, taken care of and provided for the safety and good of his poor churches and people here in New England, so to move the hearts of the honorable House of Commons in England, as they have been pleased to make a special order in our favor, for acknowledgment of our humble thankfulness, and preserving a grateful remembrance of the honorable respect from that high court, it is ordered, that the said order, being sent to us under the hand of the clerk of the said honorable House of Commons, shall be entered among our public records, to remain there to posterity." What a striking contrast this is to the royal instructions, which, for a series of years, had come to our rulers, commanding them, on the penalty of being punished as traitors, to send back their charter, and submit themselves to the tyranny of a general governor! How it must have raised up the hands that had hung down, and encouraged the hearts that had been faint! The remark of Chalmers, that this privilege was "gained by the intrigues, perhaps by the money, of the agents," is more fanciful than real, more dogmatical than demonstrable.

24. From the diary of Archbishop Laud, confined in prison on charge of treason against the state, there was a purpose to have him sent to this country. The record was, "One Mr. Foord told me (he is a Suffolk man) that there is a plot to send me and Bishop Wren to New England within fourteen days. On April 25, it was moved in the House of Commons to send me to New England, but it was rejected. The plot was laid by

Peters, Wells, and others." This movement for the primate's banishment was intended to prevent his execution at the block.

About this time, Peters, in his prefatory remarks to Church Government and Church Covenant, observes as follows: "I do conceive that this sword will not be sheathed, which is now drawn, till church work be better known. Presbytery and independency are the ways of worship and church fellowship now looked at, since we hope Episcopacy is confined out, and will be buried without expectation of another resurrection. We need not tell the wise whence tyranny grew in churches, and how commonwealths got their pressure in the like kind." This acquiescence in the downfall of hierarchy was vividly recollected against Peters when it came to be revived.

May 10. Ezekiel Rogers\* preaches the election sermon. He was invited to such duty by freemen who had instruction from the last court to meet at Salem for the nomination of some new magistrates. Hearing that exception was taken to this call, Rogers wrote to the governor, who advised him, though the mode of his being chosen was irregular, to perform the service, especially as it was publicly understood that he was to be the preacher.

When the governor and other magistrates took their oaths of office, there arose a scruple about the clause "You shall bear true faith and allegiance to our sovereign lord, King Charles," because he had made war on the Parliament. On this account the phrase was omitted; and thus another virtual stand was taken against the crown and the crossier.

To destroy what had been a main cause of driving our ancestors to these shores, a requisition of Parliament, passed the 5th, is now executed. Their words are, "It is ordered, that the book concerning the enjoyning and tolerating of sports upon the Lord's day be forthwith burned by the hand of the common hangman in Cheapside and other usual places. All persons, who have any of the said books in their hands, are hereby required forthwith to deliver them to one of the sheriffs of London, to be burnt according to this order."

The churches are to deal with their members who will not become freemen. This develops the idea of our ancestors, that Christians should avail themselves of their political as well as religious privileges in order to keep the state under a salutary influence.

Military officers of the towns are required to appoint what arms shall be brought to public worship on the Sabbath and other days.

\* Winthrop.

May 19. Articles of confederation are agreed on at Boston by commissioners from New Haven, Connecticut, Plymouth, and Massachusetts. They are signed by all of them, except those of Plymouth, who had no power to do this; but the General Court of the last colony accepted the articles on the 7th of next September. Several reasons are assigned for so important a covenant, as follow in the subjoined caption: "Whereas we all came into these parts of America with one and the same end and aim, namely, to advance the kingdom of our Lord Jesus Christ, and to enjoy the liberties of the gospel in purity with peace; and whereas by our settling, by the wise providence of God, we are further dispersed upon the sea coasts and rivers than was first intended, so that we cannot, according to our desire, with convenience communicate in one government and jurisdiction; and whereas we live encompassed with people of several nations\* and strange languages, which hereafter may prove injurious to us or our posterity; and forasmuch as the natives have formerly committed sundry insolences and outrages upon several plantations of the English, and have of late combined themselves against us, and seeing by reason of the sad distractions in England, by which they know we are hindered both from that humble way of seeking advice, and reaping those comfortable fruits of protection, which at other times we might well expect,—we therefore do conceive it our bounden duty, without delay, to enter into a present consociation amongst ourselves for mutual help and strength in all future concernment, that, as in nation and religion, so in other respects, we be and continue one, according to the tenor and true meaning of the ensuing articles." These number twelve. In the first, the contracting parties take the name of the United Colonies of New England. Second, they enter into the "league of friendship and amity, for offence and defence, mutual advice and succour, upon all just occasions, both for preserving and propagating the truth and liberties of the gospel, and for their own mutual safety and welfare." Third, each colony were allowed "peculiar jurisdiction and government within their limits." Fourth, the charges of all just wars for either member of the confederation were to be paid by all of them in proportion to their means. Fifth relates to invasion and the mode of resistance. Sixth states that the government of the whole union shall consist of two commissioners from each colony, "all in church fellowship." The next four describe the duties of such officers. The eleventh provides for a breach of the contract by any of the parties, and the twelfth narrates the completion of the agree-

\* French, Dutch, and Swedes.



[Mass.

ment. The league, so made, was like that of the states of the Netherlands. No document of the kind was ever formed for nobler purposes. To assert that the motives leading to it were in no degree imperfect, would be claiming for it what could never be entirely and truly demanded from any human instrument. But to maintain that it took as high a hold on the best interests of man as any other, is justified by truth.

A Fast is recommended to be observed by the churches, on the first day of June, for the distressed situation of England.

June 12. Lady Deborah Moody was admonished by Salem church, of which she became a member, April 5, 1640, for denying infant baptism. To avoid further difficulty, she removes to Gravesend, on Long Island. Her settlement was soon attacked by Indians, who were bravely beaten off. She was afterwards excommunicated by the church of Salem.

La Tour, the rival of D'Aulney, arrives, according to Winthrop, at Boston from Rochelle. He professed to be a less strenuous Catholic than the other. The reason of his coming hither was that D'Aulney blockaded the entrance to his fort at St. Johns. La Tour and his men were entertained hospitably. The report of his arrival, object, and reception was speedily spread through the colony. It produced much excitement in the churches. Some of the ministers preached against aid being granted to La Tour, and others in its favor. The former wrote to the governor, and expressed their fear lest such intercourse bring the colonists under Papal influence. So serious an aspect did the subject assume, and so desirous were the persons who had engaged to assist La Tour in getting to his fort, for advice, a meeting of the adjacent magistrates, deputies, and elders is appointed. A principal question agitated before this body was, whether "it were lawful for Christians to aid idolaters, and how far we may hold communion with them." It was agreed, on the one hand, that assistance rendered to La Tour, as proposed by those who had agreed to accompany him, and as countenanced by several of the principal members of government, would advance and strengthen Popery. It was argued, on the other, that, being in distress, he might be properly relieved as an act of civility due from man to man. A further objection was, that La Tour was not to be confided in as to his stipulations for help, because Papists profess that it is right for them to break their "promise with heretics." The reply to this was, that whatever his creed might be, it was not for his interest to deceive the English.

While this subject was under discussion, Endicott writes, on the 19th, to Winthrop: "I am glad that La Tour hath not ayd from us; and I could wish hee might not have any from

the shippa. For as long as La Tour and Daulney are opposites, they will weaken one another. If La Tour should prevail against him, we shall undoubtedly have an ill neighbour. I must needs say, that I feare we shall have little comfort in having any thing to doe with these idolatrous French. The countrey hereabouts is much troubled that they are so entertayned, and have their libertie as they have to bring their soldiers ashore, and to trayne their men. I leave all these things to your serious considerations, desiring the Lord to guide you therein to the glorie and peace of the churches here."

June. About this time, the elders, as requested, give advice that the question relative to the negative vote of the magistrates, as to a case of slander concerning a lost sow, in Boston, of little importance in itself, but made the occasion of general and serious division among the people, be left undisturbed.

They also promote a reconciliation between Saltonstall and the most of the magistrates, who disapproved of strictures in his book against the standing council.

Among the ministers who came to the court was Rogers, of Ipswich. While earnest for the settlement of some matter between that town and one of the Assistants, Dudley thus addressed him: "Do you think to come with your eldership here to carry matters?" This was considered as needlessly rough, and the speaker of it was prevailed on to make an apology.

20. Knowles returns from his mission to Virginia. He brings letters from his people and others there to the elders here, which were read publicly at the lecture in Boston. Great interest was taken in this work by our churches. They were informed that God had greatly prospered the labors of the missionaries. They were further told, that "though the state did silence the ministers because they would not conform to the order of England, yet the people resorted to them in private houses, to hear them as before. Tompson and James appear to have returned with Knowles. The act of Virginia, passed the foregoing March 2, forbidding any preachers to remain there except them of the Episcopal order, appears to have been made for the exclusion of those individuals. Their followers remained under the instruction of Thomas Harrison, a minister of the country, who had altered in the manner and spirit of his preaching through the influence of the missionaries.

Near this date, Mayhew, at the Vineyard, perceives that his labors make some impression on the Indians. One of them, named Hiacoomes, attends his worship, and appears seriously inclined. For this he becomes an object of persecution from Pakeponesso, an adjacent sagamore, and his tribe.

As an indication of the great interest which our fathers took

in the ecclesiastical concerns of England, and how they desired for the public mind here to be well informed in such matters, the two subsequent books are printed at Cambridge: *A Short and Necessary Apologie of certain Christians, no less conscientiously than commonly called Brownists, or Barrowites*. The author of this work was the noted John Robinson. It was written in Latin, and printed at Leyden, in 1619. Among several topics were those of baptism as not applicable to children of non-professors; of liturgies, bishops, holy days, and from the Sabbath; and of public celebrations of marriages as unscriptural; of speaking in the congregation by intelligent brethren as justifiable; of the church, as independent, in its forms and doctrines, of the civil power. The other publication was, *A Discourse about Civil Government in a new Plantations whose Design is Religion*. It was written "to prove the expediency and necessity of intrusting free burgesses, who are members of churches gathered amongst them according to Christ, with the power of choosing from among themselves magistrates and men to whom the managing of all public civil affairs of importance is to be committed." Some ascribe this work to John Davenport, and others to John Cotton. Roger Williams assigns it to the latter and other New England elders.

July 1. As a concern, likely to have a reaction on the church discipline of this country, according to its final decisions, the Assembly of Divines convene to settle the religious platform of the kingdom, in the Jerusalem chamber of Westminster Abbey, London. It consists of one hundred and eighteen Nonconformist preachers and twenty-six laymen, each of whom is allowed by government four shillings a day for his service.

Relative to a subject of discussion in this body, ministers, who were members of it, and who had been exiles in the Netherlands, publish a narrative. In this they say, "Wee did then and doe here publicquely professe, we beleesue the truth to ly and consist in a middle way betwixt that which is falsely charged on us, Brownisme, and that which is the contention of these times, authoritative Presbyteriall government."

13. A ship of war, fitted out by the Earl of Warwick, arrives at Boston, to obtain planters for Trinidad. But the desire, previously exhibited for residence in the West Indies, had greatly abated, and no emigrants would engage to go.

14. La Tour leaves Boston, bound for his besieged fort, and accompanied with volunteers of our people. He had attended public worship with Winthrop, who gives the account, and otherwise conducted so as to meet with general approbation. Among his company were two friars. These, fearing lest they should offend the inhabitants, declined visiting Boston, except

once, when they called together on Cotton, with whom they had a conference. One of them was "a very learned and acute man." Immediately before his departure, he came and bade adieu to Cotton, Wilson, and Winthrop, expressing his gratitude for courtesies received.

The last of these makes the subsequent reflection: "Three errors the governour, etc., committed in managing this business: 1. In giving La Tour an answer so suddenly. 2. In not advising with any of the elders, as their manner was in matters of less consequence. 3. In not calling upon God, as they were wont to do in all public affairs before they fell to consultation." Such concessions were the spontaneous language of deep and ingenuous piety, as well as of enlightened Christian principle. The nearer men approach their Maker, and the more they look to him for heavenly wisdom, the safer they are in all perplexed questions of duty.

With regard to the subject of La Tour's obtaining assistance here, a communication is made to the magistrates and elders of Boston and vicinity. This document is signed by Richard Saltonstall, Simon Bradstreet, Samuel Symonds, Nathaniel Ward, Ezekiel Rogers, Nathaniel Rogers, and John Norton. Their language follows: "The honour wee owe to the religion we profess, the loyalty we beare to our native country, especially in its present condition, and the reference wherein it stands to the kingdome of France, out of respect to the reputation of our government and governors, our tender care of the souls and lives of such as are committed to the trust thereof, the eye of care we ought to have upon our friends in the east, our regard to our Christian confederates, so lately combined with us, in confidence of our piety and wisdom, and the religious discharge of our own consciences and duties, will not permit us to be silent, so long as there is any roome left for us to speake." They proceed to argue, that war, either directly or indirectly, with D'Aulney, is wrong. They remark, "The ends of warre ought to be religious. What glory is intended hereby to God, we see not, and how our peace shall hereby be settled, we foresee not, but suspect it will rather be a beginning than an end of our troubles and feares; if we doe not wholly suppress D'Aulney, we may be sure of it. He is already very strong, and if our ships and munition fall into his hand, it will diminish from us, and incourage, exasperate, and strengthen him." They proceed, "We learne that some of the east have consulted to repayre to him in his ayd, least he should upon revenge annoy and ruine them."

July 26. Endicott, declining to act with these persons, addresses Winthrop in friendly and consolatory terms. He says,

"I see no good use of such protestations as I heare of; but they may prove more dangerous than the French business by farre, if our God hinder not. Our prayers here are publickly and privately for a good issue of it, and that continually. I hope God will looke upon your sinceritie in mercie, and will heare our requests."

Winthrop replies to the Ipswich letter. He advocates the course pursued as to La Tour, on the principle that it was better "to save a distressed neighbour" and thus "to weaken a dangerous enemy," than do otherwise. He observes, "We disclaime to have any hand in yielding leave to any of ours to go to warr upon Daulnay; but this we owne, and no more — that we gave leave to such as could be hyred, etc., to accompany La Tour, and to conduct him to his owne place." He proceeds, "Our intelligence was believed, which we heard long since, and hath been more certainly confirmed of late, that the Jesuitical state have had an evil eye upon us, and not without cause, (as themselves apprehend;) and though we looke at this as the head of all foreign enmity, yet the Lord hath still saved us, and that without any great impression of feare upon our spirits." On this passage Hutchinson remarks, "They were in great fear of the French when they settled, under Richelieu, at Port Royal, and afterwards, when D'Aulnay came to Penobscot."

September 4. Winthrop states that an assembly or synod of all the New England elders, being about fifty, and such ruling elders as desired to sit with them, convene at the college in Cambridge. "They had their diet there after the manner of scholars' commons, but somewhat better, yet so ordered as it came not to above sixpence the meal for a person." Cotton and Hooker presided. The principal occasion of such a meeting was, that several ministers endeavored to promote Presbyterianism, especially those of Newbury. Hutchinson says that the movement was made "to set up Presbyterian government under the authority of the Assembly at Westminster." The convention decided against "some parts of the Presbyterial way," and the Newbury elders took their arguments into consideration.

7. During the session of General Court, John Wilson sends the following to Governor Winthrop: "I make bold to stirr vp further your pious hart, (ere the court be dissolved,) if there be need thereof, to promote that godly motion, that hath bene lately made by our teacher in the solemn assembly for a vniversall nationall couenant (for those weightie purposes) to be made before the Lord for the common good both of our church and state. I was moved the more herevnto, because I perceive all the eldres, whose mindes I had occasion to learne, very well to approue, and not a little to desire the same." The

proposition to adopt such an instrument seems to have been suggested by the great interest taken, at this time, in England and Scotland, about the solemn league and covenant for the support of liberty and religion.

September 18. Dunster, in reference to his salary, observes, "I still sit down appeased, desiring no more but what may supply me and mine with food and raiment, and to give every one his own, to the furtherance of the success of our labors for the good of the church and commonwealth."

A letter is received by the chief magistrate, this month, from Philip Bell, governor of Barbadoes. It relates that "divers sects of Familists" had appeared there, and caused great disorder, so that it was found necessary to whip some of them and banish others. It earnestly desires that a supply of good ministers may go hence to them. It was referred to the legislature and elders, who, not being able to find preachers disposed to labor there, answered the communication accordingly.

25. Rev. Thomas Weld, in London, addresses his brethren in the ministry here, with the consent of Hugh Peters, who was away from that city: "The present condition of this kingdom, y<sup>t</sup> is now vpon the verticall point, together with y<sup>e</sup> incredible importunities of very many godly persons, great and smale, (who hapely conceive we by our presence doe more good here then we ourselves dare imagine y<sup>t</sup> we doe,) haue made vs, after many various thoughts, much agitation and consultation with God and men, vnwillingly willing to venter ourselves vpon God's providence here, and be content to tarry one six moneths longer from you and our churches most desired presence, with whom our hearts are without the least wavering fixed. Things cannot long stand at this passe here, as now, but will speedily be better or worse. If better, we shall not repent vs to haue bene spectators and furtherers of our deare countries good, and to be happy messengers of y<sup>e</sup> good newes thereof vnto you. If worse, we are like to bring thousands with vs to you." They desire that the communication containing this extract may be read to their respective churches.

As an event much calculated to strengthen the Protestant cause in this country, "a solemn league and covenant for reformation, and defence of religion, the extirpation of Popery and prelacy, etc.," is signed by Parliament, the Scotch commissioners and the Assembly of Divines. This is done "in the church of St. Margaret's, Westminster." John White, noted for his great services in the work of settling this colony, opens the "solemnity with prayer."

October 9. Phillips, of Watertown, petitions the court that the fine imposed on John Stowers, one of his church, for bring-

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ing Mr. Briscoe's book on baptism, from one "Prescod," to him, at his own request, may be remitted. He affirms that he knows Stowers to be "free from Anabaptistical opinions." A reason why he wished to see the book published in London was, that it contained his own views. His request was allowed.

October 17. Lucy Peas, supposed to be the wife of John Peas, of Salem, is arraigned before the General Court, for having professed the opinions of Gorton. She renounces them, and confesses her fault for blotting out something in the book which she brought. She is allowed to go home.

The case of the man last named and of his followers, who had been taken and guarded from Shawomet to Boston that they might be tried for blasphemy and other alleged offences, is before the same body, and receives much attention. Its particulars are found under the head of Rhode Island.

November 2. As a matter of importance to the guardians of the New England churches, Parliament appoint Robert, Earl of Warwick, as governor general and lord high admiral of their American colonies, with a council of five peers and twelve commoners. Of the peers is Say and Seal, and of the commoners are Henry Vane, Jr., and Oliver Cromwell. Though the power of these commissioners was, in degree, like that of those with Archbishop Laud at their head, yet the former encouraged dissenters, while the latter was intended to crush their liberties. The object of Parliament in conferring such authority is "chiefly to the preservation and advancement of true Protestant religion amongst the planters, and the further enlargement and spreading of the gospel of Christ amongst those that yet remain there in great and miserable blindness and ignorance." Another motive which they assign for so doing, with regard to the colonists, is, "fearing lest the outrageous malice of Papists and other ill affected persons should reach unto them in their poor and low, but as yet peaceable condition."

3. Thomas Marshall, a signer to the former petition for Wheelwright, applies to the legislature to be forgiven.

Lord Baltimore, a Papist, and his brother, Calvert, governor of Maryland, sent a commission to Captain Gibbons, of Boston, which empowered him to procure emigrants for that colony. The conditions were, that they who moved thither should have the free enjoyment of their religion, of all the privileges of the country, and grants of land by the payment of an annual rent. Protestant, as well as Papal, settlers were already there. The offer, however liberal, was not accepted.

December 1. Endicott writes to Winthrop, that ship carpenters, employed at Gloucester, on a vessel of Mr. Griffen, were complained of by the authorities there for violating the Sabbath,

and other immoralities, and that he was proceeding against them for such offences.

December 3. According to Winthrop, Morton, noted for his career at Mare Mount, and his strenuous efforts in London to break down Congregationalism in our colonies, returns to Massachusetts. His zeal now found no better toleration there than here.

"Divers families going" from Watertown to the Vineyard desire Henry Green, subsequently settled at Reading, to go with them as their minister; but he declined.

Another company from Watertown settle at Nashaway, afterwards Lancaster. Nathaniel Norcross, of their number, was desired by the rest to become their minister. But they were advised to defer his ordination till they had sufficiently prepared their township.

10. As Hanbury informs us, Winthrop addresses a letter to "his reverend and very godly brother, Mr. Hugh Peters," in London. It referred to the manuscripts of Parker and others, which had been sent from New England, on the subject of Presbyterianism, then dominant in the mother country. Its words were, "Our late assembly of about forty elders met, wherein the way of our churches was approved, and the presbytery disallowed." About the same date, a different writer, in this country, sends a communication to another clergyman in England, concerning the same matter. He remarks as follows: "We have had a synod lately in our college, wherein sundry things were agreed on gravely; as, 1. That the votes of the people are needful in all admissions and excommunications, at least in way of consent, all yielding to act with their consent. 2. That those that are fit matter for a church, though they are not always able to make large and particular relations of the work and doctrine of faith, yet must not live in the commission of any known sin, or the neglect of any known duty. 3. That consociation of churches, in way of more general meetings yearly, and more privately, monthly, or quarterly consultative synods are very comfortable, and necessary for the peace and good of the churches. 4. It was generally desired, that the *exercitatio* of the churches' power might only be in the eldership in each particular church, unless their sins be apparent in their work. 5. That the parish churches in Old England could not be right without a renewed covenant at least, and the refusers excluded." The author of this statement observes, "England was never quiet, but worse and worse since it hunted almost a little nation of saints to New England; though W. Rathband, joining issue with A. S., will follow them with a blotting pen in print, even to that kingdom too."



Warwick and other commissioners for the English colonies grant a patent for the Narragansett Bay to Massachusetts. The patent was bounded north and north-east on Massachusetts, south and south-east on Plymouth and the ocean, on west and north-west by Mahiggamencks, alias Narragansett. The whole tract of it was about twenty-five miles, unto the Pequod River and Massachusetts. The reason assigned for the grant is the great charge which the grantees had been at for their settlement, and for their usefulness in various ways, to England, and the object of it to spread the gospel and evangelize the Indians.

December 17. Thomas Parker, of Newbury, writes to a member of the Westminster Assembly about the government of New England churches. A few passages of it follow: "For the sore afflictions of the church, and for those in particular which you have suffered, and my poore sister and mother with you. My cousin Noyse and myself have seen such confusion of necessity depending on the government which hath been practised by us here, that wee have been forced much to search into it within these two or three years. Wee judge that the ordinary exercise of government must be so in the presbyters as not to depend upon the expresse votes and suffrages of the people. There hath been a convent or meeting of the ministers in these parts, about this question, at Cambridge, in the Bay, and there wee have proposed our arguments and answered theirs, and they proposed theirs and answered ours; and so the point is left to consideration." This letter was printed the next year.

Rev. Nathaniel Rogers, of Ipswich, writes to a commoner of Parliament about the sufferings of the mother country, and the means of avoiding them. He remarks, "Ireland is made a slaughter house by the Catholics." He disapproves of the severe strictures made by *Mercurius Britannicus* against the king. He observes, "Since my setting pen to paper, we heard so sad news as made me lay aside my pen, fearing no passage would be to you; but since again much better, blessed be the God of mercy, that would not let us sink in sorrow, and the comfort of our comfort is in the religious and blessed covenant by you and the Scottish" commissioners. The fruits of the revolution there were prospectively regarded here as either for the weal or woe of our church. On the occasion of a Fast, observed March 27, by the House of Commons, the letter was read to them after sermon.

27. Of five ships which sail from Boston, one is bound to London, with prominent men, who had assisted to strengthen the spiritual foundations of the country. "Many prayers of the churches went with them and followed after them."

New England First Fruits, published in London, this year,

gives the following quotation: "By stirring up some to shew mercy to the Indians, in affording maintenance to some of our godly active young scholars there, (at the college,) to make it their work to study their language, converse with them, and carry light amongst them, that so the gospel might be spread into those dark parts of the world." It relates that Indian boys and girls live in English families, are civilized; some of them can read the books of their employers, and begin to "understand, in their measure, the grounds of Christian religion." It mentions two Indians, one a girl at Salem, who gave evidence of piety, and another a man, who often called on one of the ministers there to converse about the great salvation, and who visited the adjacent natives for the same purpose.

It speaks of another, who came from a distance, adopted the manners of the colonists, and was zealous for the institutions of the gospel. It adds, "We dare not but hope that many of them doe belong to the kingdome of God." Hugh Peters, as a commissioner for this country in England, relates, "I had been witness to the Indians receiving the gospel there in faith and practice." The writer of the work thus expresses his thoughts: "God meanes to carry his gospel westward in these latter times of the world. See how God's wisdom produceth glorious effects from unlikely meanes. Who would have thought that the chasing away hence so many godly ministers should so farre have promoted the praises of God, and should be a meane to spread the gospel when they intended to ruine it? They blew out their lights, and they burnt clearer."

The author next considers the fruits as to learning. He observes that "dreading to leave an illiterate ministry to the churches," he and others thought and consulted how to prevent so great an evil. While they were thus employed, Harvard bequeathed property, and others contributed for the foundation of a college. With reference to the scholars there, he remarks, "We are confident, if these early blossomes may be cherished and warmed with the influence of the friends of learning and lovers of this pious worke, they will, by the help of God, come to happy maturity in a short time."

Of the rules for the college, one says, "Let every student be earnestly pressed to consider well the maine end of his life and studies is, to know God and Jesus Christ, which is eternall life, and, therefore, to lay Christ in the bottome, as the only foundation of all sound knowledge and learning. And seeing the Lord only giveth wisdom, let every one seriously set himselfe by prayer in secret to seek it of him." Another requires that "every one shall so exercise himselfe in reading the Scriptures twice a day" as to bear a good examination before his tutor.

An essential requisite for the first and second degrees was "godly life and conversation."

The book states that four applications for missionaries were made "towards the end of last summer." One of these was from Virginia, and the others from "Barbadoes, Christophers, and Antego."

It answers various objections against the colony. "Many speak evil of the place. Did not some do so of the land of Canaan itself? Yet Canaan was never the worse. Some have been punished there for their delinquencies, or restrained from their exorbitances, or discountenanced for their ill opinions; and hence, being displeased, take revenge by slanderous reports. Let such deal fairly, and aboveboard, and come and justify any thing against the country to our faces while we are here to answer; but such never yet appeared in any of our presence to avouch any thing in this kind, nor (we believe) dare do it without blushing."

Thomas James, after this time, returns to England. During his trials at Charlestown, and subsequently, he approved himself as a faithful servant of Christ. Thus he had preparation to buffet the afflictions which awaited him, and perform the duties which devolved upon him. He was resettled at Needham, Suffolk. Not complying with the act of uniformity, he lost his parish, but still continued to instruct those who waited on his ministry in the same town. Here he died about 1678, aged eighty-six. Though his successor in the parish would allow no other ground to receive his body, except "the unconsecrated corner," still he left good evidence that his Saviour joyfully welcomed his soul, purified from sin, and fitted for an inheritance with saints in light.

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#### PLYMOUTH.

1642, January 24. It is agreed at town meeting in Governor Bradford's house, that the inhabitants of Plymouth, on each side of it, shall bring six muskets with shot and powder, and the town other six, every Lord's day, to the meeting, with their swords and furniture to every piece, ready for service, if need require.

March 1. Mr. Thomas Star, Hugh Tilley, Joshua Barnes, and William Nicholson, of Yarmouth, are charged with being scoffers and jeerers at religion, and making disorder in their town meetings. On trial they were heavily fined.

17. Taking into consideration that Providence is reputed to

be within the limits of Plymouth colony, and that the riotous there have obtained the upper hand, and grievously oppress their worthy townsmen, the grand jury propose that the place be taken under the protection and rule of this government.

Morton writes, "About these times the Lord was pleased of his great goodness richly to accomplish and adorn the colony of Plymouth (as well as other colonies in New England) with a considerable number of godly and able gospel preachers. Where gospel dispensation flourisheth, there prosperity in other respects may usually be expected."

July 7. Chauncey, at Scituate, still adheres to his practice of immersion. He had baptized two of his own children in this way. A woman of his congregation, who had a child of three years old, and wished it to receive such an ordinance, was fearful that it might be too much frightened by being dipped, as some had been. She desired a letter from him, recommending her to the Boston church, so that she might have the child sprinkled. He complied, and the rite was accordingly administered.

September 7. John Stockbridge, wheelwright, of Scituate, is fined five pounds for contemptuous speeches against the government. Elisha Beesbeach, of the same town, gives bond to appear and answer for a libel against Mr. Charles Chauncey.

18. Frances Clarke, now wife of Mr. John Reyner, is recommended by Boston church to Plymouth church.

27. The General Court, "having intelligence of a conspiracy intended by the natives to cut off all the English in this land, adjudge it absolutely needful and requisite to make speedy preparation throughout the government for a defensive and offensive war against them, as if they were presently to be sent forth."

They depute Edward Winslow, Timothy Hatherly, and Miles Standish to contract with the Bay authorities for such a purpose, "and to treat with them about a further combination or league, but not to conclude that without consent of the court here." They designate a council of war.

November 1. As John Hassell, of Seaconck, refused submission to the civil and ecclesiastical rules of Plymouth, the Court order him to pay twenty pounds, if he do not take the oath of fidelity or remove by the next March session. He was fined forty pounds the previous September, with several others of various towns.

This year, Jonathan, son of William Brewster, a chief founder of the colony, takes his first degree from Harvard. He soon goes to the land of his ancestors. He was ordained over a parish at Norfolk, and gained an estimable reputation. He had the degree of Bachelor of Divinity from Dublin. Another person of his surname landed at Boston. Under date of October,

1663, Hull writes in his diary, "About this time, here arrived Mr. Nathaniel Brewster, a very able and pious minister, in Mr. Prout's ship from London. Mrs. Norton entertained him and his family in her house. After a while, when our church had tasted his gifts, they desired his frequent labor amongst us, who, together with Mr. James Allin, that came hither about August, 1662, carried on the public ministry in our church." On the authority of Wood, Farmer states that Mr. Brewster settled at Brookhaven, L. I., in 1656, which seems not to harmonize with Hull's account. Thus recalled to dispense the words of eternal life, he died 1690, leaving children John, Timothy, and Daniel, thought, but not proved as grandson of Elder Brewster.

1643, February 2. William Vassall and others, being three males and two females, of Scituate, declare themselves to be the first church, independent of those members who had called Chauncey, and renew their former covenant.

22. Chauncey writes to the elders and church of Roxbury, and disapproves of the course adopted by Vassall and his associates, and denies that these are a regular church.

After this, they have a declaration entered on their records, that the ministers, at their last meeting in the Bay, judged them to be free from Chauncey's church, from the time when the last body refused to commune with them. In March, Vassall and his associates answer a letter of Chauncey, and complain of his allegations against them.

March 7. Ordered, that a warrant be issued for the constable of Yarmouth to "apprehend Mr. Joseph Hull, if he do either exercise the ministry amongst them or administer the seals, to bring him before the next magistrate, to find sufficient sureties for his appearance the next General Court to answer his doings, being an excommunicant."

June 6. Edward Winslow and William Collyer are empowered to subscribe the articles of confederation, now read in the court, in their names, with Massachusetts, Connecticut, and New Haven, and affix thereto the common seal of the government.

7. Vassall and other brethren of Scituate say to Rev. John Wilson, that Chauncey "hath rejected the church state, in which he stood when he was ordained pastor; for, in the public assembly on the Lord's day, he declared it, and then admitted members anew, who were members with us before, and refuseth communion with us because we will not do the like, sending messengers to us for that purpose." With regard to themselves, they remark, "As for that some may think that we incline toward the Scottish discipline, I conceive the difference in that to be more in words than in substance, and not that we differ much in the main; and this is the great matter that causes reports to

grow, like snow balls, bigger and bigger by rolling. But those that know us fear not our inclining to the bishops, or to receiving profane persons to the sacraments."

August 19. "Mowers that have taken excessive wages, viz., three shillings per diem, shall be presented, if they do not make restitution."

27. Katharine Matthews, wife of the minister bearing this surname, is dismissed from the Boston church to Yarmouth church.

29. To advance the military art, a company of Plymouth, Duxbury, and Marshfield is established. It is required to consist entirely of freemen. It is ordered that their "exercise be always begun and ended with prayer, and that a sermon be preached at their annual election of officers." The like privilege is granted to Sandwich, Barnstable, and Yarmouth.

October 10. General Court assemble "upon occasion of the insurrection of the Indians against the Dutch and English there, and have plotted to cut off the English, and to begin with the Dutch, many of whom they have already cut off." They order thirty men, their proportion, to be forthwith ready for action. They take measures that places be prepared for defence in Yarmouth and Barnstable, if the people there do not agree on such locations.

Towards the close of this year, the church with which Vassall was connected give a statement of facts, and lay them before the elders of Plymouth patent, and also of the Bay. The reply of the former body was, that the church was regularly constituted, as left by Mr. Lothrop; but those including Vassall had not been regularly formed. The answer of the latter body, though not preserved, appears, from references to it, to have been "of a different tenor."

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#### MAINE.

1642, March 1. Though his native country is filled with distractions, which threaten the downfall of the throne and all its nobles, Sir Ferdinando Gorges still attempts to prosecute his plan with regard to his province. He grants a charter of extensive privileges to Agamenticus, so that from a borough it may become a city. By this document, he incorporates a territory of twenty-one square miles, and the people on it as a body politic, and, in compliment to his own surname, calls the place Georgeana. The mayor and aldermen, as justices, *ex officio*, are authorized to appoint "two or four" officers, called "sergeants

of the white rod," who are to serve all judicial precepts. Two fairs are ordered "vpon the feaste daies of St. James and St. Paul."

June 22. The Indians of this quarter, as Winthrop relates, are infected with the spirit of conspiracy, fostered by the different tribes of New England against the colonists. Some of them, as the commencement of their hostile purpose, intended to kill Edward Winslow at the trading establishment of Plymouth. They knew that he was in the habit of walking within the palisades. One of their number prepared his gun to shoot him. But as he was about to aim his piece for this purpose, Winslow, who had begun his accustomed round, cut short his walk, and suddenly retired to the house, unconscious that a plot was laid against his life. Thus one of the most eminent promoters of Congregational order in our country was still preserved, by the hand of Providence, for further usefulness.

October 6. A shallop, under the command of La Tour's lieutenant, arrives at Boston. The object of the former is to obtain assistance against D'Aulney at Penobscot.

November. The captain of a Boston vessel, on his passage home from a voyage to St. John's River, met D'Aulney at Penobscot. The latter showed him the copy of an arrest for La Tour, and declared that if any of the vessels here traded at the ports of his opponent, he would sequester them. The authorities of Massachusetts were less disposed to fall in with the wishes of D'Aulney, because nearer and a stronger Catholic, than with those of La Tour.

1643, April 7. Lygonia, or the Plough Patent, is revived, being purchased by Alexander Rigby, a pious lawyer, republican in his politics, and Episcopal in his religion. "He appoints George Cleaves governor, who had lived at Spurwink thirteen years."

17. Wheelwright, aware that a majority of the people at Exeter were about to imitate the example of their neighbors in coming under the protection of Massachusetts, and still indisposed to apologize for the cause of his banishment, takes a deed of four or five hundred acres of land from Governor Gorges, at Webbannet, afterwards Wells, for his residence. Hither he and some of his friends soon come. Here they and others formed a church, of which he was chosen pastor.

June 19. A reason why Maine was not invited to join the union of Massachusetts and other colonies was, as Winthrop states, "because they ran a different course from" the Bay, "both in their ministry and civil administration."

About this time, Mr. Hull, recently from Plymouth colony, is preaching at Agamenticus, and continues such labor there the next year.

June 28. Governor Thomas Gorges writes to Governor Winthrop, "It cannot be unknown to you the fears we are in, since La Tours promise of ayd from you; for my part, I thought fitt to certifie soe much unto you, and I doubt not only these parts which are naked, but all N. E., will find D'Aulnay a scourge. He hath long wayted (with the expence of near eight hundred pounds per month) for the apprehending of this supply; and if all his hopes shall be frustrated through your ayd, you may conceive where he will seeke satisfaction. If a thorough work could be made, that he might utterly be extirpated, I should like it well; otherwise it cannot be thought but a soldier and a gentleman will seeke to revenge himself." Gorges remarks that he expects to sail soon for England. So strong was D'Aulney, and so feared by some of Maine that he would destroy them, because La Tour obtained forces at Boston to break up his siege of the fort at St. John, they consulted about repairing to assist him, as a means of turning away his displeasure from them.

September 10. Wheelwright addresses a letter to Governor Winthrop. He acknowledges that, after "mature consideration," he is convinced that there was, in reality, no such great difference between his views of justification and those of the Massachusetts authorities as to warrant his former remarks against them, and his course of opposition to their government. He further owns that he is deeply pained for his conduct in these respects, though he intended well, and is ready to make satisfaction to those whom he has offended. On the 17th of October, he is granted a safe conduct to and from Boston.

The book called New England's First Fruits informs us that a minister from the Bay had preached at Agamenticus, and been instrumental in the conversion of some to Christ, "who bless God that ever he came thither." It also relates that, after this, various persons, who visited Massachusetts from Saco, and saw the beneficial effects of their religion, went back, and lamented, among their neighbors, the immoral condition of their settlement. "Hereupon, with joint consent, two of their men were sent, in all their names, earnestly to intreat us to send a godly minister to preach the word unto them, which was done accordingly, not without good success to the people there and divers places about them."

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#### NEW HAMPSHIRE.

1642. About this spring, Daniel Maud preaches for a congregation at Dover, who had desired elders of the Bay to send



them such a supply. From instructing a school in Boston, he had come among new scenes, duties, and trials. With reference to his engagedness in the ministerial office, Johnson represents him as "both godly and diligent in the work." The Dover records have the following, on August 11: "It is ordered that Mr. Daniel Maud and Mary his wife shall enjoy the house they now live in during their lives, provided he continue amongst us as teacher or pastor, if it please God to call him to it."

May 9. Underhill, who understood the Dutch language, had been on to see the governor of New Amsterdam, who offered him encouragement to reside under his jurisdiction. But the Boston church advised him to reside at Stamford, because under New Haven authority, and "in a church state." Accordingly they provided a passage for him and his wife to that place. He was representative from Stamford to the General Court of New Haven colony, in 1643. He removed to Flushing, L. I., 1646, thence to Oyster Bay, where he is supposed to have died in 1672. Passion, more than principle, greatly imbibited his cup of life.

18. The Massachusetts legislature appoint Thomas Wigin, Thomas Wonnerton, Edward Hilton, and William Waldron, as magistrates, to hold quarterly courts with their commissioners. The Episcopal bias of the towns, in general, though however thus united with the Bay, kept them from yielding in all points.

At the same session, Gibson, as Winthrop says, is arraigned. The charges against him were, that, "being wholly addicted to the hierarchy of England," and exercising "a ministerial function in the same way," he had written a letter to Larkham, of Dover, in which he denied the title of Massachusetts to Piscataqua, and encouraged the people there to revolt from them. He was committed to the marshal. In three days after, he confessed that he wrote the letter, and submitted himself to the court. Considering that he was to leave the country in a few days, they release him.

September 8. Directions are given by Massachusetts legislature to Wonnerton: "Upon credible information of a general and bloody design of the Indians against all the English in this country, and of great supply of powder and guns, which they have from some of the English in the eastern parts, who, living alone and under no government, cannot, by any ordinary ways of justice, be punished or restrained," they give him authority to do what he can to prevent such disorder, and thus lessen the peril of desolation to civil and ecclesiastical interests.

27. Each inhabitant of Piscataqua, who was previously free here, is allowed by that colony the liberty of a freeman in the management of municipal affairs and election of deputies to

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their General Court, though he be not a church member. Could the Bay authorities have had the submission of Piscataqua without such liberty, they would undoubtedly have preferred it, rather than granted this indulgence, which tended to weaken its opposite and continued rule for their previous jurisdiction.

The same legislature desire the elders to consider the spiritual condition of Strawberry Bank, and send them a preacher.

Larkham leaves Dover for England. There he appears to have reformed in what were here considered as eccentricities, if not irregularities. He became pastor at Tavistock, Devonshire. Here his labors were abundant and divinely blessed. After his ejection, he died in the same place, at the house of his son-in-law, not daring to venture abroad, lest he should be apprehended and imprisoned. His decease was in 1669, aged sixty-eight. Calamy says of him, "He was a person of great sincerity, strict piety, and good learning, lamented by pious persons of all persuasions in these parts."

As a petition had been made that Wheelwright, still under the order of banishment, might have a passport for Boston, the General Court there decide that, if he will ask for it himself, he shall not be denied. This business probably concerned the subject of Exeter's coming under the protection of Massachusetts. On the request of Northam or Dover, they are granted the privilege of being freemen without church membership, as had been generally allowed to Piscataqua.

December. James Parker, of Weymouth, accepts a call to preach at Portsmouth. He became freeman in Massachusetts, 1634, was deputy to General Court from 1639 to 1643, was "a godly man and a scholar." He was on a visit to England in November of the former of these two years. His labors among the people of Portsmouth, during the winter, were very useful.

1643, May 10. As the greater part of the inhabitants at Exeter had petitioned that the jurisdiction of the Bay might be extended so as to include them, they are granted the privilege. This caused the removal of Wheelwright and some of his friends to a township subsequently known as Wells.

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#### RHODE ISLAND.

1642, March 1. The subsequent passage from the records of Plymouth colony show that the deplorable condition of Williams and his friends had come before them for consideration: "The plantacon of Providence having in it many honest and

peaceable people, who groan under the want of government, and the riots and disorders falling out thereupon, the place being reputed within the government of Plymouth, lest worse things may fall out to the further and greater trouble of the colony or honest people there, being overpressed by violent and turbulent persons, should submit or subject the place to another government, we desire that a seasonable consideration may be had thereof for prevention of future mischiefs, if the place be within this government, as it is generally reputed."

March 16. At a General Court of fifty-eight freemen on the island, they lay aside their form of theocracy, and declare that it shall be "a democracy or popular government," and that the power of enacting and executing laws is "in the body of freemen orderly assembled, or a major part of them." They further enact "that none be accounted a delinquent for doctrine, provided it be not directly repugnant to the laws established." The last rule was confirmed the 17th of next September.

At this session, "it is ordered that Richard Carder, Randall Holden, Sampson Shotton, and Robert Potter be disfranchised of the privileges and prerogatives belonging to the body of the state, and that their names be cancelled out of the record." The next day another order is issued, that if those persons, with John Weeks, "shall come upon this island armed, they shall be by the constable, calling to himself sufficient aid, disarmed and carried before the magistrate, and there find sureties for their good behavior; and further, be it established, that if that course shall not regulate them, or any of them, then a further due and lawful course by the magistrates shall be taken in their sessions, provided that this order hinder not the course of law already begun with John Wickes."

17. Robert Lenthall, who had preached at Weymouth, and been made freeman at Newport, May 20, 1638, though subsequently to the last date he made an apology in the former place, had recently gone to England.

May 18. William Aspinwall, having been reconciled to the Boston church, March 27, on his petition to the legislature of Massachusetts and certificate of his good conduct, is restored by them to his former liberty and freedom as an inhabitant there.

This year, William Hutchinson, a respectable merchant, died at the Island. With strong affection for his wife, who was banished from the Bay for the spread of her speculations, he resided with her at Pocasset. Here he shared with her in the trials to which her situation and continued zeal for her sentiments exposed them in a new and divided colony. Thus deprived of her chief earthly support, she and the rest of her family, and some others, went to reside in the Dutch jurisdiction at Pelham

Neck, near New Rochelle. Gorton relates that one reason of her removal was, that she supposed the Island would come under Massachusetts, and thus herself, sons Francis and Mr. Collins, as persons banished from that colony, would be under the necessity of seeking another residence. He also states that they visited Providence to prevail on him to emigrate with them. With regard to the prospect of such a change of jurisdiction to the hands of the Bay authorities, Randall Holden writes, "The Island being at such divisions within itself, some earnestly desiring it should be delivered" to these rulers, and others not.

It appears that Gorton and his followers, being refused a settlement at Providence, had moved to Papaquinepaug, in Pawtuxet purchase. His encouragement to do this was, that Robert Cole, one of the thirteen who bought the tract, and a favorite of Gorton, gave him half of his undivided lot, and John Green, another of the proprietors, and a chief proselyte of Gorton, gave him half of his divided land there. After the Gortonists were so befriended, they, discovering that "Pawtuxet mens deeds from Myantenomy to bee weeke," bought the "lands againe ouer y<sup>e</sup> heades of those men that had dwelt there three or four year before, who had bought y<sup>e</sup> sayd lands of Socannanoes, y<sup>e</sup> true howner and sachim of Pautuxet lands." Thus successful in their intrigue, they told William Arnold and William Carpenter that they must leave their property or become tenants. They claimed the remainder of Cole's lot, who gave them the other in their necessity. Considering themselves as fallen into hands which had before given proof that they acted on the maxim that might was right, Arnold, Carpenter, and Cole, as their only resort, sought protection from the Bay authorities.

September 8. William Arnold, and his son, Benedict Arnold, William Carpenter, and Robert Cole and company, of Pawtuxet, no longer able to bear the misrule occasioned by Gorton and his adherents, place themselves under the jurisdiction of Massachusetts. William Arnold is appointed by the authorities there to keep the peace on the territory of himself and his associates.

This month, the colonists of the Island, according to Staples, in order to have their government on a surer foundation, resolve to send an agent to England for the purpose of procuring a charter of their territory. As Williams was the person selected for this important mission, it appears that Providence came to the same conclusion.

October 2. John Throckmorton, who advocated the cause of Roger Williams at Salem, and was with him at Providence, has leave from Governor Kcift, to settle, with thirty-five English

families, in his jurisdiction. He and his associates accordingly locate themselves on land towards Westchester. The place so occupied was called Throg's Neck, probably after the first syllable of his surname, sometimes spelt Throgmorton.

October 28. The governor and Assistants of the Bay order a warrant for Gorton. This document states that he had endeavored to deprive the four persons, who recently came under their protection, "of their lawful interest, confirmed by four years possession, and otherwise to molest them." It notifies him that, if he have any legal claim against them, he has liberty to try it in their court, but if he "proceed to any violence," he must expect forcible resistance.

Perceiving that he could not continue his policy, which many of his neighbors complained of as contrary to courtesy and justice, unless he opposed himself to the power of such authorities, he and his supporters soon remove to Shawomet. Four of his followers were banished in the spring from the Island, and another was then named with them as under a like sentence.

November 20. Thus having changed his residence, he and eleven others\* reply to the above warrant. The answer is long, and in various parts irrelevant and unintelligible. It has various authoritative passages, more suited to offend than conciliate. One of them follows: "Behold, therefore, you despisers, the vanity and abomination of all your baptisms; how prejudicial they are to the cross of Christ."

We are informed by Staples that Chad Brown and William Wickendon, this year, take charge of the Baptist church at Providence. The same author states that the latter person was succeeded, the next year, by Gregory Dexter. Farmer and Benedict relate that Wickendon went from Salem to Providence in 1639. Dexter was a native of London, had been a stationer there, and preached before coming to this country.

A letter of Richard Scott, subjoined to the New England Firebrand Quenched, published 1673, says that Williams left the Baptists and turned a Seeker, a few months after he received baptism at Providence. Scott was of the Baptist church for years, but when writing as above, was of the Quakers. His evidence conflicts with that of Staples, based on the collections of Edwards, that Williams continued elder of the Providence church to 1643.

1643, January 12. Miantinomo grants a deed of Shawomet, which "now comprises the town of Coventry, and nearly the

\* John Weeks, Randall Holden, John Warner, Robert Potter, Richard Waterman, William Waddle, Richard Carder, John Greene, Nicholas Power, Francis Weston, and Sampson Shotton.

whole of the town of Warwick," to Gorton, though the fee of this territory was in Pumham, who was the chief of its Indian inhabitants.

Relative to this matter we have a statement from Winthrop : "Sacononoco and Pumham, two sachems near Providence, having under them between two and three hundred men, finding themselves overborne by Miantunnomoh, the sachem of Narragansett, and Gorton and his company, who had so prevailed as he forced one of them to join with him in setting his hand or mark to a writing, whereby part of his land was sold to Gorton and his company, for which Miantunnomoh received a price, but the other would not receive that which was for his part, alledging that he did not intend to sell his land, though, through fear of Miantunnomoh, he had put his hand to the writing, they came to our governor, and did desire we would receive them under our government." From the conduct of Gorton at Plymouth, the Island, Providence, and Pawtuxet, and his exclusion from each of those places, there can be little doubt but that he used the forcible process, which rendered the sale void in the eye of equity.

May 19. As neither Providence nor Rhode Island inclined to unite either with Plymouth or Massachusetts, as the condition of admission to the confederation of the adjacent colonies, and these considered the government of the two former plantations not strong and safe enough to admit them on the basis of independent colonies, they were left out of the league. No doubt the inhabitants here considered this as a grievance, while they who so omitted them judged themselves right, because they felt bound to hold no immediate connection with persons who had been excommunicated and others who sustained them, unless they confessed that the charges for which they were so hardly dealt with were true, and called for repentance.

June 22. It being proved before the legislature of the Bay, that Pumham, sachem of Shawomet, and Sacononoco, sachem of Pawtuxet, were not under the jurisdiction of Miantinomo, the two first of these three chiefs make the ensuing contract: We "do voluntarily put ourselves, subjects, lands, and estates, under the government of Massachusetts. We do promise for ourselves, and all our subjects and posterity, to be true and faithful to the said government. And we do promise to be instructed in the knowledge and worship of God."

Respecting this event, Weld adds the subsequent postscript to the preface of the work on the Antinomians: "I think it fit to add a comfortable passage of news from those parts, written to me very lately by a faithful hand, which, as it affected my own heart, so it may do many others, viz., that two sagamores or

Indian princes, with all their men, women, and children; have voluntarily submitted themselves to the will and law of our God; with expressed desires to be taught the same; and have, for that end, put themselves under our government and protection; even in the same manner as any of the English are; which moving peep of mercy to them (saith he) is a great means to awaken the spirit of prayer and faith for them in all the churches."

September 7. A session of the commissioners of the United Colonies commences at Boston. Their records give the exciting relation: Some of Sequasson's men, a sagamore, "allied to and an intimate confederate of Myantinomo" shot an arrow or two at Uncas, as he passed down Connecticut River. The chief thus assailed referred the matter to "the English," as he and Miantinomo made a treaty to do in case of difficulty between them, and they endeavored to make peace; but Sequasson insisted on war, and was conquered. Miantinomo marched suddenly, with nine or ten hundred men, against Uncas, who had not half so large a force to defend himself. Still Miantinomo lost the battle, and was delivered into the hands of Uncas. Bound to consult the colonial authorities, Uncas brought his prisoner to Hartford with this intention. Shortly before the capture of Miantinomo, a Pequod, in subjection to Uncas, tried to kill the latter, but only wounded his arm with an arrow, and fled to the former chief for protection. The Pequod, supposing that he had slain Uncas, boasted that he had performed such a deed. But when he heard that he had failed in his purpose, he "was taught to say," that Uncas had wounded himself, and that he was hired to spread his first story. "Myantinomo, being sent for by the governor of the Massachusetts upon another occasion, brought the Pecott with him; but when this disguise would not serve, and that the English out of his owne mouth found him guilty, and would have sent him to Vncus, his sagamore, to bee proceeded against, Myantinomo desired he might not be taken out of his hands, promising he would send him to Vncus to be examined and punished; but contrary to his promise, and feareing, as it appeares, his owne treachery might be discovered, he, within a day or two, cutt off the Peacott's head, that he might tell no tales." The commissioners, in view of these considerations, "though they have had many concurrant testimonyes from the Indians in seuerall parts of the countrey" of Miantinomo's "treacherous plotts by guifts to engage all the Indians at once to cutt off the whole body of the English in these parts," advise Uncas that he may justly put such an enemy to death in his own jurisdiction. This lamentable deed was accordingly done. The commissioners, for approving it, have had full measures of reprobation from various quarters. But

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as umpires between two chiefs, who had agreed to submit their controversies to them, they felt bound to render what they believed a righteous verdict. They were fully convinced that Miantinomo sought directly and indirectly to take the life of Uncas, and that he had killed one of the latter's subjects, whom he had promised to deliver up, that he might be dealt with as a traitor. With these facts before them, they could not truly assert but that even English law demanded the execution of Miantinomo. The kindness of this chief to settlers on his territory deservedly endeared him to their hearts. But while such benevolence was a pleasant memorial of his character to them, it was severity to others which caused his sorrowful death.

When Gorton heard that Miantinomo was captured, he and his company forwarded a letter to Uncas, and threatened him with retaliation from the English if he refused to free the prisoner. But the story already told shows the application to have been unsuccessful.

September. Indians, participating in the purpose to destroy all the colonists, and having just killed some of the Dutch, come to the place where Ann Hutchinson and others from Rhode Island had recently taken up their residence. They pretend friendship, but soon commence the work of destruction. They kill her and most of her family, including her son-in-law, Collins, part of Messrs. Throckmorton and Cornhill's families, "in all sixteen, and put their cattle into their houses, and there burn them." Several women and children of this unoffending village flee, and are saved by a boat, which came in time to receive them. Thus closed the varied and afflictive course of Mrs. Hutchinson. Though unsuccessful in her attempts to gain the control of religious opinion in New England, yet she continued zealous in her purpose, and able in her efforts.

12. The legislature of Massachusetts send notice to Gorton and most of his company, that they are requested to appear there and answer complaints of Pumham and Sacononoco for "injurious and unjust dealing toward them." They offer those so addressed safe conduct to and from the Bay. But Gorton and his neighbors, on the reception of the proposal, declined it, and sent back word that they were subject to no government except of Old England.

15. Randall Holden, in their behalf, sends a letter to the Bay authorities, in a strange and caustic style. It begins with the ensuing passage: "To the great and honored idoll generall now set vp in the Masachvssets, whose pretended eqvity in distrebtion of iustis vnto the soales and bodies of men is nothinge else but a meere devise of man, accordinge to the anchant custom and sleights of Satan, transforming himselfe into an aniell



of light to subiect and make slaves of that species or kind; y<sup>e</sup> God hath honored with his own image." They affirm that they will drive Pumham from his lands, because he complained of their conduct towards him; that they will meet force with force; in connection with a sneer at the use of wine in the Lord's supper, they boast of their superior spiritual enlightenment, they charge the Indian murder of Mrs. Hutchinson and her children upon those to whom they so express themselves.

In this month, the commissioners of the union resolve, that, as complaints, weighty and of great consequence, have been made against the Gortonists, and if they refuse the proposition of Massachusetts, they will justify that colony in forcibly seeking redress of such men.

Gorges, in his description of New England, says that Gorton, after refusing to obey the citation of Massachusetts authorities, wrote "a pamphlet of daring expressions against the government, mocking also at the sacraments and at the mysteries of the New Testament."

September 19. The General Court at the Bay, with these things before them, order three commissioners,\* guarded by forty soldiers, to visit Shawomet, and try to settle the accusations there. This expedition was attended by Thomas Parris as surgeon and John Bulkley as chaplain. In their communication to the Gortonists of this date, the court say, "You have returned us no other but contemptuous and disdainful answers. If you will make good your own offer to us of doing us right, our people shall return and leave you in peace; otherwise we must right ourselves and our people by force of arms."

The inhabitants of Aquedneck, being in need of powder, are allowed to buy a barrel of it in the Bay, on condition that they appropriate it for the defence of the Island.

28. Hearing that the commissioners and the guard approached, Gorton and his company dispatch a letter, and charge them to keep off from their lands at their peril.

29. The commissioners answer that if he and his supporters do not comply with the requisitions made of them, they shall compel them to submit. These communications were made by John Peas, of the Bay, who had come thence to prevail on his father-in-law, Francis Weston, formerly of Salem, to escape.

October 2. Chad Brown and three others of Providence, who had prevailed on the parties to cease from the hostilities of attack and defence, write to Massachusetts authorities. They desire these to allow the difficulties to be settled by arbitrators,

\* George Cooke, Humphrey Atherton, and Edward Johnson. The first was captain and the second lieutenant of the soldiers with them.

some of whom, as another letter from the commissioners says, are to be of that town or Aquedneck. This subject was considered by a legislative committee, convened at Boston, and several of the adjacent elders. They concluded that the proposal should not be granted. Their reasons for this decision follow: Gorton and his men would offer no terms of peace till military force came against them. They were within the jurisdiction of the Bay. "They were no state, but a few fugitives, living without law or government." The men whom they would have to judge their case "were rejected by all the governments of the country." "Their blasphemous and reviling writings, etc., were not matters fit to be compounded by arbitrament, but to be purged away only by repentance and public satisfaction, or else by public punishment." The instructions of the commissioners were given by General Court, who were not in session, and therefore could not be immediately altered.

October 3. With such a conclusion in view, Winthrop replies to Brown and his associates. His words in relation to Gorton and others are, "We have often sent to them to plead their title to the land, and to make answer for their blasphemies, and that we lately sent them safe conducts for their coming and returning; for all which we have received from them nothing but storms, contempt, and revilings, in the worst expressions they could cast them into; so that the promise of protection made by us to Pomham, etc., the vindication of God's honor, and many reasons concerning our safety, have necessarily put us upon this course with them; notwithstanding which, if any of them will, in peaceable manner, repair unto us, under the conduct of our commissioners, no violence shall be offered by our soldiers there, and our justice here; but if they refuse and offer violence, let the hurt they receive be upon their own heads." In the mean while, the Gortonists denied the charges so laid against them, and declared that they were unrighteously persecuted.

When the commissioners received information from the Bay, they required their men to invest the fortified house of their opponents. These "hung out the English colours," and stood on the defensive. After several days of occasionally exchanging shots, the Gortonists agreed to surrender, and go to Massachusetts.

13. Strictly guarded, they reach Boston, being nine in number. They are brought into a hall of the governor, where many are assembled. He states the cause of their capture, and that they were taken as prisoners of war. They plead their independence of Massachusetts, and that, though they yielded, it was not as prisoners. They are sent to the common prison.

On the 15th, they attend worship, on condition that they may speak after sermon. Cotton preaches on the topic of Demetrius's plea for selling Diana's silver shrines. After he closed, Gorton asks leave to offer remarks, and is allowed. He assumes the position that there is nothing but Christ in the church, and therefore all ordinances, ministers, sacraments, etc., are as useless as the shrines of Diana.

October 17. The legislature assemble according to an adjournment. A principal subject before them relates to Gorton and his adherents. Winthrop relates, that when these were arraigned, they declared, that "they were not within our jurisdiction. To this was answered, they were either within Plimouth or Mr. Fenwick, and they had yielded their power to us in this cause. If they were under no jurisdiction, then had we none to complain unto for redress of our injuries, and then we must either right ourselves and our subjects by force of arms, or else we must sit still under all their reproaches and injuries. As for their opinions, we did not meddle with them for those, otherwise than they had given us occasion by their letters to us, and by their free and open publishing them amongst us, for we wrote to them only about civil controversies between them and our people, and gave them no occasion to vent their blasphemings and revilings."

Gorton states, in his defence, that the magistrates and elders reduced their questions to four, for him to answer in writing: Whether the fathers who died before the advent of Christ depend for justification and salvation on his sufferings and death? Whether the sufferings, obediences, and death of Christ on the cross are not the only price of our redemption? "Who is that God whom he thinks we serve? What he means, when he saith, We worship the star of our god Remphan, Chion, and Moloch!" The respondent so gave affirmative replies to the two first questions, and so explained the two last as to harmonize essentially with his judges. He relates that the governor said, "These answers they agree with him in, but not in the former writing." With reference to the Gortonists on this occasion, Winthrop said, "They excel the Jesuits in the art of equivocation." After several examinations, the court agree on the subsequent charge against Gorton and those of his company who coincide with him in creed, as collected from "their letter and speeches." "Upon much examination and serious consideration of your writings, with your answers about them, we do charge you to be a blasphemous enemy of the true religion of our Lord Jesus Christ and his holy ordinances, and also of all civil authority among the people of God, and particularly in this jurisdiction." When asked if they were thus chargeable, they answered negatively.

Solicitous for the children of Mrs. Hutchinson and others retained by the Indians, who killed their parents, the court write to these Indians, and request them to deliver up such captives.

For a lamb killed by the soldiers who went after Gorton and his friends, and owned by Stukely Westcott, they order compensation to be made.

The elders were asked what the word of God taught as to the punishment of the accused, if proved to be blasphemers. Their reply was,—and it could be no otherwise,—that the Scriptures required them to suffer death. The same was demanded by their code of laws, recently adopted. All the magistrates, save three, believed “that Gorton ought to die,” according to such authorities. On October 20, commission is given by Massachusetts to William Benedict and Stephen Arnold, Richard Casmore and Christopher Hawksworth, to apprehend John Green and his son John, Richard Waterman, and Nicholas Power, who escaped from Shawomet before it was taken, and bring them to Boston for examination. They are also empowered to seize the cattle of Green, Sen.

November 3. When the matter was discussed before the whole court, all agreed on the following: “It is ordered, that Samuel Gorton shalbe confined to Charlestowne, there to be set on worke, and to wear such bolts or irons as may hinder his escape, and so to continue during the pleasure of the court. Provided, that, if he shall break his said confinement, or shall, in the meane time, either by speech or writing, publish, declare, or maintaine any of the blasphemous or abominable heresies wherewith he hath been charged by the Generall Court, contained in either of the two books sent unto us by him or by Randall Houlden, or shall reproach or reprove the churches of our Lord Jesus Christ in these United Colonies, or the civill government, or the publicke ordinances of God therein, (unlesse it be by answer to some question propounded to him, or conference with any elder, or with any other licensed to speak with him privately, under the hand of one of the Assistants,) that immediately upon accusation of any such writing or speech, he shall, by such Assistant, to whom such accusation shall be brought, be committed to prison, till the next Court of Assistants, then and there to be tryed by a jury, whether he hath so spoken or written, and upon his conviction thereof, shall be condemned to death and executed.” John Weeks was to be confined at Ipswich, Randall Holden at Salem, Robert Potter at Rowley, Richard Carder at Roxbury, Francis Weston at Dorchester, and John Warner in Boston, on the same conditions.

Four others were captured with them. Their names were

Christopher Holmes, John More, Richard Harkot, and William Waddle. The first was fined five pounds, the second the same amount, or to serve till it is paid, and the third was ordered to serve Mr. Batter one year. These three did not sign the letter of November 20, the year before. Waddle was confined to the limits of Watertown, at the pleasure of the court. Should he escape, he would be punished at their discretion.

Richard Waterman was bound in one hundred pounds to appear at the May court, and not depart without leave. What of his property had been taken was to help pay costs.

Nicholas Power, denying that he set his hand to the first book, was admonished and dismissed.

The General Court require that all the cattle of Samuel Gorton and John Green, which have been seized or shall be seized and sent to Massachusetts, shall be appraised and sold, to pay the expenses—amounting to one hundred and sixty pounds—of the forces who captured, and of the court who tried the prisoners, and apply the surplus towards the support of them.

Here ends the sad task of arranging the results of a remarkable trial. They had the sanction of the United Colonies, who looked on them as an evil necessarily inflicted on the sufferers for the greater good of their several commonwealths. Viewed in the light of what capital law and faith were then in such portions of New England, and of what they are now, will no count for the wide difference of expression as to these results, which existed in that period and exist in the present.

This year, Roger Williams's Key to the Indian Language of New England is published in London. A prominent object with him in giving this work to the world was, to aid in the spread of the gospel among the people who spoke such a tongue. His words are, "A man may by this helpe converse with thousands of natives all over the countrey; and by such converse it may please the Father of mercies to spread civilitie and (in his owne most holy season) Christianitie; for one candle will light ten thousand, and it may please God to blesse a little leaven to season the mightie lump of those peoples and territories."

In reference to the conversion of the Indians, he expresses himself in the subsequent terms: "Many solemn discourses I have had with all sorts of nations of them. I know there is no small preparation in the hearts of multitudes of them. I know their many solemn confessions to myself, and one to another, of their lost, wandering conditions."

1642.]

## CONNECTICUT.

1642, January 22. Sir William Boswell writes from the Hague to Dr. Laurence Wright, in England, who favored the colonists, complaining of Dutch aggressions. He says that for him to have any such evil redressed, Parliament must notice the matter, and show that they "take care of our people and plantacons in those partes." It is supposed that Governor Hopkins, then in London, promoted such correspondence.

February 25. At the General Court of New Haven, "it is ordered, that a free school shall be set up in this town, [New Haven,] and our pastor, Mr. Davenport, together with the magistrates shall consider what yearly allowance is meet to be given to it out of the common stock of the town, and also what rules and orders are meet to be observed in and about the same."

April 6. Rippowams, to which Andrew Ward and twenty-one others had lately moved, is named Stamford. Richard Denton accompanied and dwelt with them as their minister. He received his A. B. at Catherine College, Cambridge, in 1623. He is said to have been a minister at Halifax, Yorkshire, and have immigrated to the Bay 1635, joined the Watertown people, who first occupied Wethersfield, and continued with them till he left, as just stated. The party with whom he settled at Stamford probably endeavored to have him as their pastor at Wethersfield, which may have been the cause of their division. He remained at the former place till some time in 1644, when he and some of his people settled at Hempstead, L. I.

July 15. William Durand, of Upper Norfolk, in Virginia, writes to John Davenport. He says, that he and others there had heard the latter preach in London, and that he had received much benefit personally from his instructions. He mentions the letter previously sent to New England for pastors. He states, that, though generally there is great wickedness in Virginia, a revival of piety had been among some of them. He remarks, "We have good hope that the Lord will set up the true profession and practice of religion, to which we are induced by the hope he hath given to all Christians, by the prosperous proceedings of the present Parliament in England." He requests Mr. Davenport to advance the sending of ministers to Virginia. He observes, that he and his friends had thoughts of applying in England for pastors, but they concluded, that those of the best qualifications for building up Zion among them could be obtained from New England.

August 26. The General Court of Connecticut, alarmed by reports of a combination among the Indians to destroy the

colonists of New England, order a letter for the legislature of Massachusetts on the same topic. Among their various precautions, they command, "that there shall be a guard of forty men to come compleate in their arms to the meeting every Sabbath and lecture day, in every towne within these libertyes vppon the riuer."

September 6. Letters, each of the same tenor, reach the Bay from members of both Houses in Parliament and a few ministers. They are communicated to Cotton of Boston, Hooker of Hartford, and Davenport of New Haven. They request these persons to visit London, and unite with a synod there for assisting in the formation of a church government. Hooker was averse to accepting the invitation, but Davenport was differently inclined. The rupture between the king and Parliament, and its results, caused the subject to subside and remain at rest.

17. The General Court of New Haven order, that "when any alarm is made upon the approach of any enemy, every soldier in the town is to repair to the meeting house forthwith, except only in case of some present assault in or near the place where he is, or at least some discovery of Indians coming in a hostile manner."

29. The legislature of Connecticut reply to a letter from the Dutch authorities. The former complained that the latter had, this year, broken up their settlements on Long Island. New Haven considered themselves as alike maltreated by the Dutch, who destroyed their truck house at Delaware, and did them other damage, the whole loss to the amount of one thousand pounds.

October 4. Still fearful of Indian aggression, the Connecticut authorities order, that "ninety coats be provided, basted with cotton wool, and made defensive against Indian arrows."

December 1. Capital laws are established by Connecticut. They number twelve, as those adopted at the Bay. Such a code affixes the penalty of death to idolatry, witchcraft, and blasphemy, the same as in Massachusetts. It is also enacted, that, "whereas diuers persons departe from amongst vs, and take vp their abode with the Indeans in a prophane course of life," whoever thus offends shall be imprisoned in the house of correction three years at least, and be fined or corporally punished, as the particular court may decide.

Near this date, a book is printed at Cambridge, Massachusetts, from the pen of John Davenport. It discussed the subject of having the civil government administered by church members. It has sometimes been incorrectly attributed to Cotton. It was probably composed with reference to the constitution of New Haven, which was to be adopted.

1643, April 6. General Court at New Haven order that "Messrs. Eaton and Gregson, as commissioners for this jurisdiction of New Haven, shall go with other commissioners for other plantations into the Bay of Massachusetts to treat about a general combination for all the plantations in New England, and to conclude and determine the same as in their wisdom they shall see cause, for *the exalting of Christ's ends, and advancing the public good* in all the plantations."

19. After considerable delay, seven prominent members of the Guilford church are chosen as its seven pillars. Of these are Whitfield and Higginson.

May 19. The following extracts are given from New Haven laws: "That none shall be admitted freemen, or free burgesses, within this jurisdiction, or any part of it, but such planters as are members of some one or other of the approved churches of New England; nor shall any but such be chosen to magistracy, or to carry on any part of civil judicature, or as deputies or Assistants, to have power or vote in establishing laws, or in making or repealing orders, or to any chief military office or trust; nor shall any others, but such church members, have any vote in any such elections. This court, thus framed, shall first, with all care and diligence, from time to time, provide for the maintenance of the purity of religion, and suppress the contrary, according to their best light and directions from the word of God."

"People of God, orthodox in judgement, and not scandalous in life," may form themselves into a church by approbation of magistrates and elders of the colony. No person who joined a church, gathered without such approbation, or "who is not a member of some church in New England, approved by the magistrates and elders of this colony," shall "be admitted to the freedom of this jurisdiction."

"Whoever neglect to help in supporting the ministry where they live shall be called on to set down what proportion they will give yearly to such an object. All who refuse to pay any, or subscribe not according to their means, shall be assessed at a just rate with others. If any refuse to pay after being so taxed, they shall be made to pay. If any move from a plantation, and leave land there unimproved, they shall pay a one third tax of the lowest rate there; but if they settle near where they lived, and improve the land, it shall be assessed a two thirds of the tax they paid before."

Ordered, that "all parents and masters do duly endeavor, either by their own ability and labor, or by improving such schoolmaster, or other helps and means, as the plantation doth afford, or the family may conveniently provide, that all their



children and apprentices, as they grow capable, may, through God's blessing, attain at least so much as to be able daily to read the Scriptures and other good and profitable printed books in the English tongue, being their native language, and in some competent measure to understand the main grounds and principles of Christian religion necessary to salvation."

Whoever attempts to gain the affections of a young woman, without consent of her parents or guardians, shall pay forty shillings for the first offence, four pounds for the second offence, and for the third be fined, imprisoned, or corporally punished. If there be husbands who live in the colony while their wives are away, or the reverse, the parties shall repair to such absent companions, on penalty of twenty pounds.

They who intend marriage shall be published three times at some public lecture or town meeting.

Persons who sell strong liquors or wine shall not allow the game of shuffleboard in their premises, on fine of twenty shillings for each trespass. Whoever play at such a game shall pay five shillings each; whoever shall play for money shall forfeit double the value of the stakes.

Lying so as to injure any person shall, for the first offence, be fined ten shillings; for the second offence, twenty shillings. If the fines be not paid, then the criminal shall be punished by stocks, for the first offence, one or two hours; for the second, three or four hours; and for the third offence, be publicly whipped.

Cursing and swearing, for the first offence, ten shillings; for the second, twenty shillings. If the fines be not paid, the culprit shall be put in stocks one or two hours for the first offence; three or four hours for the second; for the third offence, he shall be publicly whipped, or, if the offence be aggravated, shall suffer higher punishment.

Ordered, that if any treat a minister or his preaching, while in the congregation, with contempt, they shall be punished according to the degree of their offence. Whoever neglects to attend worship on the Sabbath, Fast, and Thanksgiving, without sufficient cause, shall be fined five shillings for every such trespass.

Profanation of the Lord's day shall be punished by fine, imprisonment, or corporal punishment; and if proudly and with a high hand against the authority of God, with death.

Heresy. Though no person should be constrained to believe against his conscience, yet if any go about to subvert Christian faith, or endeavor to draw others to embrace error, they shall be fined, banished, or "otherwise be severely punished," as the magistrates shall decide.

Idolaters, those guilty of witchcraft and blasphemy, children

above sixteen years old, who curse or smite parents or stubborn sons, shall suffer death.

June 19. To the pillars of Guilford church other members are added. Higginson is elected as colleague with Whitfield. Trumbull says that the latter "had not separated from the Episcopal church when he came to New England. As he came over in orders, and his church came generally with him, there is no intimation of his installation." Though this may be so, his church and its ordinances, as well as his own practice here, were Congregational. "The confessions of faith" in this and the churches of New Haven and Milford, "contained a summary of Christian doctrine, and were truly Calvinistic." The first electing of "seven pillars in these three churches appears to have been peculiar to them."

The Guilford records furnish the subsequent extract as to the principles of civil and ecclesiastical polity professed by its inhabitants: "Then the feoffees in trust for purchasing the plantation resigned their rights into the hands of the church. And those four of them also which were chosen to exercise the civil power did also express that their trust and power for that work was now terminated. Then it was agreed in full meeting, that the civil officers, having resigned up this trust into the hands of the church, to the intent, as the record expresses it, that all power and authority might be rightly settled within the church, as most safe and suitable for securing of those mayne ends which wee propounded to ourselves in our coming hither and setting downe together, namely, that we might settle and uphold all the ordinances of God in an explicit Congregational church way, with most purity, peace, and liberty, for the benefit both of ourselves and our posterity after us; we do therefore, now, all and every of us, agree, order, and conclude, that not only such planters as are also members of the church here shall be called freemen, and that such freemen only shall have power to elect magistrates, deputies, and all other officers of public trust or authority from among themselves, and not elsewhere, in all matters of importance, concerning either the civil affairs or government here." They are to take an account of all such officers for the honest and faithful discharge of their several places respectively, and to deal with and proceed against them for all misdemeanors and delinquencies in their several places according to rule, unto which magistrates, deputies, and officers, "we do freely submit ourselves in all lawful commands, provided that they be yearly chosen, from time to time, and provided also that no lawes nor orders be by them made except before all the planters then and there inhabiting and residing have due warning and notice of the meeting, or what is to be

done, that so all weighty objections may be duly attended and satisfyingly removed. It was further agreed that all orders should be made in General Court by a majority of the freemen, and that all action in particular courts by a major vote of the magistrates and deputies, the magistrates having the casting vote." All were warned, whether freemen or planters, to attend the courts specially, at the beat of drum and roll call. Each freeman was fined twelve pence for tardiness, and two shillings sixpence for total absence, and each planter six pence and twelve pence for like offences. The same penalties were ordered for such as left the sessions until orderly dismissed.

July 5. The Connecticut legislature remark, "Whereas the prosperity and well being of the commonwealths do much depend upon the well government and ordering of particular families, which in an ordinary way cannot be expected where the rules of God are neglected in laying the foundation of a family state," they order that no persons, male or female, who have not the legal disposal of themselves, shall marry without the consent of their parents or guardians, on penalty of the "severe censure of the court."

6. The General Court of New Haven accept the articles of confederation agreed on by the commissioners, in Boston, 19th of May. They call Manunkatuck Guilford. They order that five pounds from Stamford, five from Guilford, and two from Yennicock, "shall be forthwith raised and paid into the treasury of New Haven, towards the charges about the combination."

"A letter from Mr. Winthrop was read, wherein he laid down divers reasons why the Massachusetts gave liberty to the Frenchmen late arrived there, to get what help they could in that jurisdiction to assist them in their enterprise at the French plantation."

22. The Dutch governor, as Winthrop informs us, having recently written to the authorities of Massachusetts to know whether they would interfere, if he forced Hartford to give them what they considered satisfaction for complaints, a reply, after some delay, is sent to him. This communication affirms that the rulers in the Bay feel bound to protect Hartford, as a member of the Union; that the difficulty relates to a small piece of land, which ought to be settled by arbiters; that it is "not worthy to cause a breach between two people so nearly related, both in profession of the same Protestant religion."

August 9. John Higginson, of Guilford, dates a petition to the legislature of Massachusetts. This document informs us that he was employed by the synod at Cambridge, in 1637, to record, in short hand, all their proceedings; that he was

requested to prepare the chief of them for the press; that he did this at the expense of much time and pains; that he presented it to the General Court there, May, 1639, who accepted it, and supposing that, if published, it would yield one hundred pounds profit, they offered him such overplus for his labor. The petition further shows, that the compiler, when about to have the copy printed, was advised by some of the elders to defer the issue of it, because they feared that if it were given to the public, it would tend to increase disputes in the colonies and England, though other elders expressed themselves differently; that he, therefore, returned the manuscript to the legislature, May, 1641, desiring to be excused from any more care about it, and be paid a due compensation; that the magistrates and part of the ministers did not approve of his decision, and that it was concluded he should be remunerated when the treasury was better supplied. The petition relates, that Higginson might have sold the manuscript for fifty pounds. The result of his application at the session of October 17 is, that he may have the work published, and the income thereof, but nothing more is tendered. He did not see his way clear to accept this offer. He waited till he was settled at Salem, and then he soon had a large grant of land.

October 26. Fearful that late innovations at Milford might prove disastrous to their spiritual concerns, unless disapproved, the legislature of New Haven colony adopt the ensuing resolution: "Whereas this plantation att first with generall and full consent layde the foundations thatt none butt members of aproved churches should be accounted free burgesses, nor should any else have any vote in any election, or power or trust in ordering of civill affayres, in which way we have constantly proceeded hitherto in our whole court with much comfortable fruite through God's blessing. And whereas Stamforde, Guilforde, Yennicock have, upon y<sup>e</sup> same foundations and ingagements, entered into combination with vs, this court was now informed, thatt of late there have beene some meetings and treatyes between some of Milforde ande Mr. Eaton about a combination, by which it appeareth thatt Milforde hath formerly taken in as free burgesses six planters, who are nott in church fellowship, which hath bred some difficulty in the passages of this treaty; butt att present it stands thus: the deputies of Milforde have offered, in the name of the church ande towne, first, thatt the present six burgesses, who are not church members, shall nott, at any time hereafter, be chosen either deputies or into any public trust for the combination; secondly, thatt they shall neither personally nor by proxie vote att any time in the elections of magistrates; and, thirdly, thatt none shall be admitted ffreemen

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or free burgesses hereafter att Milforde, but church members according to the practice of New Haven. Thus far they granted, butt in two particulars they made the six ffreemen desire liberty ; first, y<sup>t</sup> the said six ffreemen, being already admitted by them, may continue to act in all proper particular towne business wherein the combination is nott interested ; and, secondly, thatt they may vote in the election of deputies to be sent to the Generall Courte for the combination or jurisdiction ; which, soe to be chosen ande sent, shall alwayes be church members. The premises being seriously considered by the whole courte, the brethren did express themselves as one man, clearly ande fully, thatt in the foundation layde for civill government, they have attended their lights, and should have failed in their dutye had they done otherwise, ande professed themselves carefull, and resolved nott to shake the said groundworks by any change for any respect, and ordered thatt this their vnderstanding of their way and resolution to maintain itt should be entered with their vote in this business as a lasting record. But not foreseeing any danger in yielding to Milforde with the forenamed cautions, itt was by generall consent and vote ordered thatt the consociation proceed in all things according to the premises."

October 27. To reconfirm their rule in this respect, the court adopt the succeeding article : " It was agreed and concluded, as a fundamental order, not to be disputed or questioned hereafter, thatt none shall be admitted to be free burgesses but such as are members of some one or other of the approved churches in New England." They also readopt the most of this article : " The court shall, with all care and diligence, provide for the maintenance of the purity of religion, and suppress the contrary, according to their best light from the word of God, and by the advice of the elders and churches in the jurisdiction, so farr as it might concern the civill power."

Stamford, by their letter to the legislature of New Haven, think they have sufficient cause of war with the Indians, and the colony should not wait for the consent of the confederation, and that if their houses were burned by the Indians, the colony should bear the loss. The court signify that such opinions should not be allowed.

November 10. Apprehensive lest the Indian conspiracy against all foreign settlers should break out upon them, as it had on the Dutch, the Connecticut legislature adopt the ensuing regulation : " Whereas it is observed, that the late order for one in a family to bring his arms to the meeting howse euery Sabbath and lecture day hath [not] bine attended by diuers persons, it is now ordered, that whosoever hereafter shall, at any tyme, neglect the same, shall forfeit twelve pence for euery neglect."

This month, the same authorities state that, on a full hearing of "many clamors" against Rev. Henry Smith, of Wethersfield, they had "found that most of their accusations were mistakes, wherein Mr. Smith was much wronged, both by false reports and vniust surmises."

The Key of Roger Williams gives an account of Wequash, a Pequod captain: "Two dayes before his death, as I put up to Quinnihticut River, it pleased my worthy friend, Mr. Fenwick, whom I visited at his house in Saybrook Fort, at the mouth of that river, to tell me that my old friend Wequash lay very sick. I desired to see him, and himselfe was pleased to be my guide two miles where Wequash lay. Amongst other discourse concerning his sicknesse and death, (in which hee freely bequeathed his son to Mr. Fenwick,) I closed with him concerning his soule. Hee told me that some two or three years before, he had lodged at my house, where I acquainted him with the condition of all mankind, and his own in particular; how God created man and all things; how man fell from God, and of his present enmity against God, and the wrath of God against him until repentance. Said he, 'Your words were never out of my heart to this present; me much pray to Jesus Christ.' I told him so did many English, French, and Dutch, who had never turned to God nor loved him. Hee replied in broken English, 'Me so big naughty heart, me heart all one stone!'—savory expressions using to breath from compunct and broken hearts, and a sence of inward hardnesse and unbrokennesse. I had many discourses with him in his life, but this was the summe of our last meeting untill our generall meeting." Mr. Shepard wrote of this Pequod to a friend in London, "Wequash, the famous Indian at the river's mouth, is dead, and certainly in heaven. Gloriously did the grace of Christ shine forth in his conversation a year and a half before his death. He knew Christ, he loved Christ, he preached Christ up and down, and then suffered martyrdom for Christ. When he died, he gave his soul to Christ, and his only child to the English, rejoicing in this hope, that the child should know more of Christ than its poor father ever did."

## CHAPTER XV.

MASSACHUSETTS. The Scotch army. — Indians. — Gortonists. — Narragansetts. — Answers. — Covenant. — Presbyterianism. — Virginia. — Minutemith. — Gookin. — Herle. — Elders. — King. — Parliament. — Deputy assigned. — Fast. — Sermons. — Nantasket. — Nashaway. — Church candidates. — Fawcensaway. — Norcross. — Phillips. — Infant Baptism. — Antipsalmists. — Anabaptism. — Baptism. — Sabbath breakers. — La Tour. — Ship taken. — Paptia. — Redknap. — Misinterpretation. — Prosecutions. — Weld. — Redknap. — Ecclesiastical. — Antinomianism. — Cotton's Keys. — Castell's petition. — Spaniards. — Ministry. — Students. — Vineyard, Andover, Haverhill, and Wenham churches. — Fast. — Indians. — Negative vote. — Anabaptism. — Contributions. — Poor scholars. — Agents. — Morton. — Land. — Church government. — Sermons. — Indian children. — Hingham. — Infant baptism. — Castle. — Opinions. — Convention. — Publications. — Churches. — Gibbons. — Army. — J. Holland. — William Amos. — D'Aulnay. — Manstealing. — Negives. — William Knight. — Agents recalled. — Mr. Pocock. — Strangers. — Anabaptists. — Lynn. — Rope for the neck. — Unity. — The seals. — Petition of Baptists. — Plea. — Answer to Ball. — Apollonius. — Francis Higginson. — George Downing. — Shepard. — Cotton and Cobbett. — Baptism. — Baylis. PLYMOUTH. Captain North. — Witherell. — Death of Brewster. — Mayo. — Seaconck. — Newman. — Plymouth church. — Nanset. — Oath. — Ston's Virginia. — Trade. — Holmes. — Aquidnay. — Protest. — Synod. — Witherell. — Marshfield. — Toleration. MAINE. Wheelwright. — Cleaves. — Vines. — Union. — Communication. — D'Aulnay. — Parties. — Wheelwright's grant. — Gorges. — Macworth. NEW HAMPSHIRE. Fishery. — Batchelor. — Difficulties. — Synod. — Slave. RHODE ISLAND. Gortonists. — Charter. — Address. — Submission of chiefs. — Exposition. — Morton's charge. — Church at Newport. — Defence. — Waterman. — Bloody Tenet. — Indians. — Divisions. — Union. — Williams arrives. — Intercourse. — Bad neighbors. — Charter. — Intruders. — Instructions. — Letter. — Narragansetts. — Island neutral. — Treaty. — Township. — Gortonists. — Partridge. CONNECTICUT. Monthly fast. — Death of Wyllys. — Moral law. — Excommunication. — Branford. — Pierson, Hewett, Denton, and Bishop. — Southampton. — Allen's charge. — Ministers. — Poor students. — Patent. — Fenwick's agreement. — Military. — Uncas. — Whitman. — Synod. — Treatises. — Letter of Fenwick. — The seals. — Apollonius.

### MASSACHUSETTS.

1644, January 15. In compliance with an earnest request of Parliament, a Scotch army, having been raised to invade England and contend with the royal forces, now pass the Tweed. The deeds and success of these troops do much to encourage the friends of Parliament, and secure their final triumph, and, consequently, to benefit the colonies of New England.

February 5. Referring to the wish of Indians, from the Mer-

rimack to Tecticut or Taunton, to come under the jurisdiction of this colony, Winthrop notes, "We now began to conceive hope that the Lord's time was at hand for opening a door of light and grace to those Indians." Such a movement not only lessened the dread of conspiracy among the Indians, but, also, afforded encouraging signs of what the churches had desired and sought as to the spread of the gospel among the natives around them.

March 7. Apprehensive that the Gortonists would spread their doctrines by being retained in confinement, the legislature order them to be set at liberty, and leave their jurisdiction in fourteen days.

8. Cutshamekin and Squaw Sachem, Mascononoco, Nashacowam, and Wasamogoin, the two last sachems living near Wachusett Hill, put themselves, subjects, lands, and estates under the jurisdiction of Massachusetts, and to be taught in the Christian religion. The subsequent questions are put to these chiefs, who give the accompanying replies : —

1. Will you worship the only true God, who made heaven and earth, and not blaspheme ?

*Ans.* We do desire to reverence the God of the English, and to speak well of him, because we do see he doth better to the English than other gods do to others.

2. Will you cease from swearing falsely ?

*Ans.* We know not what swearing is.

3. Will you refrain from working on the Sabbath, especially within the bounds of Christian towns ?

*Ans.* It is easy to us ; we have not much to do any day, and we can well rest on that day.

4. Will you honor your parents and all your superiors ?

*Ans.* It is our custom to do so — for inferiors to honor superiors.

5. Will you refrain from killing any man without just cause and without just authority ?

*Ans.* This is good, and we desire so to do.

6. Will you deny yourselves fornication, adultery, incest, rape, sodomy, buggery, or bestiality ?

*Ans.* Though some of our people do these things occasionally, yet we count them naught, and do not allow them.

7. Will you deny yourselves stealing ?

*Ans.* We say the same to this as to the sixth question.

8. Will you allow your children to learn to read the word of God, so that they may know God aright, and worship him in his own way ?

*Ans.* We will allow this as opportunity will permit, and, as the English live among us, we desire so to do.



9. Will you refrain from idleness?

Ans. We will.

After they had so replied, they presented the court with twenty-six fathoms of wampum. The court, in return, ordered them five coats, two yards each of red cloth, and a pot full of wine, the last then deemed requisite to grace the donation, but now, by many, a useless, if not hurtful addition.

In reference to the transaction, Cotton observed, "God hath begun to open us a door, in that divers of their sachems and sagamores have submitted themselves to the government of the English."

It is recommended that other members of the colonial confederation, and the elders, be consulted about the adoption of a covenant in matters of religion and civil liberty. This is a movement in consequence of a similar league among the English and Scots, Winthrop informs us, that one object of the proposition was "for yielding some more of the freeman's privileges to such as were no church members, that should join in this government." Nothing decisive was done on this subject.

Richard Mather is desired "to prepare himself to preach to the assembly at the next Court of Elections."

April 2. Baylie, in his letter to Spang, about the proceedings of the Assembly of Divines, with regard to church government, says, that the Independents have small prospect of success; that "not any one in the assembly, when they have been heard to the full in any one thing, is persuaded by them." He then adds, "The brethren of New England incline more to synods and presbyteries, driven thereto by the manifold late heresies, schisms, and factions broken out among them; also the many pens that have fallen, more sharply than we, on their Apologetic Narration." Though this writer, being a strong Presbyterian, believed what he wished, but few of our elders were disposed to adopt his mode of church polity.

18. As soon as Knowles, Tompson, and James, being obliged to leave their parishes in Virginia by a law passed on the 2d of the preceding month, are on board of a vessel to come away, the Indians rise and massacre the inhabitants, great and small, to the number of five hundred. Thus, while regretting to forsake their promising fields of usefulness, they are thankful for such providential protection. They return to New England ready for any good work of the gospel to which they may be called. Though not prospered with a continuance at the south, as they had reason to expect, their motives failed not to be approved and rewarded by the Most High.

May 20. A vessel arrives at Boston with passengers from Virginia. She brings intelligence of the great massacre there.

Among the prominent reasons why such emigrants come hither are this slaughter, accompanied with a mortal sickness, and particularly the previous order of Governor Robert Berkley, that all who would not conform with the rules of Episcopacy should depart from his jurisdiction.

One of them was Daniel Gookin, son of Daniel Gookin, from the county of Kent, in England, who came from Ireland to Virginia in 1621. He attended the ministry of Tompson while in that colony, and received much spiritual benefit from his preaching. The Magnalia contains the following lines : —

“ Gookin was one of these : by Tompson's pains,  
Christ and New England a dear Gookin gains.”

Near this time, a pamphlet is printed in London, which was sent thither, after the synod or assembly at Cambridge, the last year. It was composed by Richard Mather, of Dorchester, and William Tompson, of Braintree. Its title was an Answer to Mr. Charles Herle his Book against the Independency of the Churches. In their preface, they express themselves as follows, in reference to the Westminster synod : “ The Father of mercies blesse the reverend and grave assembly, whereof we hear yourselfe is a member, that they by wise and holy indeavours ” may have “ the truth cleared and all corruptions removed in the doctrine, worship, and church covenant in England, to his praise and glory.”

May 29. At a session commencing at this date, the legislature appoint their deputies “ to advise with their elders and free-men, and take into serious consideration whether God do not expect all the inhabitants of this plantation will allow, to all that are called to country service, a proportionable allowance, answerable to their places and employments.” They require that the petition of Mr. Blackleach, in reference to the Moors, “ be committed to the elders to inform ” them “ of the mind of God herein.”

They enact, that, “ as the civil wars and dissensions in our native country, through the seditious words and carriages of many evil-affected persons, cause divisions in many places in America, some professing themselves for the king, and others for the Parliament, not considering that the Parliament themselves profess that they stand for the king and Parliament against the malignant Papists and delinquents in that kingdom,” — no person, either by word, writing, or action, shall form a party for the king against the Parliament on the penalty of being treated as guilty of great offence.

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William Jennison,\* captain of a military company at Watertown, and a valuable member of society, is called to answer for having expressed his doubts, the last year, while a deputy to the General Court, whether Parliament had proceeded constitutionally. He was offended "that, being a church member, and in public office, he should be openly produced merely for matter of judgment, not having been first dealt with in private, either in a church way or by some magistrate, which seemed to some of the court to have been a failing." Being allowed further opportunity to consider the subject, he finally sided with the Parliament.

They order, in reference to "our native country, sickness, drought, and other dangers to ourselves," that a Fast be observed the 3d of July.

Permission is granted for the printer to publish Richard Mather's election sermon and John Norton's artillery sermon.

Nantasket, now having a minister, Marmaduke Matthews, and twenty houses, is named Hull.

Passaconaway, the Merrimack sachem, and his son, place themselves under the protection of the government, and agree to learn the Christian religion. He becomes responsible that another son of his will similarly engage himself.

The petition of Norcross and others, who had selected him for their minister, is granted for a settlement at Nashaway. He took his A. B. at Catharine Hall, Cambridge, 1636, was made freeman of Massachusetts May 10, 1643. He left his people two years after the town was allowed them, returned to England, and was ejected from Walsingham after the restoration of Charles II.

Anabaptism had so spread in New England, that an order for the banishment of those embracing and refusing to give it up "after due conviction," was prepared, "the last court," by the magistrates, and forwarded to the elders for their advice.

Thomas Painter, of Hingham, who had lived in several other places, had become an Anabaptist. He would not suffer his wife, a member of the church, to have her child baptized. He was presented, and required to cease from such opposition. But "still refusing and disturbing the church," and asserting that the baptism of the colony was anti-Christian, and affirming the same before the court, they sentenced him to be whipped, because not able to pay a fine. Winthrop adds that this punishment was "not for his opinion, but for reproaching the Lord's ordinance, and for his bold and evil behavior both at home and in the court."

\* This is placed by Winthrop under July 15.

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July 1. Rev. George Phillips,\* of Watertown, dies. Winthrop pertinently says of him, "A godly man, specially gifted, peaceful in his place, much lamented of his own people and others." He had lately composed a book, printed in London the next year. It was *A Reply to a Confutation of some Grounds for Infants Baptisme*. As also concerning the form of a church, put forth against mee by one Thomas Lamb. Hereunto is added a *Discourse of the Verity and Validity of Infants Baptisme*, etc. He states, that a reason for so discussing these topics was, that Nathaniel Briscoe had desired his opinion about them in writing, and then he or others, without his knowledge, sent it to England, and there had it published. On this, he remarks, "It put me into a kinde of wonderment to see my name put forth in print, and as author of a treatise, who never wrote any such treatise." In his preface, he says, "Now, deare Christian reader, as you love God's truth and desire the blessing of it upon your owne soul, consider if it doth not deeply concern you all, to tremble at the calling in question such a precious and comfortable truth as this of baptizing believers' infants is." In a preface to Phillips' works, Thomas Shepard, of Cambridge, mentions "Antipsalmists," or opposers to the singing of psalms, as among the troublers of the churches.

7. As a specimen of care to have punctual attendance at the sanctuary, as well as evidence of inclination to forsake it, we have the following extract from the Salem records: "Ordered that twoe be appointed euery Lord's day to walk forth in time of God's worship, to take notice of such as either lye about the meeting house, without attending to the word or ordinances, or that lye at home or in the fields, without giving good account thereof, and to take the names of such persons, and to present them to the magistrates, whereby they may be accordingly proceeded against."

Among the various instances in which our fathers were careful how they proceeded to constitute churches, we have the following: Near this date, a public assembly meet at Wenham to witness the formation of a church there. But the magistrates and elders, invited to attend on the occasion, think that the candidates are not sufficiently prepared, and they advise a postponement of the service, which is accordingly done.

August 1. Near this time, we have the facts contained in the subsequent paragraph from Winthrop: An adjourned session of magistrates and elders is held at Salem. There La Tour renews his petition for aid against his rival, D'Aulnay.

\* Mrs. Phillips, who seems to be his widow, in October, 1644, is to make over one hundred pounds of her estate to Samuel and Elizabeth Phillips, grandchildren of Richard Sergeant, and probably children of her husband's first wife.

Two questions formerly presented are again discussed. 1. "Whether it were lawful for true Christians to aid an anti-Christian. 2. Whether it were safe" for the colony "in point of prudence." A part of the advisers present thought that it would be better to write D'Aulnay before giving assistance to La Tour, and to ask satisfaction for several alleged grievances. This proposition is accepted and accomplished. Another question for advice was the capture of a Bristol ship, with a commission from the king by a London ship with a similar document from the Parliament. The capture was in Boston harbor, not far from Charlestown. Such a procedure was noticed by several of the ministers, in their sermons, as a breach of their patent. They also exhorted their hearers to consider and treat the act as a violation of their liberties. Still a majority of the council decided that the captors should retain their prize. Some of their reasons follow: "The King of England was enraged against us, and all that party, and all the Popish states of Europe; and if we should now, by opposing the Parliament, cause them to forsake us, we could have no protection or countenance from any, but should be open as a prey to all men. Again, if we, who have so openly declared our affection to the cause of Parliament, by our prayers, fastings, etc., should now oppose their authority, or do any thing that might make such an appearance, it would be laid hold on by those in Virginia and the West Indies to confirm them in their rebellious course, and it would grieve all our godly friends in England, or any other of the Parliament's friends." Thus prominent members of most churches identify themselves with the dominant party in England against the cause of Popery and Episcopacy. Another topic laid before the assembly was a difference between the magistrates and deputies of the General Court, on the question whether the former of these two bodies had any more power than the latter during recess of the court, unless specially delegated to them. The elders were desired to effect a reconciliation between the two houses on this point, which office of mediation they accepted.

August 27. The Essex records furnish the ensuing extract: "Goodman Joseph Redknap, for not suffering a child of his to be baptized, the court order, that a warrant be directed to his wife, for carrying of their child next Lord's day to be baptized, which if her husband shall withstand, and not suffer her so to do, that then this court doth order, that the constable at Lynn shall forthwith carry him to the prison at Boston." He was afterwards prosecuted several times before the same tribunal, because he left the meeting house when infant baptism was about to be administered, and for absence from worship. He was a

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wine cooper from London, admitted freeman of this colony, 1634, and died in Boston, 1686, aged one hundred and ten.

The following persons are presented : " William Hewes, and John, his son, for deriding such as sing in the congregation, tearing them fooles ; also William Hewes for saying Mr. Whiting preached confusedly ; also John Hewes for charging Mr. Cobbett with falsehood in doctrine. William Hewes and John, his son, shall pay fifty shillings apiece for a fine, and y<sup>e</sup> it be enjoined they shall make an humble confession at Lynn, at a public meeting, which according to it, y<sup>e</sup> court will consider of their fines."

" John Stone, of Gloucester, for scandalizing Mr. Blinman, with charging him with a false interpretation of Scripture, as also saying, that if an angel from heaven should preach the same, he would not believe it, and that there were others of his mind, and also further in a discourse with James Smith tending to the reproach of the doctrine delivered by Mr. Blinman," is fined fifty shillings, and the court fees and those of the witnesses.

This year, Thomas Weld, the colonial agent, still in London, published a book there. It is called *An Answer to William Rathband, his Narration of the Opinions and Practices of the Churches lately erected in New England*. Selections from the work show the common topics of controversy in England relative to our ecclesiastical affairs.

In giving them, as charges by Rathband and replies by Weld, let the words *affirmed*, by the former, and *replied*, by the latter, be understood after their surnames.

*Rathband*. That as the New England churches agreed with the discipline of Plymouth church, and that this was after the pattern of John Robinson, and he a separatist, therefore such churches had no communion with Episcopalians.

*Weld*. That these churches varied from separatists in some particulars, and agreed with them in others. He observed, we hear " preaching and praying in the assemblies in England, and also in private communion."

*Rathband*. The churches here had no platform.

*Weld*. That, though they had no such form, yet they did not account it unlawful, but left it to the liberty of their respective bodies.

*Rathband*. That our churches disowned others, who differed from them in discipline.

*Weld*. That they did own the Episcopal churches of England as sister churches.

*Rathband*. That our churches more rigidly imposed their " patterne " than any other churches ever did.

*Weld.* There has been no attempt among us "to suspend, excommunicate, deprive, banish, and imprison any for dissenting from us in matters of discipline, as of late in England, for nonconformity. We have, indeed, civilly and ecclesiastically censured divers there amongst us, but it was for obstinacy in weighty points in religion, sedition in state, scandalous practices, as also manifest contempt of the churches of Christ there, but not any for conformity in church discipline." He remarked further, "Though we denie the officers of one church power to represent their church in her judicature, etc., yet sometimes we are forced to use messengers to represent the whole body, as at the constitution of a new church and private examinations of members to be admitted.

*Rathband.* With regard to the last point, that all candidates for admission to the churches here were required to give a public relation of their faith and experience, and wondered "that we should be so harsh as not to betrust the elders and some private men with their examinations."

*Weld.* "He is againe besides the truth, for in the churches where we have lived many yeares, we have scene such a tender respect had to the weaker sex (who are usually more fearfull and bashfull) that we commit their triall to the elders and some few others in private, who, upon their testimony, are admitted into the church, without any more adoe." The elders, without laymen, are often empowered to conduct such examinations.

*Rathband.* The churches here received no members of other churches to their communion, unless having letters of recommendation.

*Weld.* Professors here were often admitted to commune with churches not their own, without letters, though these credentials were required of communicants coming from England. "Our practice is in removal of ministers to have counsell and assistance from sister churches."

*Rathband.* "A member cannot remove from a church without consent sought and obtained."

*Weld* owned and justified this. If a pious member depart without consent of his church, they commend him for what he is, but not for removing without regular dismission.

*Rathband.* The ordination of ministers by laymen is not right.

*Weld.* It is lawful in some cases, because if the people have power to elect officers, which is the greater, why not ordain them, which is the less?

*Rathband.* "That in our practise we usually confound the pastours and teachers office," both "equally teaching and applying the word without any difference."

*Weld.* It is not so. The teacher deals in doctrine, and the pastor in exhortation. Where only one minister is settled, he performs both offices. In reference to contributions, the weekly ones are properly intended for the poor, though some churches appropriate the surplus to their ministers. They are according to the general ability of the members. As to the ministerial salary, the churches usually determine on it twice in a year, and agree "to raise it either from the churches treasure (so much of it as there is to be had) or by a contribution to be made on purpose."

*Rathband.* Congregationalism here has been attended with Antinomians and Familists.

*Weld.* The same denominations exist in Old England.

*Rathband.* John Cotton says that "it may be lawful for any (except women) to aske questions at the mouth of the prophets" (elders).

*Weld.* "True it is in the times of the opinions, some were bold in this kinde, but these men are long since gone. The synod and sermons have reproved this disorder, so that a man may now live from one end of the yeere to another in these congregations, and not heare any man opening his mouth in such kinde of questions."

*Rathband.* Among the prominent men here, "some grow shie of the word independent, some utterly renounce it, yet most owne it."

*Weld.* If *independent* mean that one church is not in the power of another, we own the word; but if construed as indicating recklessness of advice from magistrates and councils, we do not own it in this respect.

*Rathband.* It is reported that Peters and Weld were sent by the churches to London, to negotiate for them.

*Weld.* They were commissioned, not by the churches, but by the General Court for "weighty matters."

*Rathband.* The third way of communion in our churches, disapproved. A passage from a letter of Thomas Parker, of Newbury, is quoted: "Popular government is one cause of schismes in New England."

*Weld.* "Blessed be God, that under that government of ours, which you call, or rather miscall, popular, the very neck of schismes and vile opinions, brought to us from hence [England] was broken; when here amongst you, where there is not such a government, they walke bolt upright amongst you, and crowe aloud."

A Short Story of the Rise, Reign, and Ruin of the Antinomians, Familists, and Libertines, that infected the Churches of



New England, is published in London. Its preface was by Mr. Weld, and the rest of it by Governor Winthrop.

A second edition of the *Keyes of the Kingdom of Heaven*, by John Cotton, is printed in London. Its object is to "reason-able some differences about discipline." It has a preface by Rev. Messrs. Thomas Goodwin and Philip Nye. They remark that the greatest commotions have originated from controversy as to the "power and liberties of the rulers and ruled," and that "the like hath fallen out in churches, and is continued to this day in the sharpest contentions, who should be the first adequate and compleat subject of that church power which Christ hath left on earth; how bounded, and to whom committed. This controversie is in a speciall manner the lot of these present times." Speaking of Cotton's object in the book, they observe, "Now the scope which this grave and judicious author in this his treatise doth pursue, is to lay forth the just lines and terriers of this division of church power unto all the several subjects of it, to the end to allay the contentions now on foot about it. And for the particular subjects themselves, he follows that division which the controversie itselfe hath made unto his hands; to wit: 1. What power each single congregation hath granted to it to exercise within itselfe. And, 2. What measure, or rather kinde of power, Christ hath placed in neighbor churches without it, and in association with it." In handling these two inquiries, Cotton argues that the elders and brethren of a church are competent to regulate all its internal concerns, and that if such a body walk disorderly, then other churches in fellowship with it may meet in synod by the elders and messengers; and, if they do not reform their irregularities, they may withdraw their communion from them. This was then denominated the "middle way betweene Brownisme and Presbyteriall government."

William Castell, parson of Courteenhall, in Northamptonshire, offers a petition to Parliament for the propagation of the gospel among the Indians of America. One reason which he offers why the Christians there should enter on this work was, that the colonies here were not likely to continue, because they have been hindered, of late years, by the authorities of England, from advancement, and particularly that the Spaniards in America, being more powerful than the colonists, and strongly prejudiced against their religion, and their retaining possession of the plantations which they inhabit, would very likely destroy them, as they had St. Christopher's. His petition was recommended to Parliament by a considerable number of ministers.

September 9. The commissioners of the union assemblé at

Hartford, and agree to advise each legislature of their jurisdiction to pass a law for the due support of gospel ministrations ; "that those that are taught in the word in the several plantations be called together, that every man voluntarily set downe what he is willing to allow to that end and use ; and if any man refuse to pay a meete proporcon, that then hee be rated by authority in some just and equall way ; and if after this any man withhold or delay due payment, the ciuill power to be exercised as in other just debts." The mode of contribution contained in the first of these clauses had been practised by the New England churches ; but the legal compulsion, proposed in the latter, appears to be a new method for sustaining Christian ordinances, and shows that the experiment of voluntary taxation had not been satisfactorily successtul.

For the aid of poor scholars at the college, who may be fitting for church and state, Thomas Shepard proposes to the commissioners, that they recommend to their colonies that every family give one peck of corn a year, or its equivalent, being twelve pence. The commissioners readily comply with the request. The same authorities allow Massachusetts to have Martha's Vineyard in their jurisdiction.

September 19. As it was the intention of the planters at Andover and Haverhill, according to Winthrop, to have a church gathered in each of these places, and they had notified the magistrates and elders to this effect, a meeting is held at Rowley for such a service. The reason for convening here was because "of their remoteness and scarcity of houseing." The organization, however, is not made, as expected. The cause of this disappointment is, that most of the candidates for the proposed churches decline to give a relation "how God had carried on the work of his grace in them," seeing they had done it when admitted to the churches whence they came.

October 8. After a second trial, a church is formed at Wenhams, and John Fisk, who had preached for them about a year, becomes their minister. He was born in the parish of St. James, Suffolk, England, about 1601 ; took his A. B. at Kings College, Cambridge, 1625 ; began to preach in his native country ; but hindered by restraints of conformity, he studied physic, and was regularly licensed to practise. Several of his ancestors were sorely persecuted in the reign of Mary. On the decease of his father, he decided to make New England his home, so that he might freely engage in the ministry. He embarked in disguise to avoid detention. After passing Land's End, he and John Allin discovered themselves as ministers. They preached two sermons a day, and engaged in devotional services on the passage. Mr. Fisk married a lady of fortune

and piety. She came with him. He was made freeman 1637. He first taught school at Newton. Thence he moved to Salem, and followed the same employment, and assisted Peters in preaching three years. He liberally applied his pecuniary means for the benefit of the colony.

October 30. The legislature appoint the 19th of December for a Fast. The causes assigned for this are, the prevalence of "erroneous and corrupt opinions," the distresses of war in England, and "the weighty occasions in hand there and here."

The county courts are appointed to "take care that the Indians in their jurisdictions be civilized and instructed in the knowledge and worship of God."

November 18. Among the questions, to which the elders give replies, at the request of the General Court, is, whether the magistrates are, by patent and election of the people, the standing council of the commonwealth in the recess of the legislature. They answer in the affirmative.

In accordance with previous steps taken by the magistrates to prevent the further spread of anti-Pedobaptist opinions and practices, the subsequent law is passed: "Forasmuch as experience hath plentifully and often proved that, since the first arising of the Anabaptists, about one hundred years since, they have been the incendiaries of the commonwealths and the infectors of persons in many matters of religion, and the troublers of churches in all places where they have been, and that they who have held the baptizing of infants unlawfull have usually held other errors or heresies together therewith, though they have (as other hereticks used to do) concealed the same till they spied out a fit advantage and opportunity to vent them by way of question or scruple; and whereas divers of this kind have, since our coming into New England, appeared amongst ourselves, some whereof have (as others before them) denied the ordinance of magistracy, and the lawfulness of making war, and others the lawfulness of magistrates and their inspection into any breach of the first table: which opinions, if they should be connived at by us, are like to be increased amongst us, and so must necessarily bring guilt upon us, infection and trouble to the churches, and hazard to the whole commonwealth;—it is ordered and agreed, that if any person or persons, within this jurisdiction, shall either openly condemn or oppose the baptizing of infants, or go about secretly to seduce others from the approbation or use thereof, or shall purposely depart the congregation at the ministration of the ordinance, or shall deny the ordinance of magistracy, or the lawfull right and authority to make war, or to punish the outward breakers of the first table, and shall appear to the court wilfully and obstinately to con-

tinue therein after due time and means of conviction, every such person or persons shall be sentenced to banishment."

This enactment bore severely upon a denomination whose subsequent precept and example manifested that they were, in general, far from indulging the reckless and ruinous notions of German adherents to Stubner and Jack of Leyden, though honestly suspected of such indulgence by most of the leading men in New England. The authors and abettors of it were desirous to tolerate religious freedom, so far as they deemed best for the highest good of the commonwealth. They, however, found this, as Christian legislators ever have, a very difficult point to be settled. They felt, as many do now, that they must bound their toleration short of atheism and infidelity; but where to fix the line exactly, they were not fully satisfied. Thus situated, they failed to grant so large a license for departures from their creed as they would have done if having had the experience of their successors. It was not that they were either cruel, or fanatical, or weak, that they showed less liberality in their day than is now manifested, but because they had no sufficient examples of experience to warrant them in being more lenient to what they really dreaded as exceedingly injurious. The test of toleration at Providence and Rhode Island had been far from affording them, in its results, reason to hope that it would promote the blessings of well-ordered schools, churches, and communities. Hence, with their views, they would have been inconsistent to have acted differently, though it is wished, that the light of experience had enabled them to adopt a legislative policy which allows all denominations who base their principles on the Bible, and so maintain them as neither to corrupt the morals of the people nor subvert the pillars of civil order.

Letters of thanks are ordered for Richard Andrews, haberdasher, of London, for his gift of five hundred pounds; to the Lady Armine for hers of twenty pounds per annum; and to the Lady Moulson for her donation of one hundred pounds, which she appropriated to the college.

The order passed by the confederate commissioners, for each family to pay one peck of corn or twelve pence a year, for poor scholars at the college, is adopted by this colony.

On the advice of Weld, as Winthrop relates, John Pocock and others, in England, are commissioned to act for the colony as follows: "to answer for us, on all such occasions as may be presented to the Parliament concerning us or our affairs, but not to engage us without our consent; to receive all letters and other despatches of public nature or concernment to us; to advise us of all such occurrents as may happen touching our colony; to receive all monies or other things due to us,

from any in England, by gift or otherwise, and to dispose of them, according to direction, under our public seal."

Thomas Morton, formerly sent home from the colony, for his opposition to its rulers, has his case presented. Emanuel Downing is desired to obtain further evidence against him, besides his letter to William Jeffery in 1634. The prisoner is to remain in durance unless he find bail for his appearance. Winthrop adds, that he was fined one hundred pounds, though with no means of paying it, and set at liberty, so that he might leave the jurisdiction; that he soon went to Agamenticus, and died within two years afterwards. Thus Morton closed his stormy career. For his resistance to the dissenters here, he expected reward from Laud till the prostration of his primary, and then he had none to sustain his hopes.

1645, January 10. Archbishop Laud, whose policy towards New England had rendered his name familiar to its population, is beheaded on Tower Hill, in London, notwithstanding he produced the king's pardon. Under one of the general charges against him, which affirmed that he tried to subvert Protestantism and introduce Romanism, he was accused of persecution towards such clergymen as fled to this and other countries. While he did not deny the deeds of his administration, as the primate of England, he disclaimed the motives which were imputed to him. He forgave his accusers, and, as his last words, said, "Lord Jesus, receive my spirit."

At the request of Hugh Peters, a motion was made in the House of Commons to release the bishop, and send him to some part of America. But his benevolent interference was ineffectual. After the execution of Laud, Parliament granted his private library to Peters. Among the contents of this collection was a manuscript of the three last books of Hooker's Ecclesiastical Polity, which had not been published. Wood, in his *Athene Oxonienses* charges Peters with altering them so as to suit the views and purposes of Parliament. But Baxter, of better information and candor on this point, explicitly states that they had undergone no such alteration.

April. Though the magistrates considered that the deputies had no right to select a preacher of the election sermon, still the latter body, as Winthrop relates, had chosen John Norton for the service. Without knowing it, the former body had invited Edward Norris. The query comes before the magistrates, which of these ministers should deliver the discourse. To suppress controversy on the subject, they again yield to the election of the deputies.

Among the benefactors abroad, who contributed to support the cause of reformation here, was Union Butcher, who was "a

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clothier, near Cranbrook, in Kent," and "did (for divers years together, in a private way) send over a good quantity of cloth, to be disposed of to some godly poor people."

April 2. Peters preaches a thanksgiving sermon before Parliament and the Assembly of Divines. It was entitled *God's Doings and Man's Duty*. Though it shows him as a supporter of rational liberty, yet it presents no proof of his rudely trampling on royalty, with which he was afterwards charged.

May 5. The schoolmasters of Boston, while required to teach their pupils reading, writing, and ciphering, are also required to instruct Indian children free of charge.

14. Much difficulty having occurred at Hingham about the election of military officers, a petition, signed by eighty-one men of the town, is laid before the General Court. At the head of this instrument was Peter Hobart, their minister. Winthrop says that Hobart dealt with Eames, one of the officers concerned, in a Presbyterian way, and, of course, without consulting the brethren, and that this produced a division among them. An abstract of the petition runs thus: "The matter for accusation, as we conceive, is for certain words spoken by some concerning the liberty and power of General Court and our own liberty granted to us by the said court, and to the country in general; and also it doth concern the liberty of the English free-born member of that state; and further it hath occasioned such disturbance and schism in our churches, and trouble to some of our members for witnessing against the delinquent; whereby the power of the ordinances of Jesus Christ in his church is slighted, and the free passage thereof stopped, to the endangering of the liberty of the churches amongst us, if timely remedy be not by their wisdom provided."

When the synod met, "severall off the members off Hingham, vppon admonysion of the court, did refer it to the court to speake to thee elders to consider the cause, and send some of themselves to see iff it may please the Lord by advice and help to reconsider their differences, and settle them in a way off Christ."

On the question whether the Castle should be supplied with preaching, the legislature say to Richard Davenport, its commander, "There is no constant minister to be expected; but the Lord having furnished yourself with able gifts, you are to take care of the garrison as your own family."

"Whereas it is found by too common and sad an experience in all parts of the colony, that the forcing of labourers and other workmen to take wine in pay for their labour is a great nursery or preparative to drunkenness and unlawful tippling, occasioning the private meetings of profane persons, whereby youth

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is drawn aside to lewdness, the good creature of God notoriously abused, the hearts of good people much saddened, the profession of religion scandalized, and the Lord greatly dishonoured, it is therefore ordered and ordained, by this court, that no labourer or workman whatsoever shall, after the publication and promulgation hereof, be enforced or pressed to take wine in pay for his labour."

May 25. John Tombes, informed of the law made here, the last year, against the Baptists, sends from the Temple, in London, a pamphlet of an examination, which he had made of Stephen Marshall's sermon on infant baptism, dedicated to the Westminster Assembly, to the ministers of New England. He accompanies this with a letter, desiring that they would examine the matter and become more lenient in the controversy. Cotton informed him that his communication was left with Cobbet to answer.

June 10. Respecting the differences of religious opinion here and in England, Henry Vane writes to Governor Winthrop, "The exercise and troubles which God is pleased to lay vpon these kingdomes and the inhabitants in them teaches vs patience and forbearance one with another in some measure, though there be a difference in our opinions, which makes me hope, that, from the experience heere, it may also be deriued to yourselues, least whilst the Congregationall way amongst you is in its freedome, and is backed with power, it teach its oppugners heere to extirpate it and roote it out from its owne principles and practice."

July 1. A meeting is held by the clergy of the United Colonies at Cambridge. The reason for this convention is given by Winthrop: "Many books coming out of England, some in defence of Anabaptism and other errours, and for liberty of conscience as a shelter for their toleration, etc., others in maintenance of the Presbyterial government (agreed upon by the Assembly of Divines in England) against the Congregational way, which was practised here." The synod examine replies by some of their number to such publications, and decide that it is best to have them sent over to England, so that they may be printed and circulated there. One of such productions was by Hooker, of Hartford, in reply to a publication of Samuel Rutherford, a Scotch minister, called the *Divine Right of Presbyteries*, and to another of Samuel Hudson, entitled the *Essence and Vnitie of the Church Catholike Visible*. It is called *Survey of the Summe of Church Discipline*. Davenport also presented his *Power of Congregational Churches*.

4. After protracted consideration, the legislature finally agree that the Hingham petitioners shall be fined. They as-

assemble in the Boston meeting house, where a large concourse are collected to hear the result. Among the fined is Peter Hobart, their pastor. The decision was not the end of difficulty between the colonial authorities and the Hingham church. The great question about legislative power and the liberty of the people, both civil and ecclesiastical, still continues to throw up its troubled waters. In reference to such a state of things, Winthrop remarks, "It may be observed, that while we sympathize with our native country in their calamities, and confess our own compliance with them in the provocations of God's wrath, (as in many days of humiliation, and one even in the time of this court,) we should be hastening, by all our skill and power, to bring the like miseries upon ourselves."

About this time, as the same author informs us, the demand for preachers is so great in England, three of this profession embark for that country. One of them is John, son of Rev. Peter Bulkley, of Concord. He was among the first graduates at Harvard, in 1642. He became minister at Fordham, England, whence he was ejected in 1662. He retired to Wapping, and there sustained the reputation of an eminent physician.

Another is his classmate, George, the son of Emanuel Downing, from Salem. He went to Newfoundland, and other ports in the West Indies. After preaching and receiving several calls in these places, he reached England, and officiated as chaplain of Colonel Okey's regiment. Having retired from this employment, he sustained various and important trusts under government. Serving Charles II. as faithfully as he had the Cromwells, he was raised to the rank of a baronet. At length, summoned to close his checkered but successful career, he died 1684, aged fifty-nine. He long since perceived, in the light of eternity, that to fear God and work righteousness is the noblest and safest end of human desires and efforts.

About this date, various publications are issued by divines in England, on the question as to what should be the ecclesiastical polity of their churches. The opponents of Congregational order instance the history of New England churches in the troubles which they had met with relative to other denominations. But its advocates take the other side. One \* of the writers inquires, "Why do not our congregational divines write to the brethren of New England, and convince them of their error, who give (as some say) the civil magistrate a power to question doctrines, censure errors? Sure we are, some have been imprisoned, some

\* *Independency Accused by Nine Severall Arguments*, written by a godly, learned minister to a Member of Mr. John Goodwin's congregation, and acquitted by severall Replies to the said Arguments by a Member of the same Church. It was signed by J. P. London, 1645.



banished, that (pleaded) religion and mere conscience, and were no otherwise disturbers of the civill peace than the Congregational way is like to be here. If Old England be said to persecute for suppressing sects and opinions because threatening the truth and civill peace, why may not the same name be put upon New England, who are found in the same work and way? The rejoinder says, "I suppose it easier to affirm than to prove that any were imprisoned or banished merely for their consciences. Magistrates deny persecution merely for a man's private conscience in the case of Mrs. Hutchinson."

Another author\* observes, "Our belief of New England is, that they would suffer the godly and peaceable to live amongst them, though they differ in point of church government from them, because, so far as we could ever learn, they never banished any but unpeaceableness with desperate erroneousness was the cause of it."

July 4. *Vindiciæ Clavium*, or a Vindication of the Keyes of the Kingdome of Heaven, into the Hands of the right Owners, is licensed to be published in London. It contains strictures on Cotton's Keys and Way of the Churches of New England. Its author endeavored to show that these works of Cotton manifested "the weaknesse of his proofes; the contradictions to himselfe and others, the middle way of Independents to be the extreme or by-way of the Brownists." The attempt was, as usual in such controversy, commended by some and rebuked by others.

This year, the following work is published in London: A Brief Narration of the Practices of the Churches in New England, written in private to one that desired Information therein, by an Inhabitant there, a Friend to Truth and Peace. It treats of discipline under six heads: gathering churches, calling officers, worship, admission of members, recommendation and dismission of them, censure and excommunication. With reference to the first, each candidate, who wishes to be a member of the church about to be formed, "makes confession of his faith in all the principles of religion, and then a declaration how God hath carryed on the work of grace in his soule." Such as do this, and are approved, proceed to "subscribe their hands to" a covenant, "or testifie, by word of mouth, their agreement thereto." Concerning officers, the writer observes, "To the deacon his office we would adde deaconesses, where such may be had, according to which should be widowes of the church, faithfull, approved, and full of good works, who may give themselves to works of mercy cheerfully, and to be serviceable to those that

\*-A Defence of Sundry Positions and Scriptures alleged to justify the Congregational Way. This was by Richard Hollingworth. London, 1645.

are sick, when the deacons so conveniently cannot, and sometime so modestly may not, send their help as that sex may." Deacons are ordained by elders, in the presence of the congregation, on the Sabbath or other day of public meeting, with "prayer and imposition of hands." Among the services of worship, the word of God is read and expounded as occasion requires. "Wee have endeavoured to translate the Psalmes, as neer the original as wee could, into meeter, because the former translation was very defective." The Psalms are sung in the churches. The sacrament is commonly administered once a month.

July 8. Townsend Bishop is presented for turning his back on the ceremony of infant baptism at Salem. He had been a prominent man. He soon left the town.

28. The legislature having requested the commissioners of the United Colonies to hold an immediate session in Boston, to confer on "such weighty matters as are thought meet by this court to be presented them," these accordingly assemble.

August 19. The commissioners, being still in session, grant a commission to Edward Gibbons, as commander-in-chief of the forces intended to march against the Narragansetts. One of their instructions is, "Lastly, (yet aboue all the rest,) we commend to your Christian care the vpholding of the worship of God in your army, and to keepe such watch ouer the conuersion of all those vnder your charge, as all prophanenes, ympieties, abuse of the sacred name of God, luxury, and other disorder may be avoyded or duly punished, that the Lord may be pleased to go forth before you, and prosper all your proceedings, and returne you to us in peace, which we shall dayly pray for."

Jeremiah Holland graduates at Harvard. He went to England, and settled in the ministry at Northamptonshire.

William Ames, son of the noted William Ames professor in Rotterdam, took his degree with Holland. After his father's decease, he accompanied his mother to Massachusetts. Leaving college, he soon embarked for England, and, in 1646, went to Wrentham, where, in 1648, he was ordained colleague with his uncle Philip. He published a sermon entitled the Saints Security against Seducing Spirits, preached at Paul's, before the city government of London, in 1651. He was numbered among the ejected ministers. He died at Wrentham, 1689, aged sixty-six. "He was a very holy man, and in all respects an excellent person."

September 2. The commissioners of the Union say, in reference to articles of agreement between Massachusetts and D'Aulnay, of Penobscot, "Desireous that firme peace might be mayntayned between the English and all their neighbours, that every one might pursue the common intention of subduing this wil-

derness for the use of man in that way for which the earth was first given to the sonnes of Adam, and for bringing these barbarous people first to civilitie, and so, by diuine assistance, to the knowledge of the true God and our Lord Jesus Christ, it seemes fitt and necessary that the articles (comprehending therein all the said Vnited Colonies) should be confirmed."

October. About this time Richard Saltonstall petitions the General Court that they would execute justice on Captain James Smith and Thomas Keyser, of Boston, for importing negroes from Guinea, and the latter for being concerned with "Londoners" in capturing and killing natives there. He remarks that his oath as an Assistant, "that I would truly endeavor the advancement of the gospel and the good of the people of this plantation, (to the best of my skill,) dispensing justice equally and impartially (according to the laws of God and this land) in all cases wherein I act by virtue of my place," induced him so to do. The court complied with his request.

As an advance in the continued purpose of the New England colonies to evangelize the aborigines among them, the ensuing order is taken by the legislature: "The court, being still mindful of its duty, doth endeavour, as much as in it lyes, y<sup>t</sup> all meanes may be used to bring the natives to y<sup>e</sup> knowledge of God and his wayes, and civilize y<sup>m</sup> as speedily as may be, and y<sup>e</sup> some such course may be taken as may cause y<sup>m</sup> to observe those rules; its desired y<sup>t</sup> notice may be given to y<sup>e</sup> reverend elders, in their severall shires, of y<sup>e</sup> ready mind of y<sup>t</sup> cort, upon mature deliberation, to enact what shalbe thought meete hereabouts, and of their desires y<sup>t</sup> they would take some paines therein, and returne their thoughts about it to y<sup>e</sup> next siting of y<sup>e</sup> Generall Cort."

As the village afterwards Topsfield had supported preaching, and desired to settle a minister among them, the people there, who belong to Ipswich are to be free from taxes in the latter place, or receive assistance thence for clerical and other charges.

Weld and Peters are instructed to leave their agency in England, because their presence here is desired. Mr. Pocock and the rest of the commissioners are to have a letter of thanks for their "pains and care" in attending to the affairs of this colony in London. A petition is presented for the repeal of laws against the entertainment of strangers above three weeks without license; and also against the Anabaptists. The former law, as previously stated, was made in the time of difficulty with Mrs. Hutchinson, to prevent her followers from being strengthened by emigrants of like sentiments from England. The petitioners remark, in the language of Winthrop, as to these two

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enactments, "The offence taken thereat by many of the godly in England, and that some churches there did thereupon profess to deny to hold communion with such of our churches as should resort thither. Whereupon they entreated the court, that they would please to take the said laws into further consideration, and to provide for the indemnity of such of ours as were to go into England." Many of the legislature were disposed to suspend such laws for a season; but, on representation of the elders, who feared that a measure of this kind would enlarge the Anabaptists, beginning to increase fast in this country, and more in England, they decided to let them stand.

Another petition is offered, from which an extract follows: "Wee, whose names are vnderwritten, being, by the good hand of the Lord, members of the church at Lynn, doe, in all humility, intreate this honored court, whoe haue justly censured one Jenkinn Davis, formerlye in fellowship with us, y<sup>t</sup> you would please to remitte and take of that parte of his censure of wearing of a rope aboute his neck, which being to bee worne, as we vnderstand, not for his life tyme, but vnto the court's pleasure." The person here interceded for had been condemned for unchaste conduct.

Another topic before the legislature relates to a treatise recently come over. "Whereas, by the good providence of God, there is come vnto our hands a book, lately printed in England, intituled Unitie our Dutie. It being principallie applyed and presented to the godlie, reuerend, and learned brethren of the Presbyterian judgment, and the dissentinge, godlie, reuerend, and learned brethren, commonly called Independant, contending together about church government, earnestly dissuading them from bitter speaking and writing against one another. It being a subiect in the generall applicable to most Christian churches and states, and not vnsuitable to our present condition. It being also a work penned with much wisdom, authoritie, and power, guarded by a spirit of meekness, and profitable to all that will make good use of it. This court being very willing to further the peace and virtue of the people here amongst vs, and to prevent all occasions tending to the breach thereof, and finding this short treatise speaking throughlie and fullie to the point, and may be a meanes of blessing vs in that behalfe, each thought it meete to cause the said booke to be printed and sent abroad into all y<sup>e</sup> partes of our iurisdiccon, whereby all may take notice of God's will revealed in that particular." The elders are desired to select some out of their body to recommend this work.

A Captain Partridge having arrived at Boston from England, and, on his passage, "maintained diuers points of Antinomian-

ism and Familism" was called to an account. He was referred for the consideration of his opinions to Cotton, who argued him off from some of them. But as he would not renounce what the magistrates deemed hurtful errors, they decided, by a majority of one or two, that he should leave the colony. He did this, and, with his wife and family, retired to Rhode Island.

John Ward is ordained \* over the church at Haverhill.

October 24. John Woodbridge is ordained † over the Andover church. He was son of Rev. John Woodbridge, of Wiltshire, in England, born at Stanton, 1613, came to New England, 1634, settled at Newbury as a planter, where he was the town clerk. By advice of his wife's father, Governor Thomas Dudley, he prepared to teach school and preach.

November 5. A church is gathered at Reading, and Henry Green ordained their pastor. He had resided at Watertown, and became freeman 1640. His labors in the Lord were soon closed. He died October 11, 1648. Winthrop remarks of him, "He was a very godly man."

Ralph Smith, formerly pastor of Plymouth church, who seems to have succeeded Thomas Jenner as a preacher at Manchester in 1635, still continues his ministry there, they having been a branch of Salem church.

6. Richard Mather, as desired by Hooker, expresses his views contrary to those of the latter, who maintained that no minister should administer the seals of the gospel out of his own church. His language follows: "It seems an officer of a church may lawfully dispense seals in another church at their entreaty and request, because there is a communion between churches, as sisters, by vertue of which they are to take care and do for one another as each ones occasion and necessity may require."

28. Allin, of Dedham, and Shepard, of Cambridge, date the preface to their defence of the reply made to the Nine Questions, ‡ against A Tryall of the New Church Way in New England and Old, by Rev. John Ball. They remark, we have too much delayed to publish "an unanimous confession of that form of wholesome words which is preached, received, and professed in these churches of the Lord Jesus. There is the same faith

\* Winthrop.

† This accords with the History of Andover, but Cotton Mather makes it September 16, 1644, which probably refers to the failure at Rowley.

‡ On the 32d page of this work is the following extract: "In the title page it is said, This treatise of Mr. Ball was penned a little before his death, and sent over 1637. It seemes to bee a mistake of the printer; for the Nine Questions themselves were sent over 1636, the answers returned 1638, but miscarrying, another was sent 1639, from which time wee longingly expected a return, but partly for the reason rendered in the epistle, and what else wee know not, wee never, in so many yeares, received any, till this printed reply by a friend's means came occasionally to our hands, in 1644."

embraced and professed in the churches, which is equally received as orthodox doctrine of the gospel in the best reformed churches. We perceive, by the first letters of our brethren, how the withdrawing of Christians (in England) from the Liturgy was imputed to us. Many are apt to think that our very act in forsaking the churches of God in our dear native country and the cause of Christ there, together with the practice of these churches, thought to be so different from the reformed churches, have been not only a great weakening to the hands of the godly, (that have stood by the cause of Christ,) but also have caused great disturbance to the reformation in hand." Such imputations against the churches here are denied by Allin and Shepard.

This year, the letter of Thomas Shepard, entitled *New England's Lamentations for Old England's Errors*, is published. He dated the preface of it December 10, 1644. He remarked in the letter, "We never banished any for their consciences, but for sinning against conscience, after due means of conviction."

The *Way of the Churches of Christ*, named on page 542, by John Cotton, is printed in London. This author writes his *Grounds and Ends of Children's Baptism*, published in 1647. In it he makes the subsequent remarks: Satan "chooseth rather to play small game, as they say, than to lose all. He now pleadeth no other argument in these stirring times of reformation than may be urged from a main principle of purity and reformation, viz., that no duty of God's worship, nor any ordinance of religion, is to be administered in the church, but such as hath just warrant from the word of God. And so he hopeth to prevail either with those men who do believe the lawful and holy purpose of childrens baptism to renounce that principle, and so to renounce all reformation brought in by it, or else, if they stick to that principle, then to renounce the baptism of children, and so the reformation begun will neither spread far nor continue long."

Thomas Cobbet also writes on the same topic, and the manuscript, printed 1648, is much commended by Cotton, in a preface of Norton's *Answer to Apollonius*.

The following observations are made by Baylie, of Glasgow: "The common doctrine of New England is Ainsworth's tenet, that the people alone have all the power, and may excommunicate, when there is cause, all their officers. Mr. Cotton the other yeare did fall much from them and himselfe towards Johnson, teaching that the whole power of authority is only in the officers, and the people have nothing but the power of liberty to concur; that the officers can do nothing without the people, nor the people any thing but by the officers; yet that both offi-

cers and people, or any of them, have power to separate themselves from all the rest when they find cause." Having considered the principles of church independency, as carried from Holland to New England, he says, "These five last years, the chief of that party, from Arnheim, Rotterdam, and New England, have kept their residence at London, to advance, by common counsels and industry, their way, in these days of their hopes." He charges upon them, that they have retarded the Presbyterian reformation, so that "there is nothing at all set up for the comfort of the afflicted kingdom."

December 4. The Westminster Assembly receive a petition from Independents, inclusive of Baptists, asking that they might not be forced to "communicate as members in those parishes where they dwell, but may have liberty to have congregations of such persons who give good testimonies of their godliness, and yet out of tenderness of conscience cannot communicate in their parishes." The Assembly answer, "This opened a gap for all *sects* to challenge such a liberty as their due, and that this liberty was denied by the churches of New England, and we have as just ground to deny it as they."

20. Richard Mather dates the preface to his *Plea for y<sup>e</sup> Churches of Christ in New England*, divided into two Parts. The former conteyning a Survey of Mr. W. R. his Book, intituled *A Narration of Church Courses in New England*; wherein the manifold Mistakes and Misreports contained in the said Narration are discovered, weighed, and answered. The other conteyning positive Grounds from Scripture and Reason for Justification of y<sup>e</sup> Way of y<sup>e</sup> said Churches. The plea advocates the baptism of children, whose parents had been baptized when infants, but were not members of the church in full communion. This subject becomes increasingly discussed, and afterwards gave rise to what is termed the half-way covenant. The work was printed in London, 1646.

22. John Norton, of Ipswich, dates an address to William Apollonius. It precedes his reply to this author, pastor of a church at Middleburgh, who had written for the purpose of composing certain political and ecclesiastical controversies in England. The production of this worthy foreigner was sent hither by direction of the divines of Zealand. Norton undertook the work at the request of the Massachusetts elders. He composed it in the Latin language, and it was the first book by a New England writer, in this tongue, issued from the press. It was printed in London, 1648, with the signatures of the clergy under the Bay jurisdiction, of the president and fellows of the college, of Joseph Emerson at York, Samuel Stone of Hartford, and John Miller at Yarmouth. Among its remarks, a few are

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selected: "Be it so, that we are in the utmost parts of the earth; we have only changed our climate, not our minds. We have altered our place, that we might retain the faith without alteration." If the question be asked, why "these churches left their country, this it was, viz., that the ancient faith and pure worship might be found inseparable companions in our practice, and that our posterity might be undefiled in religion. We neither strive for truth without seeking peace, nor pursue peace with the loss of truth. We may call to mind the commonly received distinction between fundamentals and non-fundamentals, and that brotherly fellowship is not to be refused with men peaceable and otherwise orthodox, for the sake of non-fundamentals."

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PLYMOUTH.

1644, March 5. Mr. North, or Captain North, who came over this summer, gave out some speeches tending to sedition and mutiny, and is now called before General Court. He acknowledges his offence to them. They order him to leave the colony in a month or two, and in the mean while he is required to carry himself inoffensively.

April 6. Vassall writes to Mr. Cotton. He says that the brethren with him intend to call Mr. Witherell, who had resided at Charlestown and Cambridge, was a member of Duxbury church, and was teacher of grammar by profession.

16. Elder Brewster \* dies in his eighty-fourth year. In addition to the particulars already given of him, a few others are now presented. Called to support a large family and many dependants, after reaching Holland he became impoverished. So situated, he opened a school in Leyden, for members of the university and others. To aid his pupils in acquiring a knowledge of English, he made a grammar. He was also connected with others in establishing a press for publications which favored the Puritan cause. As a ruling elder of Robinson's church, he was among the first settlers of Plymouth. Of the exceeding hardships endured by the Pilgrims, he had his full share. For the several periods in which the church were destitute of a pastor, he was their spiritual teacher and guide, except in the administration of baptism and the Lord's supper, the particular duty of ordained preachers. He was remarkably temperate in

\* Morton gives his death as in 1643. His wife appears to have died by May 22, 1627. His children were Jonathan, Patience, Fear, Love and Wrestling.



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his food and drink. During the scarcities of provision frequent in the colonies at their first settlement, when oysters and clams were among the chief dishes of his table, he would bless God that he and his family were "permitted to suck the abundance of the seas and of the treasures in the sand." Bradford remarked of him, he "had done much and suffered much for the Lord Jesus and the gospel's sake, and hath borne his part in weal and woe with this persecuted church above thirty-six years in England, Holland, and in this wilderness, and done the Lord and them faithful service in his place and calling." The graces of Christian character shone eminently in his private and public deportment. He was one of the "lively stones" which helped to form the basis of our country's best privileges and enjoyments. Better be a Brewster, as to the great end of life, than a Brutus, however renowned for his learning, valor, and patriotism.

May. About this time John Mayo preaches at Barnstable, where he continued till 1646, when he labored at Eastham.

29. Until the question be decided by the confederate commissioners whether Seaconck belongs to Massachusetts or Plymouth, the legislature of the former colony say it may be under them, as it was in 1641. Samuel Newman, about the date heading this paragraph, who moved from Weymouth, commences his ministry at Seaconck, which, the commissioners decide at their session of September 9, falls within Plymouth patent.

June. The church of Plymouth order Nauset to be explored and purchased of the Indian proprietors. Though they intended to move thither, they concluded to sell their right to Governor Thomas Prince, Deacon John Doane, and others, being "divers of the considerablest" among them. These purchasers settled the township afterwards known as Eastham, and thus extended the bounds of their ecclesiastical privileges.

August. That opposers to their institutions may not gather strength, the legislature require that all refusing to take the oath of fidelity leave the jurisdiction.

This year, *Sion's Virgins*, or a form of catechism, on the doctrine of baptism, by John Lothrop, is printed in London.

1645, March 3. The authorities, having been invited to unite with the other confederate colonies in a general trade, remark as follows: "We do thankfully acknowledge their love and respect to us therein, but we conceive such a disproportion in our estates to theirs, and so many thousands required therein, the which we are not able to reach unto, and withall are very doubtful whether it may conduce to such a general good, and answer the ends which are expected; we cannot concur with the rest of the governments to adventure an estate therein."

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March 28. We are told by Baylies, that among the persons to whom allotments of land are made at Seaconck is Obadiah Holmes. He came from Salem, and was originally from Preston, Lancashire, England. He was conspicuous among the Baptists.

April. Considering Aquedneck within their limits, Plymouth send a messenger to prevent its inhabitants from becoming subject to the charter conferred on Roger Williams and others.

About this time, Vassall and the brethren with him, after correspondence with various ministers, proceed to take steps for the settlement of Witherell at Scituate, though contrary to the advice of the clergy in the colony, and of the church at Duxbury, who decline to dismiss and recommend Witherell. In accordance with this, they receive notes from the churches in their patent of the subsequent tenor: "The church of Plymouth is of the same mind together with the elders, which sent unto you, hoping, in charity, that you will desist upon it from your present and intended proceedings; but in case you should go on, notwithstanding the advice given, the church of Plymouth shall question communion with you."

June 4. The legislature pass the subsequent order: "Whereas some abuses have formerly broken out amongst us, by disguising, wearing visors and strange apparel to lascivious ends and purposes, it is therefore enacted, that if any person or persons shall hereafter use any such disguisements, visors, strange apparel or the like, to such lascivious and evil ends and intents, and be thereof convicted by due course of law, they shall pay fifty shillings for the first offence, or else be publicly whipt; and for the second time, five pounds, or be publicly whipt, and be bound to the behaviour, if the bench shall see cause."

July 1. The clergy assemble at Cambridge. The ministers of this patent are among them.

September 2. William Witherell, who was of Cambridge in 1635, becomes pastor of the second church at Scituate. On the same day, before the ordination, Josiah Winslow, who came to assist on the occasion, presents a note from Marshfield church, though without effect, desiring that the service may be delayed till Witherell satisfies Duxbury church for his sudden departure from them. Vassall and others of the church answer the request, that, in their view, their minister had tendered all satisfaction to them which should be reasonably required, but added, that he was ready to submit the question between them.

November 24. Edward Winslow writes to Winthrop. He relates that, at a late session of the legislature, an important order was proposed and entered. After several days, violent opposition was made to have the order rejected. A compromise took place, so that it was left to the next General Court. "The

first excepter having been observed to tender the view of a scroule from man to man, it came at length to be tendered to myselfe, and withall, said he, it may be you will not like this. Having read it, I told him I utterly abhorred it as such as would make us odious to all Christian commonweales." This document proposed "to allow and maintaine full and free toleracon of religion to all men that would preserve the civill peace and submit unto government, and there was no limitation or excepcon against Turke, Jew, Papist, Arrian, Socinian, Nicholayton, Familist, or any other, etc." But our governor and divers of us having expressed that sad consequences would follow, especially myselfe and Mr. Prence, yet, notwithstanding, it was required, according to order, to be voted. But the governor would not suffer it to come to vote, as being that indeed would cate out the power of godliness, etc." He adds, "By this you may see that all the troubles of New England are not at the Massachusetts. The Lord in mercy looks upon us, and allay this spirit of division that is creeping in amongst us." This, with the late movement at the Bay, indicates that there was a great increase of desire for toleration in the confederate colonies for doctrines which differed from their common belief. Such an advance was greatly encouraged by a similar demonstration in the mother country. At the same time, it was conscientiously deprecated by many of the first planters, as more for woe than weal.

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MAINE.

1644, March 1. Wheelwright gratefully acknowledges the receipt of his pass. He remarks, "Notwithstanding my failings, for which I humbly crave pardon, yet I cannot, with a good conscience, condemn myself for such capital crimes, dangerous revelations, and gross errours, as have been charged upon me." Winthrop replied, that he thought it would be more favorable for him to appear before the General Court himself than to employ others to speak for him, and that an ingenuous statement of his feelings and opinions on the subject would not prejudice his cause. Though Wheelwright put off attendance on the legislature at Boston, yet in their session, which began May 29, they removed the order for his banishment.

23. Cotton remarked of him, "Neither the church nor myself did ever look at him either as an Antinomian or Familist;" therefore, after his banishment, having an invitation to settle with the people of Rhode Island, he said of them, "Whilst

1645.]

they pleaded for the covenant of grace, they took away the grace of the covenant."

March 23. Cleaves, designated by Rigby, to govern Lygonia, had landed at Boston. He, knowing that Richard Vines, the acting governor of Maine, would oppose the setting up of another body politic in what he considered his jurisdiction, desired the legislature of Massachusetts to address him on the subject; but they declined, and proposed Winthrop, who complied. To commence his administration, Cleaves summoned a court to meet at Casco. In counteraction of this, Vines called another at Saco on the same day. The former invited the latter to leave the question, which of the two should rule, to the magistrates of the Bay, until it should be decided by Parliament. But Vines ordered the bearer of such a proposal to be imprisoned, and the next day took a bond for his appearance and good behavior. Immediately Cleaves and about twenty-nine others petitioned the Massachusetts authorities for aid, and offer themselves for admission to the colonial union. With regard to the last proposition, a reply was given, that the commissioners of the union had a rule "not to receive any but such as were in a church way, etc.," which implied a renunciation of Episcopacy.

April 24. A letter from the commissioners and others in the jurisdiction of Sir F. Gorges was handed to Governor Winthrop, by Vines, relative to the difficulty between him and Cleaves.

October 8. As a means of quieting the apprehensions here lest D'Aulnay should commit hostilities against the people, is a treaty of peace between him and Massachusetts, with the proviso, that it meet the approval of the confederate commissioners.

1645, June 3. The magistrates of the Bay, as Hubbard relates, sit as arbiters in the case of Cleaves and Vines as to jurisdiction over Lygonia. The former of these two appeared by an attorney, and the latter in person. The magistrates, for want of sufficiently attested documents, decline to give judgment, and advise the parties to remain peaceably till the proper authorities of the nation shall decide.

August. A General Court, with Vines as the deputy governor, convene at Saco. They confirm the grant of land made to John Wheelwright.

October 21. At their session for elections, they decide, as in Williamson, that as they had no recent communication from Sir Ferdinando, their lord proprietor, they should continue their government until they had instruction from the proper source. The reason why Sir Ferdinando had sent no orders, was the distracted condition of the kingdom through the effects of civil war. He had joined the royal forces. He was in Bristol, when

taken by the parliamentary forces, the preceding September 9, and confined in prison. His earnest desire for the prosperity of Maine, as an Episcopal province, was no more to be followed with pertinent and energetic action.

Several are presented and fined for breach of the Sabbath.

Arthur Macworth and others depose, that they never gave order to Mr. George Cleaves, of Casco, to prefer any petition or any articles in Parliament against Mr. Richard Vines, nor did they know any thing of it till George Cleaves did last come from England. In this connection, it is stated, that there was a commission from Parliament, dated April 28, 1643, directed to John Winthrop, to examine articles presented by Cleaves against Vines.

This year, John Wheelwright, Jr., has an apology, published in London, for the principal persons who had favored Mrs. Hutchinson's opinions, though he does not approve of all these opinions. He occupies the greater part of the pamphlet in favor of his father, Rev. John Wheelwright. He endeavors to show, from the concessions of Weld, that his father did not adopt the main principles of his sister-in-law, Mrs. Hutchinson.

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#### NEW HAMPSHIRE.

1644, April 20. The people of Dover allow several men to use the fishery at "Cocheco Fall and River," on various conditions. Of these is, that "the first they catch to be employed for the use of the church, and the first salmon they catch to be given to our pastor or teacher."

May 29. The people of Exeter had taken steps to settle Batchelor, who had been dismissed from Hampton, among them in the ministry. Informed of this, the General Court of the Bay order a notice for them, stating, "that their divisions were such that they could not comfortably, and with approbation, proceed in so weighty and sacred affairs," and therefore they are required "to defer gathering a church till they or the court at Ipswich, upon further satisfaction of their reconciliation and fitness, should give allowance therefor."

November 12. The same authorities empower Samuel Dudley, preacher, and others, of Salisbury, to examine the difficulties between Batchelor and the people of Hampton.

1645, July 1. The ministers of this colony attend the synod at Cambridge, who now commence their session.

October 1. The legislature of Massachusetts require Mr.

Williams, of Piscataqua, to deliver up a negro slave, brought from Guinea by officers of a Boston vessel, so that they may send him back, with one or more others, at the charge of the colony, and a letter, expressive of their great displeasure at such barbarous conduct.

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## RHODE ISLAND.

1644, January 12. On hearing that Cotton applied part of a sermon to him, Gorton writes about it to John Green, ruling elder of Charlestown. He says that he himself preached the gospel not like "those idol shepherds of the church of Rome, who cannot speak unto the people, but in a way of so much study and care." He requests that he may "expresse the word of the Lord in the public congregation freely, without interruption, either on the Lord's day or the ordinary lecture." He states that the passage he would take to discuss was "the sounding of the fifth trumpet, Rev. ix." His application was not answered.

February 6. As a gauge of public opinion, which prevailed among the most prominent colonists, concerning him and his followers, we have a quotation from Emanuel Downing's letter to Winthrop: "I fear the Lord is offended for sparing the lives of Gorton and his companions, for if they all be as busy as this [Holden] at Salem, there will be much evil seed sown in the country. I hope some of them will be brought to trial next court for breach of their order; and if yet you shall spare them, I shall fear a curse upon the land. The good Lord direct herein to do what shall be pleasing in his sight."

March 7. Informed that the Gortonists spread their opinions in the places where they were confined, the legislature at the Bay pass the following requisition: "It is ordered that Samuel Gorton and the rest of that company, who now stand confined, shall be set at liberty, provided that if they, or any of them, shall, after fourteen days after such enlargement, come within any part of our jurisdiction, either in the Massachusetts, or in or near Providence, or any of the lands of Pumham or Saco-nonoco, or elsewhere within our jurisdiction, then such person or persons shall be apprehended wheresoever they may be taken and shall suffer death by course of law; provided also, that during all their continuance in our bounds inhabiting for the said time of fourteen days, they shall be still bound to the rest of the articles of their former confinement, upon the penalty therein expressed."

March 10. Thus freed from their confinement, Gorton and several of his company had collected in Boston, and visited various families. The governor, hearing of it, commands them to leave the town before noon, lest they should propagate their doctrines.

14.\* The commissioners lately appointed by Parliament to direct the general affairs of their American colonists grant a charter to Providence, Portsmouth, and Newport, "to be known by the name of the Incorporation of Providence Plantations in the Narraganset Bay in New England." They observe of the people in these towns, they "have adventured to make a nearer neighborhood and society with the great body of the Narragansetts, which may in time, by the blessing of God upon their endeavours, lay a sure foundation of happiness in all America." The document so conferred did not go into operation for over three years. Such delay was probably caused by the counter-acting claims of Plymouth and Massachusetts, and especially by the recent charter, which the last colony had received from the same authorities in England, and which gave them the government of the Narragansett country.

26. The Gortonists address a request from Rhode Island to Winthrop, that he would state to them explicitly whether the act for their banishment was meant to exclude them from Shawomet. They say, "We resolve upon your answer with all expedition, to wage law with you, and try to the uttermost what right or interest you can show to lay claim either to our lands or our lives."

April 1. The reply to them is, that they were shut out from the territory of Pumham and Sacononoco, which included their settlement.

19. Gorton and some of his friends having been invited to confer with Pessicus, the successor of Miantonomo, and Canonius, and informed them that they looked to the state of England for redress, these chiefs submit themselves and their subjects to the same government, and appoint Gorton, Weeks, Holden, and Warner to act as commissioners to execute such a purpose. The evident intention of this policy is to counteract the power of the United Colonies.

Gorton informs us, that "shortly after his returne unto his family in the Nanhyganset Bay, some of the most eminent and approved church members among them of Massachusetts" wrote to him, and desired that he would expound to them Psalm cx. He further states, that they asked this of him,

\* Callender and Staples make this date the 17th, but Mr. Savage makes it the 14th.

because Cotton, of Boston, had recently explained the same portion of Scripture, but not to their satisfaction, and they were pleased with his mode of opening the Bible to them while he was confined at the Bay. Like Mrs. Hutchinson, he believed that he spake from the heart, as the Spirit gave him utterance, in relation to divine truth. With this view, he applied himself to the task proposed. He performed the work in his usual style. It shows his extensive acquaintance with scriptural passages, and sometimes much original speculation, but still, in most respects, darkens counsel by a multitude of words. Except to the author's followers, its comments were visionary, and laid him open to the suspicions of infidelity. Understanding that the Memorial of Morton subsequently charged him as the rejecter of a future state, he said, "I then affirm that your record is fetched from him who is a liar from the beginning, in that you declare I have spoken words (or to that effect) that there is no state nor condition of mankind after this life."

About this year, John Clark founds\* the first Baptist church at Newport, and preaches for them. The ecclesiastical order which had existed here appears, for aught of any thing to the contrary, to have been Congregational. William Hutchinson and other settlers desired Wheelwright, his brother-in-law, to become their minister; but, not sympathizing entirely with them in doctrine, he preferred a people at Exeter, New Hampshire. Under 1638, Winthrop states that Clark, a prominent inhabitant, was a physician and preacher, the last profession being mentioned, with no change in denomination. Callender said that the same person "carried on a public worship, at the first coming, till they procured Mr. Lenthal." In 1639, the reply of New England divines to those of Old England said that there prevailed "Anabaptism at Providence and Familism at Aquedneck." This type of religion is accompanied with no evidence but that its form was the same as when ejected from the Bay. Under this year, Winthrop says that they of Aquedneck "gathered a church." In 1640, March 16, a committee of the Boston church is appointed to visit their brethren at the Island, and ascertain how they walked. In their report, and in what Hull says at the last of this year, the professors of religion on the Island considered themselves in the relation of a regular church. Lechford, as previously stated, said, in 1641, that there was a church at Newport, and Clark was its elder or minister, but that he had been told it was now dissolved. From the latter half of 1640 to the former part of 1642, Lenthal, a minister who had officiated at Weymouth, succeeded Clark, and

\* Rev. John Conner's Manuscript History of the Baptists.



taught scholars on the Island. From these facts, the persons who become a Baptist church had considered themselves members of a Congregational church at Newport, though Winthrop and the Boston church thought them irregular for admitting excommunicated members.

Comer, in his account, says of the body so formed, "maintaining y<sup>e</sup> doctrine of efficacious grace, and professing y<sup>e</sup> baptizing of only visible believers upon personal profession, by a total immersion in water, though y<sup>e</sup> first certain record of this honourable and religious action bears date October 12, 1648, at which time it consisted of twelve members in full communion, who were probably the first members."

May 29. The General Court at the Bay order, that, as Pumham and Sacononoco and their friends and men are exposed to "the bloody-mindedness of the Narragansetts," ten armed men go and build them a strong house of palisades, and guard them, the chiefs paying the expense.

They require that Richard Waterman, "found heretical and obstinate," be detained prisoner till the Quarter Court of September, unless five magistrates see cause to send him away. If this occur, he is to be banished from their jurisdiction.

About this date, Roger Williams's "Bloody Tenent of Persecution for Cause of Conscience" is printed in London. It is addressed to both houses of Parliament. It contains an argument against punishment for religious opinions, which he wrote soon after he left Salem, and which he sent to John Cotton, as though it were from a prisoner at Newgate. It also contains the reply of Cotton, in which this divine took the ground that religious error, maintained "with a boisterous and arrogant spirit against the civil peace," should be punished, and remarked, "I forbear adding reasons to justify the truth, because you may finde that done to your hand in a treatise sent to some of the brethren, late of Salem, who doubted as you doe."

It then proceeds to discuss the positions of Cotton at large, "in a Conference between Truth and Peace." The latter part of it examines and answers, the Model of Church and Civil Power, which, Williams says, was "composed by Mr. Cotton and the ministers of New England, and sent to the church at Salem."

June 20. The Gortonists, through John Warner, their secretary, write to the authorities of Massachusetts, and relate the submission of the Narragansetts to the crown. They state that they had recently seen a sachem of the Maukquogges, or Mohawks, a powerful nation, who declared that this people would not suffer the Narragansetts to be molested without "warre unto the uttermost." With such allies, the Gortonists appear to

feel that they are competent to resist any further attempts of the United Colonies for their apprehension.

July. Though the Gortonists feel strong by their connection with the Narragansetts, the people of the Island are "in great fear of the Indians," and are much divided in sentiment.

September 9. The confederate commissioners pass the ensuing resolve: "Some of the inhabitants of Roade Iland haueing intimated a willingnes to be received into and vnder the gouernment of one of the colonies, the commissioners, considering that by an vtter refusall, they may, by the discords and diuisions among themselues, be exposed to some greate inconvenyences, and hoping many of them may be reduced to a better frame by gouernment, thought fitt that if the major part and such as haue most interest in the Iland will absolutely and without reseruation submitt, either the Massachusetts or Plymouth may receive them."

17. Winthrop states that Roger Williams, accompanied with a few families, arrives in Boston. He brings a letter from several members of Parliament to leading men of the Bay. It desires that a free and friendly intercourse be cherished between them, as "good men driven to the ends of the world, exercised with the trials of a wilderness, and who mutually give good testimony of each other." It urges that this may be so "because of those bad neighbours you are like to find too near unto you in Virginia, and the unfriendly visits from the west of England and from Ireland."

1645, April. Plymouth, according to Winthrop, send John Brown to the Island for the purpose of preventing its subjection to the late charter authority conferred on Roger Williams and others, because the former colony claim it as within their patent. In reference to this matter, Morton uses the subsequent language: "So these having there seated themselves, and finding that it was a very fruitful and pleasant place, they soon drew many more unto them, not only to fill up that Island, but have also seated two more towns on the main; therein (as is judged) inroaching upon the just rights of the aforesaid colony of Plimouth, and have of late, through misinformation, obtained a patent, not only for the places forementioned, but have also extended it into the heart and bowels of the known and possessed rights of the said colony, endeavoring to requite the kindness as sometimes, it is said, the hedgehog did by the friendly cony."

Massachusetts despatch a commissioner for the like purpose with regard to their jurisdiction on Pawtuxet and Mishawomet.

May. Pumham and Sacononoco complain to the legislature of the Bay, that Indians, who belong twenty miles off and are allies

of the Narragansetts in their present war with Uncas, have planted on their land without permission. The authorities are applied to issue orders immediately to employ means for the removal of such intruders.

June 22. Roger Williams addresses John Winthrop, Jr., at "Pequit:" "I have scene divers papers (returning now yours thankfully) which are snatcht from me againe. I have therefore beene bold to send you the *Medula* and *Magnalia Dei*."

July. The Massachusetts Bay authorities send a message to Benedict Arnold, that he require the egress of aggressors on the land of Pumham and Sacononoco to depart with his people. They write to the Narragansetts that they desist from war with Uncas.

August 19. The commissioners of the union, at their session in Boston, give full reasons why they are about to engage in hostilities with the latter nation. In connection with them, they express themselves as follows: "The most considerable part of the English colonies professe they came into these parts of the world with desire to advance the kingdome of the Lord Jesus Christ, and to enjoy his precious ordinances with peace; and to his praise they confesse he hath not fayled their expectations hitherto. They have found safety, warmth, and refreshing vnder his winges to the satisfaccion of their soules; but they know and haue considered that their Lord and Master is King of righteousness and peace, that hee giues answerable lawes, and casts his subjects into such a mould and frame, that (in their weake measure) they may hold forth his vertues in their course and carriage not onely with nations of Europe, but with the barbarous natives of this wilderness." After relating the causes of the rupture, they proceed: "It clearly appears that God calls the colonies to warr. The Narrohiggansets and confederates rest on their numbers, weapons, and opportunities to do mischeefe, as probably as of ould Asher, Amalek, and the Philistines with others, did confederate against Israell. So Satan may stir up and combyne many his instruments against the churches of Christ; but their Redeemer is the Lord of Hostes, the mighty one in battaile; all the shields of the earth are in his hands, he can save by few and by weake meanes, as by many and great. In him they trust."

In their declaration, the commissioners say that Mr. Williams had informed them that the towns of the Island had engaged to the Narragansetts that they would remain neutral.

27. Perceiving that the United Colonies were preparing to attack them, the Narragansetts and the Nyantick Indians make a treaty of peace with their commissioners. This must have been a disappointment to the Gortonists, who appear to have

assumed a bold front, because they trusted that such tribes would be able to take and maintain strong ground against Massachusetts and her confederates.

October 4. The place in Pumham's territory which had been occupied by the Gortonists is granted by Massachusetts to thirty-two persons, a large part of whom were from Braintree church, for a settlement. When some of them went thither to make preparation, Mr. Brown, a magistrate of Plymouth, forbade them, as Winthrop states, to proceed, because the land was claimed by that colony. This broke up the enterprise. The case being afterwards submitted to the confederate commissioners, they confirmed what they had decided on previously, that the township being relinquished by Pumham to Massachusetts, this colony had a right to grant it as they had.

Captain Partridge, lately from England, charged with notions of Antinomianism and Familism, leaves the Bay, by order of authorities there, and, with his wife and family, comes to the Island.

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#### CONNECTICUT.

1644, January 3. The Connecticut legislature pass the subsequent order: "The Courte, taking the state of our native country into consideration, haue ordered that there shall be monthly a day of humiliation kept through the plantation, according to the course of our neighbours of Newhauen, and to begin vppon Wednesday, 10th of this month."

March. Of those who did much to advance the best welfare of Connecticut, but did not long remain to participate in the results of his exertions, is George Wyllys. Looking forward on his course of obligation, he is called to enter on eternal scenes. He was son of Richard, who lived at Fenny Compton, Warwickshire. At Knapton, not of this county, he owned, as Trumbull relates, an estate of five hundred pounds a year. He sent over William Gibbons, his steward, in 1636, with twenty men, to purchase and prepare a tract of land for him at Hartford, as his domicile. In 1638, he brought over his family. He was elected a magistrate in 1639, deputy governor 1641, and governor 1642. His object in exchanging an abode in his native land for one of a new country, was the fuller enjoyment of gospel privileges. He and his wife were remarkable for their devotedness to the cause of Christ. They walked before their household and the world as the expectants of a blessed immortality. He left a son, Samuel, about twelve years of age,

who graduated at Harvard, 1653, and became eminent in piety and respectable in official rank.

April 3. Still apprehensive of attacks from Indians, New Haven legislature make the ensuing regulation: "It is ordered that the fourth part of the trayned band in every plantation shall come to the worship of God at the beating of the second drum at the fatherst, with their arms compleat, their guns ready charged, with their match for their matchlocks, and flints ready fitted in their firelocks, and shot and powder for at least five or six charges, besides the charge in their guns, under the penalty of two shillings fine for neglect or defect of furniture, and one shilling for late coming; and also the sentinels, or they who walk the rounds, shall have their matches lighted during the time of the meeting, if they be matchlocks."

They also confirm their previous principles of judiciary in the following terms: "It is ordered that the judicial lawes of God, as they were delivered by Moses, ande as they are a fence to the morall lawe, being neither typicall nor ceremoniall, nor had any reference to Canaan, shall be accounted of moral equity, ande generally binde all offenders, ande be a rule to all the courts in this jurisdiction in their proceedings against offenders till they be branched out into particulars hereafter."

June 3. Matthew Allen complains to the General Court of Connecticut, that the Hartford church had unjustly excommunicated him. He is required to prove his charge, "that the church may give answer thereto."

In the course of this year, as Trumbull relates, the subsequent changes occur. As Samuel Eaton, to whom Totoket was granted in 1640, did not settle the place as expected, it is now disposed of to William Swain and others, of Wethersfield. These occupy it, afterwards called Branford, on condition of being subject to New Haven government. Their number is enlarged by Abraham Pierson and part of his church and congregation, from Southampton, on Long Island. A church is soon organized there, and he becomes their pastor.

Richard Denton, having been minister three or four years at Stamford, moves to Hempstead, Long Island, where he continues the duties of his profession.

The Stamford church, thus destitute, depute two of their brethren to seek for another minister. So commissioned, they visit Boston on foot. Here they meet with John Bishop from England, who had not yet finished his studies. He engages to go back with them as they came. He long officiated at Stamford.

September 4. Ephraim Hewett, minister of Windsor, finishes his temporal pilgrimage. That he was eminent for talent and

zeal in his Master's service is indicated by the words of Johnson, in his Wonder-working Providence, —

“And Huet had his arguings strong and bright.”

September 9. The commissioners of the confederation permit Southampton, on Long Island, to be under Connecticut.

In compliance with a letter from Endicott of the 2d instant, “and vpon a serious consideracon among themselues how the spreading course of error might be stayed, and the truths where in the churches of New England walke set upon their owne firme and cleare foundacons, the commissioners propounded to and receiued from the elders now present at Hartford as followeth: *Question.* Whether the elders may not be intricated seriously to consider of some confession of doctrine and discipline with solid ground to be approued by the churches, and published by consent (till further light) for the confirmeing the weake among ourselues, and stopping the mouths of aduersaries abroad. *Answer.* Wee who are here present in all thankfullnes acknowledg your Christian and religious care to further the good of our churches and posteritye, and do readily entertaine the motion, and shall use our best dilligence and indeavours to acquaint the rest of our breethren with y<sup>t</sup>, and shall study to answer your desires and expectacons assoone as God shall giue a fitt season.” This movement was promoted by the example of the Westminster Assembly, and led to a call for the synod at Cambridge.

October 25. As Matthew Allen had not substantiated, before the Connecticut legislature, his charge of unjust excommunication by the Hartford church, the former body send him a vote of such import, and their request that he would bring his reply by the 27th of November, and answer for his neglect of their instructions.

The same authorities pass the ensuing orders: “It is agreed that the propositions concerning the mayntenance of mynisters made by the commissioners of the Vnited Collonies shall stand as an order for this jurisdiction, to be executed where there shall be cause. The proposition concerning the mayntenance of the scollers at Cambridge, made by the said commissioners, is confirmed, and it is ordered that two men shal be appoynted in euery towne within this jurisdiction, who shall demand what euery family will give, and the same to be gathered and brought into some roome, in March, and this to continue yearly as y<sup>t</sup> shalbe considered by the commissioners.”

November 11. Transactions of the General Court of New Haven. “The proposition for the relief of poor scholars at the

college at Cambridge was fully approved; and thereupon it was ordered that Josiah Attwater and William Davis shall receive of every one in this plantation whose heart is willing to contribute thereunto a peck of wheat or the value of it." As the Court "did see cause to put forth their best endeavours to procure a patent from Parliament, and therefore desired Mr. Gregson to undertake the voyage and business, and agreed to furnish him with two hundred pounds, of which, in proportion to the other plantations, New Haven is to pay one hundred and ten pounds in good merchantable beaver."

December 5. According to previous negotiations, Fenwick agrees that the territory and other public property, with the inhabitants, from Narragansett River to Fort Saybrook, shall be under the jurisdiction of Connecticut, if they come into his power. The stipulation, on his part, for such a surrender, is, that for ten years he shall have the use of the buildings attached to the fort, and certain duties on corn, biscuit, beaver, and cattle, "exported from the river's mouth." Thus an important change occurs as to the country, whither the company of Lord Say and Seal and others intended to send emigrants to plant it, and bless its population with the influences of the gospel.

1645, March 30. General Court of New Haven make orders for the artillery company at New Haven. One of them is as follows: "That once a            upon the fourth day of the week after the lecture is ended, the company exercise themselves in a military way, for increase of their skill and activity against times of service. And for this exercise, the first drum to beat at the going out from the lecture, and the second drum one hour after, and that, at every such exercise, every one of the company be present upon the market place and answer at the call of his name, and bring with him his musket and all other arms appointed for such exercise."

June 2. Thomas Peters, in a consolatory letter to Winthrop, of the Bay, says, "We have all need of patience. As tribulation hammers this piece of spiritual armour out for a shirt of mail and armour of proof to the saints, so it is accompanied with experience sweet and manifold."

20. A council of war is appointed by New Haven legislature to prepare for aiding Uncas against the Narragansetts. On the 26th, Zechariah Whitman is ordained teacher of the Milford church.

July 1. Among the members of the synod at Cambridge are the clergymen of Connecticut and New Haven colonies. During its session, Davenport is advised to have his work,\* known

\* Rev. Nathaniel Mather, in a preface to this book in 1672, says that it perished "in the wide waves, with some other excellent manuscripts and precious Christians."

as the Power of Congregational Churches, sent to England, and there printed for circulation. The same is done with regard to Hooker's Survey of the Summe of Church Discipline. This was in reply to Mr. Rutherford.

That of Davenport was in answer to a treatise of J. Paget, "intituled the Defence of Church Government exercised in Classes and Synods." It was divided into two parts. 1. The constitution of particular visible churches. 2. The privileges and power given to such churches. In the discussion of these two heads, the author agreed with previous treatises on ecclesiastical order, composed by ministers of New England, and published in the mother country.

These two works, having been lost in the first attempt to send them across the Atlantic, were rewritten and printed in London.

Though the first sheets of Hooker perished in the ocean, the copy of them agreed with the ideas developed before the synod. Hence the volume containing the latter presents us with the thoughts expressed in that body on topics which they considered as of great moment. For this reason, the ensuing extracts are given. In his preface he mentions a topic which most received the attention and debates of those interested in church government, both here and in England. "Whether all ecclesiastical power be impaled, impropriated, and rightly taken into the presbyterie alone, or that the people of the particular churches should come in for a share according to their places and proportions, this is left as the subject of the inquiry of this age, and that which occasions thoughts of heart on all hands."

Mr. Hooker says that he allows several points for which Mr. Rutherford contends. Among them are the following: "Scandalous persons are not fit to be members of a visible church, nor should be admitted. The faithfull congregations in England are true churches; and therefore it is sinful to separate from them as no churches. The members which come commended from such churches to ours here, so that it doth appear to the judgement of the church whence they come, that they are by them approved and not scandalous, they ought to be received to church communion with us, as members of other churches with us in New England in like case so commended and approved. To separate from congregations for want of some ordinances, or to separate from the true worship of God because of the sin of some worshippers, is unlawfull. Infants of visible churches, born of wicked parents, being members of the church, ought to be baptized." Not only did Mr. Hooker, but also the other ministers of New England, agree to these positions. The two last have been occasionally discussed in our country ever since his day.



Mr. Hooker proceeds to mention other principles of our ecclesiastical polity: "If the reader shall demand how far this way of church proceeding receives approbation by any common concurrence amongst us, I shall plainly and punctually express myself in a word of truth, in these following points, viz.: Visible saints are the only true and meet matter whereof a visible church should be gathered, and confederation is the form. The church, as *totum essenziale*, is, and may be, before officers. There is no presbyteriall church (i. e., a church made up of the elders of many congregations, appointed classiewise, to rule all those congregations) in the New Testament. A church congregationall is the first subject of the keys. Each congregation, compleatly constituted of all officers, hath sufficient power in herself to exercise the power of the keyes, and all church disciplines, in all the censures thereof. Ordination is not before election. There ought to be no ordination at large, namely, such as should make him a pastour without a people. The election of the people hath an instrumentall causall vertue under Christ to give an outward call unto an officer. Ordination is only a solemn installing of an officer in the office unto which he was formerly called. Children of such, who are members of congregations, ought only to be baptized. The consent of the people gives a causall vertue to the compleating of the sentence of excommunication. Whilst the church remains a true church of Christ, it doth not loose this power, nor can it lawfully be taken away. Consociation of churches should be used as occasion doth require. Such consociations and synods have allowance to counsell and admonish other churches, as the case may require. And if they grow obstinate in error or sinfull miscarriages, they should renounce the right hand of fellowship with them. But they have no power to excommunicate, nor do their constitutions binde *formaliter et juridice*. In all these I have leave to professe the joint judgement of all the elders upon the river; of New Haven, Guilford, Milford, Stratford, Fairfield, and of most of the elders of the churches in the Bay, to whom I did send in particular, and did receive approbation from them under their hands. Of the rest (to whom I could not send) I cannot so affirm; but this I can say, that at a common meeting I was desired by them all to publish what now I do."

From terms used in the preceding positions, it is evident that Mr. Hooker and his brethren of the synod, who requested the publication of his book, understood *church* and *congregation* as synonymous, and embracing no others than professors of religion. In assigning his reason for the discussion of these topics, Mr. Hooker observes, "I can professe in a word of truth, that,

against mine own inclination and affection, I was haled by importunity to this so hard a task, to kindle my rush candle, to joyn with the light of others, at least to occasion them to set up their lamps."

Besides the officers of the church, as pastors, teachers, ruling elders, and deacons, Mr. Hooker enumerates widows, whose duty was to visit the sick. He denied that synods had any more than advisory power, and that they might be called by civil government as well as by churches.

October 22. Fenwick, in a letter to William Leete, by which he grants land to Rev. Henry Whitfield and the other inhabitants of Guilford, remarks, "Rowling stones gather no mosse in these times, and from our conditions now we are not to expect great thinges. Small thinges, nay, moderate thinges, should content us. A warm fireside and a peaceable habitation, with the chief of mercyes, the gospel of peace, is no ordinary mercy."

November 4. "Mr. Leech being complayned of for not bringing his arms on the Lord's day, his answer was, that his man brings his arms for him, which was satisfying."

6. As Hooker believed it incorrect for a minister to baptize and administer the sacrament out of his own church, as stated in Part II. p. 65 of his Survey of Church Discipline, he had desired the elders of Massachusetts to give him their opinions. Accordingly a reply is prepared by Richard Mather, who took different ground.

December 22. The questions of William Apollonius, for softening down the collisions of opinion in England as to political and religious concerns, communicated by the clergy of Zealand to Massachusetts, had been also, about this date, sent to the ministers\* of New Haven and Connecticut. These nominated Davenport to draw up a reply, which he did with much acceptance, as Norton did for those of the Bay.

\* Rev. Samuel Mather's Apology.

## CHAPTER XVI.

**MASSACHUSETTS.** Baptists.—Hobart arraigned.—Cotton.—John Oliver.—The king.—Election sermon.—Salisbury.—Synod.—New London.—Thomas Peters.—Child and others.—Winslow and Johnson.—Township for Indians.—Mrs. Bowditch.—Nathaniel White.—Synod.—Lecture.—Gortonists.—Confederate commissioners.—Poor scholars.—Special providences.—French negotiator.—Mohawks.—Hiacomes.—Idols.—Powows.—Gortonists.—Child and others.—Preaching to Indians.—Return of slaves to Guinea.—Township for Indians.—New England's Jonas.—Scholars.—Blasphemy.—Powowing.—Winslow.—Heresy.—Seekers.—Wanton gospeler.—Indian subjects.—Missionaries.—Union.—Advice of elders.—Warwick.—Reply of elders.—The charter paramount.—Child and his associates arraigned.—Powow.—Gortonists.—General governor.—T. Peters.—Mather's reply.—Bulkley's Gospel Covenant.—Symond's letter.—Synod.—Maverick and Clark.—Strangers.—Fenwick's letter.—Freemen.—Trials for the churches expected.—Appeals.—Courts for Indians.—Eliot's labors.—Jesuits.—Child.—Indian youth.—Synod.—Sermon of Rogers.—Long hair.—Non-freemen.—Mrs. Winthrop.—Nathaniel Mather.—Nathaniel Ward.—Sermon at marriages.—Henry Walver.—John Birden.—Publications.—Toleration.—Singing psalms.—Bible in schools.—Papacy.—Dand.—Parsonages.—Indians.—Opposition to the gospel. **PLYMOUTH.** Vassal.—Mayo.—Liberties.—Winslow.—Bradford of the synod.—Yarmouth.—Christianity formerly heard by Indians.—French preacher. **MAINE.** Lygonia.—Colony of Gorges.—Vines.—Parties.—Papal missionaries.—Wheelwright.—Lady La Tour captive; soon dies. **NEW HAMPSHIRE.** Hampton.—Parker.—Dover and Strawberry Bunk.—Lord Say.—Wheelwright. **RHODE ISLAND.** Smith.—Jane Hawkins.—Gorton and others obtain a pass through Massachusetts.—Narragansett and Nyantick sachems.—Discord at the Island.—Shawomet.—Government.—Allowance to Williams.—Laws.—Witchcraft.—Canonicus.—Warwick.—Divisions at Providence.—Gorton's Key. **CONNECTICUT.** Ship lost.—College.—Saybrook.—Removing.—Pillory.—Blasphemy.—Synod.—Indian plot.—Presbyterians.—Weld's publications.—Anabaptists.—Sabbath.—Ball's defence.—Dutch.—Thomas Peters.—Eaton.—Fenwick.—College corn.—Guard.—Hooker.—Stoning-ton.—Church discipline.

### MASSACHUSETTS.

1646, February 18. William Witter, of Lynn, is presented before the Essex Quarterly Court, "for saying that they who stayed while a childe is baptized doe worshipp the dyvill; also, Henry Collense and Martha West, deling with him about the former speeche, speaks to him after this manner: that they who stayed at the baptising of a childe did take the name of the Father, Sonn, and Holly Ghost in vain, and broke the Saboth, (and confesseth and justifieth his former speech.) Sentence of

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court is an injunction, next Lord's day being faire, that he make a publique confession, to satisfaction, in the open congregation at Lyn, or else to censure at the next General Court. And concerning his opinion, the court hath yet patience toward him, till they see if he be obstinate, and only admonish him."

February 19. John Wood is arraigned before the same authorities, for professing Anabaptist sentiments and withholding his children from baptism.

March 18. The marshal waits on Hobart, of Hingham, for his fine. The latter declares the warrant illegal, because not issued in his majesty's name, says that he has sent to his friends in England, and expects an answer soon, and therefore declines to satisfy the demand of the officer.

26. For such neglect and encouraging some of his people to rescue from the marshal what he had attached for his own and others' fines, Hobart is arraigned before the Court of Assistants.

April 3. John Cotton writes an argument to Thomas Shepard to prove that the first day of the week, and not the seventh, should be observed as the Christian Sabbath. This subject was much discussed by New England ministers against objectors.

12. John,\* son of Elder Thomas Oliver, of Boston, dies in his thirtieth year. He left three children and a wife, Elizabeth, daughter of John Newgate, and subsequently married to Edward Jackson. He was admitted freeman 1640, and had a fair prospect of advancement as a layman. But the call for ministers being loud, and feeling an obligation to hear it personally, he consecrated himself to preach the gospel. He graduated at Harvard 1645. As a candidate for the office of a spiritual guide, he "was become very hopeful that way, being a good scholar, and of able gifts otherwise, and had exercised publicly for two years."

May 5. As an act which led Congregationalists of both Englands to apprehend that their order of ecclesiastical government would be greatly depressed, the king places himself under the protection of the Scots, who appeared to prefer that he should reign with restrictions rather than their Presbyterianism should not be the national platform.

6. The election sermon is preached by Mr. Norris. A committee are appointed to consider the petition of some at Salisbury to be a distinct church. On the 13th, supposing that more legal restrictions were called for to "Anabaptists and other erroneous persons," seventy-eight freemen of Dorchester, Roxbury, etc.,

\* John Hull's diary says he died the 11th of April. Elder Oliver was a doctor.

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lay the subsequent petition before the legislature: "As the prevaylinge of errors and heresies is noted by our Saviour in the gospel, and elsewhere in the Scriptures, as a forerunner of God's judgments; and inasmuch as the errors of the Anabaptists, where they do prevayle, are not a litle dangerous to church and commonwealth, as the lamentable tumults in Germany, when the said errors were grown unto a height, did too manifestlie witnesse, and such good lawes or orders as are enacted amongst vs against such persons havinge already bene, as wee are informed, a special meanes of discouraginge multitudes of erroneous persons from comminge over into this countrie, which wee account noe small mercie of God vnto vs, and one sweet and wholesome fruite of the sayd lawes, it is therefore our humble petition to this honoured court, that such lawes or orders as are in force amongst vs against Anabaptists or other erroneous persons, whereby to restraine the spreadinge and divulginge of their errors amongst people here, may not be abrogated and taken away, nor any waies weakened, but may still continue in their force as now they are, that soe there may not be a dore open for such dangerous errors to infect and spread in this countrie as some doe desire. And soe y<sup>r</sup> petitioners shalbe ever bound to pray for the spirit of wisdom and zeale to guide you in all your weighty affayres, and the gracious blessing of God through Christ to be vppon you therein." One inducement for the presentation of this paper was to counteract the petition to the General Court at their last October session.

May 15. Believing it necessary for a synod of churches in the United Colonies to assemble, consult, and recommend such rules of ecclesiastical order as they deem best, the General Court give their reasons for such a convention, and request that it may be held. Their language on this occasion follows: "The right form of church government and discipline being agreed part of the kingdom of Christ upon earth, therefore the settling and establishing thereof by the joint and public agreement and consent of churches, and by the sanction of civil authority, must needs greatly conduce to the honor and glory of our Lord Jesus Christ, and to the settling and safety of church and commonwealth, where such a duty is duly attended and performed; and inasmuch as times of public peace (which, by the mercy of God, are vouchsafed to these plantations; but how long the same may continue we do not know) are much more commodious for the effecting of such a work than those troublesome times of war and of public disturbances, as the example of our dear native country doth witness at this day, where, by reason of the public commotions and troubles in the state, the reformation of religion and the establishing of the

same is greatly retarded, and at the best cannot be perfected without much difficulty and danger ; and whereas divers of our Christian countrymen and friends in England, both of the ministry and others, considering the state of things in this country in regard of our peace and otherwise, have sundry times, out of their brotherly faithfulness, and love, and care of our well-doing, earnestly, by letters from thence, solicited and called upon us, that we would not neglect the opportunity, which God hath put in our hands for the effecting of so glorious and good a work as is mentioned, whose advertisements are not to be passed over without due regard had thereunto ; and considering, withall, that through want of the thing here spoken of, some differences of opinion and practice of one church from another do already appear amongst us, and others (if not timely prevented) are like speedily to ensue, and this not only in less things, but even in points of no small consequence, and very material ; to instance in no more, but only those about baptism and the persons to be received thereto, in which one particular the apprehensions of many persons in the country are known not a little to differ, for, whereas in most churches the ministers do baptize only such children whose nearest parents, one or both of them, are settled members in full communion with one or other of these churches, there be some who do baptize the children, if the grandfather or grandmother be such members, though the immediate parents be not. And others, though for avoiding offence of neighbor churches, they do not as yet so actually practise, yet they do much incline thereto, as thinking the more liberty and latitude in this point ought to be yielded, than hath hitherto been done, and many persons, living in the country, who have been members of the congregations in England, but are not found fit to be received at the Lord's table here, there be notwithstanding considerable persons in these churches who do think that the children of these also, upon some conditions and terms, may and ought to be baptized likewise. On the other side, there be some amongst us who do think that, whatever be the state of the parents, baptism ought not to be dispensed to any infants whatsoever ; which various apprehensions being seconded with practices according thereto, as in part they already are, and are like to be more, must needs (if not timely remedied) beget such differences as will be displeasing to the Lord, offensive to others, and dangerous to ourselves. Therefore, for the further healing and preventing of the further growth of the said differences, and upon other grounds and for the ends aforementioned, although this court make no question of their lawful power by the word of God to assemble the churches or their messengers, upon occasion of counsel for any

thing which may concern the practice of the churches, yet because all members of the churches (though godly and faithful) are not yet clearly satisfied in this point, it is therefore thought expedient for the present occasion, not to make use of that power, but rather to express our desire that the churches will answer the desire of this present General Court that there be a public assembly of the elders and other messengers of the several churches within this jurisdiction, who may come together and meet at Cambridge upon the first day of September, now next ensuing, there to discuss, dispute, and clear up, by the word of God, such questions of church government and discipline in the things aforementioned, or any other, as they shall think needful and meet, and to continue so doing till they, or the major part of them, shall have agreed and consented upon one form of government and discipline for the main and substantial parts thereof, as that which they judge agreeable to the Holy Scriptures, which work, if it be found greater than can be well dispatched and ended at one meeting or session of the said assembly, they may then, as occasion and need shall require, make two sessions or more for the finishing of the same; and what they shall agree upon, they shall exhibit the same in writing to the governor or deputy governor for the time being, who shall present the same to the General Court then next ensuing, to the end that the same being found agreeable to the word of God, it may receive from the said General Court such approbation as is meet, that the Lord, being thus acknowledged by church and state to be our Judge and Lawgiver, and our King, he may be graciously pleased still to save us, as hitherto he hath done, and glory may still dwell in our land, truth and peace may still abide in these churches and plantations, and our posterity may not so easily decline from the good way, when they shall receive the same thus publicly and solemnly commended to them, but may rather add to such beginnings of reformation and purity as we in our times have endeavored after; and so the churches in New England may be Jehovah's people, and he may be to us a God from generation to generation. And as for the cost and charges of said assembly, it is thought meet, just, and equal, that those churches who shall think meet to send the elders and messengers shall take such care, as that, during their attendance at the said assembly, they may be provided for as is meet, and what strangers or others shall, for their own edification, be present at the assembly, they to provide for themselves and bear their own charge. And forasmuch as the plantations within the jurisdictions of Plymouth, Connecticut, and New Haven are combined and united with the plantations within Massachusetts, in the same civil combination and confederacy,

it is therefore ordered and agreed, that the churches within the said jurisdictions shall be requested to send their elders and messengers to the assembly aforementioned, for which end the secretary for the time being shall send a sufficient number of copies of this present order or declaration unto the elders of the churches within the jurisdictions aforementioned, or unto the governor or governors, commissioner or commissioners, for the said confederate jurisdictions respectively, that so these churches, having timely notice hereof, may the better provide to send their elders and messengers to the assembly, who, being so sent, shall be received as parts and members thereof, and shall have liberty and power of disputing and voting therein as shall the elders and messengers of the churches within the jurisdiction of the Massachusetts."

May 19. "The magistrates not being satisfied in the alteration of the bill about the synode or Generall Assembly, in the point of the power of this court in such cases, it being generally maintayned by all Protestant writers, that the civil magistrate hath power in such cases, and the word of God approving the same throughout the Old Testament in many parallel cases, and no where contradicting it in the New, they think it expedient (with reference to their concurrence herein) that such of the elders as shalbe at Boston the next Lord's day may be consulted with herein, in the presence of the whole court." The house choose a committee "to treate with our honnored magistrates about this retourne." Winthrop says that the deputies made the following objections: "First. Because therein the civil authority did require the churches to send their messengers to it, (the synod) and divers among them were not satisfied of any such power given by Christ to the civil magistrates over the churches in such cases. Secondly. Whereas the main end of the synod was propounded to be an agreement upon one uniform practice in all the churches, the same to be commended to the General Court, etc., this seemed to give power either to the synod or the court to compel the churches to practise what should so be established. To these it was answered, 1. That the civil magistrate had power upon just occasion to require the churches to send their messengers to advise in such ecclesiastical matters, either of doctrine or discipline, as the magistrate was bound by God to maintaine the churches purity and truth in, (which was assented unto.) 2. That the end of the synod was not to proceed by way of power, but only of counsel from the word of God, and the court was at liberty either to establish or disannul such agreement of the synod as they shall see cause, which could put no more power into the court's hands than it had by the word of God and our own laws and liberties estab-



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lished in that case. Whereupon it was ordered, that howsoever the civil magistrate had authority to call a synod when they saw it needful, yet in tender respect of such as were not yet fully satisfied in that point, the ensuing synod should be convened by way of motion only to the churches, and not by any words of command." Here we have another marked expression of the popular wish to have the church treated and considered as independent of civil power, and also for ecclesiastical councils to be accounted as advisory, and not commandatory.

In the portion of the territory conquered from the Pequods, and assigned to Massachusetts, John Winthrop, Jr., and others had recently begun a plantation, afterwards known as New London. Thomas Peters is among the settlers there.

A remonstrance and petition of Dr. Robert Child, Thomas Burton, John Smith, Thomas Fowle, David Yale, Samuel Maverick, and John Dand is laid before the legislature. In this document, they reviewed what they construed as grievances on themselves and others, who were unwilling to comply with the conditions of freemanship, and still wished for all its privileges. They advance in it three principal charges. One is, that Massachusetts did not acknowledge the fundamental laws of England as the basis of their government, but their own patent; another, that the civil enjoyments of the jurisdiction are but partially extended to persons who cannot conscientiously unite with their churches; third, that members of the Episcopal church are denied Christian ordinances in the Congregational churches here, because not united with them. They remark, that "they are compelled, under severe fine, every Lord's day to appear at the congregation, and notice is taken of such who stay not till baptism be administered to other men's children, though denyed to their owne." They complain of being forced, in some places, to aid in maintaining ministers, who "decline receiving them to their own churches." Then they present their inductions. "Whence, as we conceive, doe abound an ocean of inconveniences, dishonor to God and to his ordinances, little profit by the ministry, increase of Anabaptisme, and those that totally contemne all ordinances as vaine, fading of Christian graces, decrease of brotherly love, heresies, schismes, etc. — the whole body of the members of the church of England, like sheep scattered in the wilderness, without a shepherd, in a forlorn condition. We, therefore, humbly intreat you to give liberty to the members of the church of England not scandalous in their lives and conversation, (as members of these churches,) to be taken into your congregations, and to enjoy with you all those liberties and ordinances Christ hath purchased, and into whose name they are baptized; or otherwise to grant liberty to

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settle themselves here in a church way, according to the best reformatations of England and Scotland; if not, we and they shall be necessitated to apply our humble desires to the honourable House of Parliament, who, we hope, will take our sad condition into their serious considerations, to provide able ministers for us, or else, out of their charity, many estates being wasted, to transport us to some other place, where we may live like Christians, and not be accounted burthens, but serviceable both to church and state." This was a difficult matter for the authorities to settle. The petitioners well knew, that as Parliament were favorable to a Presbyterian form of government for the church of England and Scotland, and had appointed commissioners for the general supervision of New England, they might hope, in case of an appeal from the General Court, to succeed in their plan for fuller toleration. With considerations like these, the legislature waved a reply, and laid the subject on the table for their next session.

No sooner had Child and his supporters presented their petition, than they forwarded copies of it to all who were disaffected with the civil and religious order of the United Colonies, whether residing in them or in New Netherland, Virginia, and Bermuda. The Salamander of Winslow, containing this fact, also holds the subsequent language in relation to the remonstrants: "They goe about to perswade the people that all the privileges granted and confirmed under the broad seale of the governour and company of the Massachusetts belong to all freeborne Englishmen, which contrariwise belong onely to the said governour and company, and such as they thinke meet to receive." Through an incorrect appreciation of the two ideas developed in this remark, by a wrong supposition that the former was true, and not the latter, many a severe censure has been passed on the political and religious administration of our fathers, which they never deserved. In carrying out the representation of such a mistake more at large, the same authority observes, "The thing they would have is, that any Englishman may, *nolens volens*, take his habitation in any government, be as free as the best, thus breaking all order, charter, and peace of societies. For if he be English borne (by their principles) no government may refuse him, be he never so pestilent, whether Jesuit or worse."

Johnson remarks about the remonstrants, "The matter they petitioned for was a bottom to build their quarrel upon, under the name of a Presbyterian government; and this they supposed would suit well with their bill of complaint, which they intended for England; not that they cared for a Presbyterian church."

As an indication of the progress which the sentiments of the

petitions offered to the Plymouth and Massachusetts legislatures had made, a law was ready to pass here, allowing men who had joined no Congregational church equal privilege with those who had, in all town concerns. Such an act, however, was put off, because it had a bearing on the application of Child and his associates.

The latter document became the theme of public discourse.

- The magistrates and elders, for the most part, held up its contents as perilously calculated to let loose upon society the discordant and desolating elements of sedition.

May 26. A manuscript of this date,\* and supposed to have been composed by Richard Mather, contains a reply to nine reasons of John Spilsbery, for proving that infants should not be baptized.

June 2. In the case of Mr. Hobart, of Hingham, the jury bring in a verdict, that, having found him "to be evil affected to the government here established," to have uttered "divers speeches tending to sedition and contempt of government, contrary to the law of God and peace and welfare of the country," he be fined twenty pounds, bound for good behavior in forty pounds, and appear at the next Court of the Assistants. Bellingham and Bradstreet dissented from such a decision. Hobart, of course, with his views, considered himself greatly aggrieved.

6. As an event soon heard by the colonists with no feelings of indifference, the Lords of Parliament confirm an act, passed by the House, March 14, for adopting Presbyterianism as the national form of religion. Neal, who gives this information, tells us that the Presbyterians were at the height of their power in England, though they had not reached the top stone of their aim, because Parliament still held a restraint upon them. Bishop Kennet remarks on such a law, "As things stood, nobody was pleased. The Episcopalians and Independents were excluded; and because Parliament would not give the several presbyteries an absolute power over their communicants, but reserved the last appeal to themselves, neither Scots nor English Presbyterians would accept it."

9. General Court of Massachusetts appoint a committee to negotiate for a parcel of land, such as they and the Rev. Messrs. Shepard, Allin, and Eliot shall think fit for a town where Indians "may live in an orderly way." The great object of this movement was to bring such people under circumstances more favorable for the reception of the gospel.

August 4. The wife of William Bowditch, of Salem, is presented for withdrawing from the ordinance of baptism.

\* In the American Antiquarian Society's Collections.

This year, Nathaniel White takes his first degree at Harvard. He became pastor of a church at Bermuda, whence he and his people were exiled to Bigothea or Elutheria. Here he, with others, as a committee, writes, in 1650, a letter of thanks to New England churches for donations sent them, to supply their necessities.

A daughter of Mrs. Anne Hutchinson, as Winthrop says, is returned to her friends in Boston, after a captivity of four years among the Indians who had killed her mother and others. She, being now twelve years old, was thus freed from her captors, though lothfully on her part, by the Dutch governor of Minha-does, to whom they delivered her on the treaty of peace. The child so restored was, as Mr. Savage concludes, Susanna, who, in 1651, married John Cole, of Boston.

In relation to various facts concerning the synod, we have information from Winthrop. As the time for such a convention approached, an order of the Massachusetts legislature propounded it to the churches of the confederation. Boston and Salem churches at first declined to appoint delegates for such a body. They objected because they supposed that, virtually, it "was appointed by the elders, to the intent to make ecclesiastical laws to bind the churches, and to have the sanction of civil authority put upon them, whereby men should be forced, under penalty, to submit to them; whereupon they concluded that they should betray the liberty of the churches if they should consent to such a synod." The principal holders of this opinion had recently come from England, and brought thence the spirit which prevailed there, among all denominations of Independents, for throwing off legal restrictions with regard to ecclesiastical matters. The commissioners had ordered the West India plantations and Somers's Islands, under their supervision, to allow "liberty of conscience," and "had by letters intimated the same" to the New England colonies.

It was argued by those who believed that the liberties or laws of the colony empowered the elders to call a synod, without leave from the civil authorities, that the latter had no right to concern themselves in the matter. The reply was, that the elders were only so privileged "in case of extremity, if, in time to come, the civil authority should either grow opposite to the churches, or neglect the care of them, and not with any intent to practise the same, while the civil authority were nursing fathers to the churches." The objectors stated, that, according to report, the proposal for a synod came from the clergy, and not from the legislature. The answer was, that "it was not for the churches to inquire what or who gave the court occasion to call the synod; but if they thought fit to desire the churches

to afford them help of counsel in any matters which concerned religion and conscience, it was the churches' duty to yield it to them." They further argued, that the order for the synod "expressed that what the major part of the assembly should agree upon should be presented to the court, that they might give such allowance to it as should be meet." To this it was rejoined, "Where the order speaks of the major part of the assembly, it speaks in its own language, and according to the court's practice, where the act of the major part is the act of the court; but it never intended thereby to restrain or direct the synod in the manner of their proceeding, nor to hinder them, but that they might first acquaint the churches with their conclusions, and have their assent to them before they did present them to the court, for that is their care; the court's care was only to provide their own cognizance. And for that inference which is drawn from that clause, that the court might give them such allowance as should be meet, it is without rule, and against the rule of charity, to infer from thence any such sanction of the court as is supposed. For if they say only they will give them such allowance as is meet, it cannot be inferred that they will put any such sanction or stamp upon them as should be unmeet."

September 1. The synod meet at Cambridge. They write to the Boston church, desiring them to comply with the wish of their pastor and teacher and a minority of their brethren, for a representation in that assembly.

Johnson informs us, that a main cause for such an assemblage was "the many errors, in point of doctrine, that were daily broached by some of our English nation, although the churches of Christ and the people under this government were free, at least in open profession."

2. At a lecture delivered in Boston, by Norton, of Ipswich, the most of the synod attended. He endeavored to show, that the power of such a body was "only consultive, decisive, and declarative, not coactive, etc.;" that the legislature had authority to convoke them, and the churches should comply accordingly; and that a refusal so to yield would be a "great offence and scandal."

6. After various discussions, the Boston church have the subsequent vote recorded: "Our elders, with three of y<sup>e</sup> brethren, were sent forth (according to y<sup>e</sup> minde of y<sup>e</sup> greater part of y<sup>e</sup> church, declared by lifting vp their hands) as the churches messengers vnto y<sup>e</sup> assembly of churches in this country y<sup>n</sup> held at Cambridge, to consult, conferre, and to consider of sundry questions and cases of conscience touching Christian religion and y<sup>e</sup> practice thereof in these churches." Exception, as

Winthrop states, was taken at the conclusion, because it was by a majority, and not by all the brethren, as it had been their former practice. Reply was made, "that in some cases (as the choice of officers, etc.) it is needful to have every man's consent; but in other cases, as admission of a member, etc., it was sufficient if the major part assented. In the present case it was necessary, because the order of the court, and the letters of the synod to us, required (both in duty and civility) that the church should return answer, which the minor part could not do; therefore the major part (of necessity) must."

From subsequent facts, the Salem church made a decision similar to that of the Boston church.

Concord church would have sent messengers to the synod, had their minister been able to attend, or had they others whom they considered fit for the occasion. Hingham had no delegates there, probably on account of the late troubles with their pastor.

When the synod were about to disperse, the husband of a woman cut off from Hingham church complained to them of the act. They informed Mr. Hobart of the communication so made to them, being unable to consider the matter for want of time. A minority of Hingham church requested the adjacent elders to come and consider the case. These laid the invitation before their churches, who doubted whether they should comply, because not desired so to do by the majority. "It was answered, that it was not to be expected that the major party would complain of their own act, and if the minor party, or the party aggrieved, should not be heard, then God should have left no means of redress in such a case, which could not be." A council was finally convened at Hingham. On being inquired of, by the majority of the church there, why they so assembled, the reply was, not to impose any decision on them, but to give Christian advice. They were acknowledged, heard the difficulties, and were the means of reconciling the parties.

After the synod had been together a fortnight, they adjourned to the 8th of next June.

September 13. As a trial of patience to the Massachusetts rulers, Holden arrives in Boston, and presents an order from the commissioners in England for him, Gorton, and Green to have an unmolested route to Shawomet, and live there without interruption. In a few days, they accordingly allowed him to depart. At the same time, they felt themselves thus called on, because they had been incorrectly represented before Warwick and the rest of the Board in London.

14. Mather, Allin, and Eliot preach, through an interpret-

er,\* to the subjects of Cutshamekin, near Dorchester mill. As these were disinclined to improve such opportunities, Eliot gives his chief attention to the Indians who gathered at Nantum.

September 18. The commissioners of the United Colonies, except those of Plymouth, who wish for further time to consider the matter, recommend the subsequent items to their respective General Courts: "Vpon serious consideration of the spreading nature of error, the dangerous growth and effects thereof in other places, and particularly how the purity and power, both of religion and ciuill order, is already much complayned, if not wholly lost in a parte of New England, by a licentious liberty graunted and settled, whereby many, casting off the rule of the word, professe and practise what is good in their owne eyes; and vpon information of what petitions haue beene lately putt vp in some of the colonies, against the good and strait waies of Christ, both in the churches and in the commonwealth, the commissioners remembering that those colonies for themselves, and their posteritie, did enter into this firme and perpetuall league, as for other respects so for mutuall advise that, the truth and liberties of the gospell might be preserved, propagated, thought it their duty seriously to commend it to the care and consideration of each Generall Corte within these Vnited Colonies, that as they haue layd their foundations and measured the temple of God, the worship and worshippers by that straight reed God hath putt into their hands, soe they would walke on and build vp (all discouragements and difficulties notwithstanding) with an vndaunted heart and vnwearied hand, according to the same rules and patternes, that a due watch be kept and continued at the doores of God's house, that none be admitted as members of the body of Christ but such as hold forth effectuall callinge, and thereby vnion with Christ the head, and that those whome Christ hath receaued, and enter by an expresse covenant to attend and obserue the lawes and duties of that spirituall corporation, that baptisme, the scale of the covenant, be administered onely to such members and their ymediate seed, that Anabaptisme, Familisme, Antinomianisme, generally all errors of like nature, which oppose, vndermine, and slight either the Scriptures, the Sabboth, or other ordinances of God, bring in and cry vp vnwarrantable reuelations, inventions of men, or any carnall liberty, vnder a deceitfull colloure of liberty of conscience, may be seasonably and duly suppress, though they

\* Eliot informs us, that a Long Island Indian, taken in the Pequod war, and a servant of Richard Callicott, was the first one who taught him the Indian language, and assisted him as an interpreter. This native afterwards became pious.

wish as much forbearance and respect may be had of tender consciences seeking light as may stand with the purity of religion and peace of the churches." The commissioners also recommend to the colonies that they use endeavors to prevent excess in the price of commodities, wages, dress, drink, and "other sinfull miscarriages," so that "though the god of the world, by vsurpation sett vpon his throane in the greatest parte of America, yet this small portion may be vindicated as by the right hand of Jehovah, and be justly called Emmanuell's land."

September 19. The ensuing proposals \* are made by the confederate commissioners: "Whereas the colonyes at present afford some help towards the maintenance of some poore schollers in the colledge at Cambridge, it was propounded and thought meete that some course be taken with the parrents and with such schollers themselues as the case may require, that when they are furnished with some competent measure of learninge, they remoue not into other countries, but improve there partes and abillities for the service of the colonyes, and for this purpose the commissione.s for the Massachusetts were desired to advise with the Generall Courte and elders there, for the ordering such a course, and how such schollers may be employed and incoraged, when they leaue the colledge, eyther in new plantacons or as schoole masters, or in ships, till they be called and fitted for other service." "Whereas our good God hath, from the first, don great thinges for his people in these colonyes in sundry respectes, worthy to be written vpon our owne harts with a deepe character and impression, not to be blotted out and forgotten, and to be transmitted to posteritie, that they may know the Lord and how he hath glorified his grace and mercy in our foundacons and beginninges, that they also may trust in him and walke with a right foote before him without warping and declyninge, it is desired by the commissioners that all the colonyes, as they may, would collect and gather vp the many speciall providences of God toward them, since their arrivall and setling in theis partes, how he hath made roome for y<sup>m</sup>, how his hand hath bin with them in laying their foundacons in church and commonwealth, how he hath cast the dread of his people, weake in themselues, vpon the Indians, scattered their counsell, broken their plottes and attempts, and continewed our peace notwithstandinge their insolency and malice, made gracious prouisions for vs, and in all respects hath bin a sonne and sheeld to vs; and that memorialls being made, they may be duly communicated and seriously considered, that nothing be mistaken, but that history may be compiled, according to truth,

\* Hutchinson's manuscript papers give the date 19th, but Hazard the 24th.



with due waight, by some able and fitt man apointed there vnto."

September 20. Marie, with two other Frenchmen, reach Boston, as Winthrop relates, to negotiate concerning the difficulties which existed between D'Aulney and Massachusetts. This is very likely the time when Gookin says that Marie applied to our authorities, for he limits it to 1646 or 1647, and offered them a large reward to assist the French of Canada in conquering the Maquas or Mohawks. Gookin adds, "The English were not willing to engage themselves in that affair, forasmuch as the Maquas had never done any injury to the English, and in policy and reason were like to be a good bulwark between the English and French, in case a time should come of hostility between these two nations." No doubt, also, the disinclination of our rulers to have any immediate connection with Romanists, as they had repeatedly expressed themselves with regard to D'Aulney, at Penobscot, was the source of strong objection to any such alliance.

October. Hiacoomes still adheres to the English at Martin's Vineyard, and instructs his countrymen as he has opportunity. When he forsook their powows, they predicted that afflictions would crowd upon him. But the reverse had ensued. While many of their families were visited with sickness, his was blessed with health. This wrought a change in their minds, and they began to think the service of the Englishman's God was right. Myoxes, a chief residing six miles off, sent for him. He complied with the request. He told him and his tribe what power the gospel had over his views, feelings, and conduct. "Myoxes asking him how many gods the English did worship, he answered, one; whereupon Myoxes reckoned up about thirty-seven principal gods he had. 'And shall I (said he) throw away these thirty-seven for one?' Hiacoomes replied, 'What do you think of yourself? I have thrown away all these and a great many more, some years ago, yet am preserved as you see, this day.' 'You speak true,' said Myoxes; 'therefore I will throw away all my gods too, and serve that one God with you.'" This visit gave a very decided and favorable turn to the language and actions of those so visited. Still the influence of the powows kept many from renouncing their heathenism.

7. The legislature assemble. They consider the necessity of having an agent in London to answer accusations made against them before Parliament. They say in reference to such deficiency, "from which we have lately suffered." They here refer to representations of Gorton and others. They declare that if what is due to the colony is not paid, so as to send a commissioner of their foreign affairs, "we perceive a likelihood of

present dissolution of courts, and our own ruin not long after to follow."

They appoint a committee to examine the replies, which are returned, concerning the petition of Child and his associates, and to deduce a report from them. They are also to confer with Edward Winslow, of Plymouth, about his proceeding to England as an advocate of their interests.

October 28. John Eliot and three other ministers visit Nantum to attend worship with Indians in the wigwam of Waban. After a short prayer in English is made, and a sermon, one hour long, in the Indian language, is delivered, questions propounded by the hearers are as follow: How they can know Christ? Whether Jesus Christ could understand Indians when praying in their own language, and not in English? Whether the English were ever so ignorant of God as they are? "How can there be an image of God, because it is forbidden in the second commandment?" If a parent be evil and his child good, will God be offended with the child, because the second commandment says he visits the sins of the fathers on their children?

November 4. The General Court order a revision of their laws, so that, as they express themselves, "we may manifest our utter disaffection to arbitrary government." The Wonder-working Providence observes, that such a code "might be most agreeable to the rule of Scripture; in every county there was appointed two magistrates, two ministers, and two able persons from among the people," to present a meet and "competent number with the former that were enacted newly amended."

The same body make a declaration as to the remonstrance of Child and others. The former document runs a parallel between the fundamental and common laws and customs of England and those of Massachusetts, and shows that there is no essential difference. It says that the remonstrance intimates as though its language was that of many non-freemen, while none but its seven signers have been willing to own it as such. It speaks of Child as having taken a degree of doctor in physic, at Padua, and the New England Salamander adds, that he was on his second visit to Massachusetts, as a reported spy of foreign Jesuits. It relates that the true reason why many men are not admitted to the churches here, is their irreligious character. It proceeds: "They are offended at our lawe against Anabaptists. The truth is, the great trouble we have beene putt unto and hazard, also, by Familistical and Anabaptisticall spirits whose conscience and religion hath been only to sett forth themselves and raise contentions in the country, did provoke us to provide for our safety by a lawe, that all such should take notice how

unwelcome they should be unto us either coming or staying." It states that the law has not been enforced against Baptists, who live peaceably among the rest of the population. It affirms, that if, in some places, men are required to help support ministers, who decline to receive them as members of their churches, it is not so in many other places.

Very probably actuated by the late case of Smith and Keyes, the legislature pass the subsequent order: "Conceiving themselves bound by the first opportunity to bear witness against the heinous and crying sin of man stealing, as also to prescribe such timely redress for what is past, and such a law for the future as may sufficiently deter all others belonging to us to have to do in such vile and most odious courses, justly abhorred of all good and just men, do order that the negro interpreter, with others unlawfully taken, be, by the first opportunity, at the charge of the country for the present, sent to his native country, Guinea, and a letter with him, of the indignation of the court thereabouts and justice thereof."

They choose a committee to treat with "Mr. Sparhawk, or any others whom they think fitt, about such parcels of land, which they, with Mr. Shepard, Mr. Allin, and Mr. Eliot, shall conceive meete to purchase, for y<sup>e</sup> incuragment of y<sup>e</sup> Indians to live in an orderly way amongst us, and y<sup>e</sup> said committee have hereby full power to agree and compound with y<sup>e</sup> said Mr. Sparhawk or others, as aforesaid, for such lands, and order them payment out of y<sup>e</sup> treasury for the same, so as hereafter y<sup>e</sup> charge this purchase shall amount unto shalbe deducted out of y<sup>e</sup> first gift y<sup>e</sup> shalbe brought over, as given for y<sup>e</sup> good of y<sup>e</sup> Indians, and further to set downe rules for their improving and enjoying thereof."

When the Indians inclined to be instructed in Christianity had land bought as a settlement for them, they were asked what name they wished for the place. They answered Noonatomen, which means rejoicing; hence Nonantum.

November 5. Having been informed that Child and his associates in the remonstrance were going to England with their accusations against the government here, Cotton, at a Thursday lecture, takes occasion to speak of such devices as ruinous to all engaged in them. He exhorts the passengers who may be in the vessel, which shall bear the petition in question, to have it thrown into the sea, lest, like a Jonas, it may expose them to the peril of sinking. From such an allusion, the brother of Child, having afterwards published his narrative, called it "New Englands Jonas cast up at London."

11. Several elders preach again to the Nonantum Indians. Of their inquiries, two follow. An aged man asks, whether it

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is too late for him to seek after God. How came the English to differ so much from Indians in the knowledge of God, if they all descended from one man? The narrator observes, "We are oft upbraided by some of our countrymen, that so little good is done by our professing planters upon the hearts of natives. Such men have surely more spleene than judgment, and know not the vast distance of natives from common civility, almost humanity itself. 'Tis as if they should reproach us for not makeing the windes to blow where wee list ourselves."

November 26. Another meeting is held at the same place. Some Indians had threatened to kill their countrymen, who attended on ministrations of the gospel. Waban teaches the truths he hears to other Indians.

December 1. "In consideration of y<sup>e</sup> hazardos estate of our native country and troubles thereof, of y<sup>e</sup> church of Bormoda, and y<sup>e</sup> weighty cases in respect of our churches and commonwealth here, with reference to any y<sup>t</sup> seeke to undermine y<sup>e</sup> liberties of God's people in either or both, y<sup>e</sup> corte hath appointed y<sup>e</sup> 24 of y<sup>e</sup> 10th moneth to be kept a day of publike humiliation."

They say, "Being sensible of y<sup>e</sup> necessity and singular use of good literature in managing y<sup>e</sup> things of greatest concernment in y<sup>e</sup> commonwealth, as also perceiving y<sup>e</sup> fewnes of persons accomplished to such employments, especially for future times, have thought meete to propose to all and every our reverend elders and brethren y<sup>t</sup> due care be had, from time to time, to improve and exercise such students, especially in divinity, as through y<sup>e</sup> good hand of God may issue forth of y<sup>e</sup> colledges, y<sup>t</sup> so, for want of employment or maintenance, they be not forced from vs, and we left destitute of help that way; to all which intents and purposes, every church, which hath but one officer, and can conveniently bear y<sup>e</sup> charge of such scholler, (which we hope most may do,) is hereby desired to request a pore scholler to be helpfull to their officer, y<sup>t</sup> so they may improve their gifts, and y<sup>e</sup> church have some profe of y<sup>m</sup> against times of ncede."

Persons who keep houses of entertainment are forbidden to allow tippling after nine o'clock at night, on penalty of five shillings for every offence, and tipplers are to pay the same, or be imprisoned or set in stocks.

It is probable that such opposition to the spread of Christianity, as mentioned under 26th of November, was a prominent occasion of the following law in accordance with the spirit of the Mosaic economy: "Albeit faith be not wrought by y<sup>e</sup> sword, but by y<sup>e</sup> word, therefore such pagan Indians as have submitted y<sup>m</sup>selues to our government, though we would not neglect any due helps to bring y<sup>m</sup> on to grace and to y<sup>e</sup> meanes

of it, yet we compell y<sup>m</sup> not to y<sup>e</sup> Christian faith, nor to y<sup>e</sup> profession of it, either by force of armes, or by penall laws ; nevertheless, seing y<sup>e</sup> blaspheming of y<sup>e</sup> true God cannot be excused by any ignorance or infirmity of human nature, y<sup>e</sup> eternall power and Godhead being knowne by y<sup>e</sup> light of nature, and y<sup>e</sup> creation of y<sup>e</sup> world, and common reason requireth every state and society of men to be more carefull of preventing y<sup>e</sup> dishonour and contempt of y<sup>e</sup> Most High God (in whom we all consist) y<sup>n</sup> of any mortall princes and magistrates, it is therefore ordered and decreed by y<sup>e</sup> corte for y<sup>e</sup> honour of y<sup>e</sup> eternall God, whom onely we worship and serve, y<sup>t</sup> no person within y<sup>e</sup> jurisdiction, whether Christian or pagan, shall wittingly and willingly presume to blaspheme his holy name, either by wilfull or obstinate deniing y<sup>e</sup> true God, or his creation or government of y<sup>e</sup> world, or shall curse God, or reproach y<sup>e</sup> holy religion of God, as if it were but a politick device to keepe ignorant men in awe, nor shall utter any other eminent kind of blasphemy of y<sup>e</sup> like nature and degree : if any person or persons whatsoever within our jurisdiction shall breake this lawe, they shalbe put to death."

In addition to this order, another is adopted : No Indians are to "pawaw or perform outward worship of their false gods or to the devil, in any part of our jurisdiction, whether they be such as dwell here or shall come hither. If any shall transgress this law, the pawawer is to pay five pounds, the procurer five pounds, and every assistant countenancing by his presence or otherwise (being of the age of discretion) twenty shillings." Thus were our authorities in earnest to break up the outward form of idolatrous worship among the natives, whose priests were equally zealous to preserve it from disuse, as the means of continuing their system of religion.

As Governor Winthrop and Rev. John Norton, proposed to accompany Winslow and act with him in England, decline to go, he is authorized to obtain the best advice of friends there which he can. The magistrates are desired to write and use their influence so that he may be thus assisted. A copy of the Child petition, and consequent transactions thereon, is ordered for his use.

Among the important acts of the legislature still in session are the following : "Though no humane power be lord over y<sup>e</sup> faith and consciences of men, and therefore may not constraine y<sup>m</sup> to beleeve or profes against their conscience, yet because such as bring in damnable heresies tending to y<sup>e</sup> subversion of y<sup>e</sup> Christian faith and destruction of y<sup>e</sup> soules of men ought duely to be restrained from such notorious impiety," ordered, that if any nominal Christian in this jurisdiction deny the im-

mortality of the soul, the resurrection; that transgression in the regenerate is to be repented of, or "any evill done by y<sup>e</sup> outward man" is to be accounted sin; that Christ gave himself a ransom for our sins; that "we are justified by his death and righteousness;" the morality of the fourth commandment; and profess such heresy, he shall pay twenty shillings each month for the first half year, and double that sum each month for the next half year, and so continue on. If any person of this character endeavor to "seduce others to y<sup>e</sup> like heresy," he is to be fined five pounds for every such offence.

"Forasmuch as in these countryes, where y<sup>e</sup> churches of Christ are, y<sup>e</sup> prosperity of y<sup>e</sup> civill state is much advanced and blessed of God, when y<sup>e</sup> ordinances of true religion and publike worship of God do find free passage in purity and peace, therefore, though we do not iudge it meete to compell any to enter into y<sup>e</sup> fellowship of y<sup>e</sup> church, nor force y<sup>m</sup> to partake in y<sup>e</sup> ordinances peculiar to the church, (which do require voluntary subiection thereunto,) yet seeing y<sup>t</sup> y<sup>e</sup> word is of generall and common behoofe to all sorts of people, as being y<sup>e</sup> ordinary meanes to subdue y<sup>e</sup> harts of hearers not only to y<sup>e</sup> faith and obedience to y<sup>e</sup> Lord Jesus, but also to civill obedience and allegiance unto magistracy and to iust and honest conversation toward all men," "ordered, y<sup>t</sup> wheresoever y<sup>e</sup> ministry of y<sup>e</sup> word is established according to y<sup>e</sup> order of y<sup>e</sup> gospell throughout y<sup>e</sup> jurisdiction, every person shall duely resort and attend thereunto upon y<sup>e</sup> Lords dayes, and upon such publike fast dayes, and dayes of thanksgiving, as are to be generally held by y<sup>e</sup> appointment of authority," except for good cause, on penalty of five shillings for each offence.

Enacted, that if any person aim to subvert the order of the churches by renouncing them or the ministry, or other ordinances, on "pretence y<sup>t</sup> y<sup>e</sup> churches were not planted by any new apostles, or y<sup>t</sup> ordinances are for carnall Christians or babes in Christ, and not for spirituall or illuminated persons," he shall forfeit forty shillings a month, so long as he continues such practice.

"Ordered, y<sup>t</sup> if any person shall sweare rashly and vainely, either by y<sup>e</sup> holy name of God or any other oath," he shall pay ten shillings or be committed to the stocks for not less than an hour nor more than three hours.

"Forasmuch as y<sup>e</sup> open contempt of God's word and messengers thereof is y<sup>e</sup> desolating sinn of civill states and churches, and y<sup>t</sup> y<sup>e</sup> preaching of y<sup>e</sup> word, by those whom God doth send, is y<sup>e</sup> cheife ordinary meanes ordained of God for y<sup>e</sup> converting, edifying, and saving y<sup>e</sup> soules of y<sup>e</sup> elect through y<sup>e</sup> presence and power of y<sup>e</sup> Holy Ghoast thereunto promised, and y<sup>e</sup> minis-

try of y<sup>e</sup> word is set up by God in his churches for those holy ends and according to y<sup>e</sup> respect and contempt of y<sup>e</sup> same and of those whom God hath set apart for his owne worke and impliment, y<sup>e</sup> weale or woe of all Christian estates is much farthered and promoted,—ordered,” that if any one “contemptuously behave himselfe toward y<sup>e</sup> word preached or y<sup>e</sup> messengers thereof called to dispenche y<sup>e</sup> same in any congregation, when he doth faithfully execute his service and office therein, according to y<sup>e</sup> will and word of God, either by interrupting him in his preaching, or by charging him falsely with any error, which he hath not taught, (in y<sup>e</sup> open face of y<sup>e</sup> church,) or, like a sonn of Corah, cast upon his true doctrine or himselfe any reproach to y<sup>e</sup> dishonour of y<sup>e</sup> Lord Jesus, who hath sent him, and to y<sup>e</sup> disparagment of y<sup>t</sup> his holy ordinance, and making Gods wayes contemptible and ridiculous, y<sup>t</sup> every such person or persons whatsoever censure y<sup>e</sup> church may passe) shall for the first scandall be convented and reprovèd openly by y<sup>e</sup> magistrates at some lecture, and bound to their good behavior,” and for the second offence pay five pounds, “or stand two howres openly upon a block four foote high, on a lecture day, with a paper fixed on his breast with this, *A Wanton Gospeller*, written in capitall letters, y<sup>t</sup> others may fear and be ashamed of breaking out into the like wickednes.”

“Considering y<sup>t</sup> one end in planting these parts was to propagate y<sup>e</sup> true religion unto y<sup>e</sup> Indians, and y<sup>t</sup> diverse of y<sup>m</sup> are become subiects to y<sup>e</sup> English, and have engaged themselves to be willing and ready to understand y<sup>e</sup> law of God, it is therefore ordered, y<sup>t</sup> y<sup>e</sup> lawes which may be to reduce y<sup>m</sup> to civility of life shalbe once in the year (if y<sup>e</sup> times be safe) made knowne to y<sup>m</sup> by such fit persons as y<sup>e</sup> corte shall nominate, having y<sup>e</sup> help of some able interpreter with y<sup>m</sup>; considering also that interpretation of tonges is an appointment of God for propagating the truth, and may therefore have a blessed successe in the hearts of others in due season, ordered, y<sup>t</sup> two ministers shalbe chosen by y<sup>e</sup> elders of y<sup>e</sup> churches every yeare, at the Corte of Election, and so to be sent, with y<sup>e</sup> consent of their churches, (with whomsoever will freely offer themselves to accompany y<sup>m</sup> in y<sup>t</sup> service,) to make knowne the heavenly counsell of God among y<sup>e</sup> Indians in most familiar manner, by y<sup>e</sup> help of some able interpreters, as may be most avaylable to bring y<sup>m</sup> to y<sup>e</sup> knowledge of y<sup>e</sup> truth and their conversion to Jesus Christ; and for y<sup>e</sup> end, y<sup>t</sup> something may be allowed y<sup>m</sup> by y<sup>e</sup> Generall Corte, to give away freely unto those Indians whom they shall perceive most willing and ready to be instructed by y<sup>m</sup>.” Thus were the plans and purposes of the legislature for a mission among the original holders of the soil more fully brought into

practical form. Great were the satisfaction and hope of the churches, that God was manifesting himself in spiritual vision to the natives around them, who had long sat in the region and shadow of death.

In conformity with the Mosaic code, it is enacted, that if any child of sixteen years old, and of sufficient intelligence, curse or smite father or mother, he shall suffer death, except the smiting be done in defence of life and limb, or such parents have brought up their children very negligently. A law of equal severity is passed with regard to a disobedient and obstinate son of like age and competency.

Every township is authorized to present "all idle and unprofitable persons, and all children who are not diligently employed by their parents," to the Quarterly Court, who may "dispose of them for their own welfare and the improvement of the common good." All wilful forgers "shall stand in the pillory three lecture days, and render double damage to the party wronged, and be disabled to give evidence or verdict to any court or magistrates."

Several of the preceding laws had some of their features and occasion for immediate application from the influence which crossed the Atlantic from England to our shores. For years, while Episcopacy there, with a high hand, sought to bring the Congregational order and republican polity of our fathers under its own control, they endured severe anxiety, girded their minds, and put forth their energies accordingly. But when that object of dread had disappeared in their native land, and was succeeded by what they considered laxity relative to the bounds of belief and Christian ordinances, they feared the results not only in the mother country, but also in these colonies. They perceived that such a state of things gave encouragement to those whom they had withstood, and some of whom had already been favored in their claims by the parliamentary commissioners. Apprehensive lest delay and indecision on their part would cut short the course they had pursued, and which they felt bound to pursue, they devised and passed the enactments already cited. Their conduct has been and will be viewed differently according to the faith of its examiners.

A serious controversy exists between Connecticut and Springfield. The court advocate the refusal of that town to pay certain duties, and add, "The propounding and standing upon an imposition of customs to be paid at the river's mouth, by such as were or are within our jurisdiction, hindered our confederation above ten [?] years; and there was never any paid to this day."

Desirous for the advice of the elders on various questions, the court, as Winthrop informs us, invites them to meet in Bos-



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ton. Among such as complied was Hobart, of Hingham. He is informed that suspicion rests on him of aiding in the preparation of charges against the colonial authorities, which William Vassall was about to take with him and lay before the commissioners in London. He denies the imputation. But, being desired to withdraw, on account of his late controversy with the legislature, he complies.

Inquiry is made in the legislature, as to what relation the government here hold to that of England. "All agreed that our charter was the foundation of our government. Thereupon some thought that we were so subordinate to Parliament, as they might countermand our orders, and therefore advised that we should petition the Parliament for enlargement of power. Others conceived otherwise, and though we owed them allegiance, yet by our charter we had absolute power of government."

They also consider whether they should give the Earl of Warwick and other commissioners the title assigned to them by Parliament, lest it should imply that they consented to the claims of authority, which such commissioners exercised over New England.

The elders deliver their judgment on these matters, the next day, through Mr. Allin, of Dedham. Their conclusion is, that the charter gives full power of legislation, without dependence on any higher tribunal. They propose that, if Parliament are disposed to consider the complaints of our colonial rulers, they should be made acquainted with them; but if not, as their own language is, "we must wait upon Providence for the preservation of our just liberties." They are of the opinion that the earl and his associates may be addressed by the title conferred on them by Parliament, and still no charter right be compromised.

Child and the other remonstrants are arraigned. He wishes to know why they are so called before the legislature, seeing it was no real offence to offer a petition. He is told that it is not for presenting a petition, but for false statements in such a document. He indulges himself in severe language, and appeals to the commissioners in England. The governor replies that no appeal of this kind will be allowed. Bellingham, Saltonstall, Bradstreet, and "two or three deputies" dissent from such refusal. Winslow, referring to this subject, when in London, observed as follows: "For the matter of appeale from New England hither, which is three thousand miles distant, it will bee found to bee destructive to them that there live; for no countrey can subsist without government, or repaire so farre for it, nor will any wise man accept a place in government where hee shall bee exposed to goe so farre to give account of his actions,

though they be never so just." Charges of sedition being drawn up from the petition of the accused, they are allowed to answer. This they do, but in no way to satisfy the court.

December 4. Eliot remarks, that being called "to another place where the Indians used to meet," probably where Cut-shamekin resided, he asked a powow why he prayed to Chepian, the evil spirit. The priest so questioned did not reply.

After the Indian children were catechized, and a discourse given on Ezekiel's valley of dry bones, at Nonantum, on December 9, the parents offer all their children to be educated by the English.

A reply to the representations of Gorton and his associates, and a notice of the efforts by Child and his friends, are contained in a communication to Warwick and other commissioners by the Governor and Company of Massachusetts. These desire that they may so use their charter privileges in reference to the Gortonists, that their posterity may not "lament and say, England sent our fathers forth with happy liberties, which they enjoyed many years, notwithstanding all the enmity and opposition of the prelacy and other potent adversaries: how came we then to lose them, under the favor and protection of that state, in such a season, when England recovered its own?" They remark that by the documents forwarded "will appear the wrongs and provocations we received from them, [Gortonists,] and our long patience towards them, till they became our professed enemies, wrought us disturbance, and attempted our ruin, in which case our charter (as we conceive) gives us full power to deal with them as enemies by force of arms, they being then in such place where we could have no right from them by civil justice." The commissioners of the United Colonies, perceiving "the necessity of calling them to account, left the business" to us for being executed.

They observe that the order of the parliamentary commissioners for the Gortonists to repossess Shawomet had encouraged the latter to threaten the Indians who had come under the jurisdiction of Massachusetts, and thus to arrest the progress of evangelizing them. They state that such indulgence had caused a spirit of great insubordination among some under their laws.

They instruct Edward Winslow to answer the complaints which Gorton had laid before the commissioners in London, and such other charges as may be made against them before this board.

Among his secret orders, as preserved by Winthrop, was the reply he should make about the proposition for a general governor of New England, which had been one of the principal sources of anxiety to our ancestors while Laud was in power,

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and was again brought up under the parliamentary commissioners. Objections to it follow: "1. Our charter gives us absolute power of government. 2. On the terms above specified," (as paying one fifth part of ore of gold and silver, etc.,) "we conceive the patent hath no such thing in it, neither expressed nor implied. 3. We had not transported ourselves and families on such terms," as having a general governor. 4. "Other plantations have been undertaken at the charge of others in England, and the planters have their dependence upon the companies there, and those planters go and come chiefly for matter of profit; but we came to abide here, and to plant the gospel and people the country, and herein God hath marvellously blessed us."

A vessel being to sail for England in about a week, Child and his friends zealously circulate a petition to Parliament; but they obtain only twenty-five signers, the most of whom are young men and strangers. This new document prays for liberty of conscience and a general governor.

The night before they intended to embark, order is given that search be made for their papers. At Dand's residence some are found, which Smith, being with him, catches up to secure from exposure. When the officer seized them, the latter said "hee hoped, ere long, to doe as much to the governor's closet, and to him, as he did for them." Among them is the petition of non-freemen, just mentioned, and also another of the remonstrants to Parliament. In the last document prayer is made for "churches according to the reformation of England," and for the removal of several customs here, which the petitioners call grievances.

Child, Smith, and Dand are committed to the custody of the marshal till the vessels bound to sea shall have sailed. This was on account of the new matter which appeared from their papers. On giving sufficient bail, the first was allowed to be confined to his house. The other two were kept in the house of the prison keeper. A young man, Thomas Joy, who had circulated the petition for the non-freemen, and otherwise busied himself against the authorities, was put in irons for several days, when he confessed that he had done wrong, and was therefore released.

December 15. About this date, the ship sets sail for England with a large number of passengers, which carries Thomas Fowle and William Vassall. These are bearers of documents like those for which the individuals just mentioned were detained. Their voyage was eventful in perils and deliverances, and in the occasion of subsequent publications.

Thomas, the brother of Hugh Peters, has a call to resettle in

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Cornwall, England, whence he was compelled to depart through the influence of Sir Ralph Hopton. The preceding May, he was appointed by the authorities of Massachusetts to assist the younger Winthrop in the concerns of their settlement in the Pequod country. It is likely that his chief care, at the same time, was to instruct the people in divine truth. He accordingly goes back to his former charge. Cotton Mather says that he was "a worthy man, and a writer of certain pieces."

This month, Richard Mather dates the preface to his Reply to Mr. Rutherford, or a Defence of the Answer to Mr. Herle.

This year, the Exposition of Daniel's Prophecy, by Thomas Parker, is published in London. The Gospel Covenant, or the Covenant of Grace opened, by Peter Bulkley, is printed there. Mr. Shepard, of Cambridge, remarked, in reference to this work, "The church of God is bound to bless God for the holy, judicious, and learned labors of this aged, and experienced, and precious servant of Jesus Christ."

1647, January 6. Samuel Symonds, of Ipswich, addresses a letter to Winthrop. Relative to the paper of Child and others laid before the legislature, he says, "I am informed that copies of the petition are spreading here, and divers (specially young men and women) are taken with it, and are apt to wonder why such men should be troubled that speake as they doe; not being able suddenly to discerne the poyson in the sweet wine, nor the fire wrapped up in the straw. And albeit I do conceive this towne affords very few malignants, yet withall I doubt not but here are some active spirits for such project once sett on foote." In his reflections on the passing occurrences of New England, he cherishes the opinion, not uncommon in the early period thereof, that the New Jerusalem had commenced, and was to be perfected here. He asks, "Is not government in church and commonweale (according to God's owne rules) that new heaven and earth promised, in the fullness accomplished when the Jewes come in, and the first fruites begun in this part of New England, though neglected by many and opposed by some?"

He proceeds to give his view of the ends for which God brought our fathers hither: "To stirre up the zeal of the two nations to sett upon reformation of religion, and that with good successe; — to have liberty and power to sett up God's owne ordinances in church government, and thereby to hold forth matter of conviction to the Episcopacy and others, that this our way of church government and civill government may stand together; — to exercise the graces of the richer sort in a more mixt condition; they shall have the liberty of good government in their hands, yet with the abatement of their out-

ward estates, and that the poorer sort (held under in England) should have enlargement ; — to afford a hiding-place for some of his people that stood for the truth while the nation was exercised unto blood ; — to have an opportunity to trayne up a godly, skillfull soldiery, which shortly may be employed against that blasphemous city ; and to these may be added (at least a sprinkling) of godly seamen, formerly rare in the world ; — to make this place a rendezvous for our deare English friends, when they shall make their voyages to the West Indies, to dry up that Euphrates ; — to be hopefull instruments in God's hand to gain these Indians to Christ's kingdome ; which mercy, if attained in any considerable measure, will make us goe singing to our graves."

Among his concluding thoughts are these : " I think the magistrates, etc., may justly long for a happy conclusion of the synod, that they may attest to the government of Christ in his church, and that they may, with renewed vigor, attend the mighty providences in these tymes and opportunities for the advance of Christ's cause, the elders being soe zealously sett thereupon."

January 30. While the Independents of Old and New England were anxious lest the retention of the king by the Scots would enable them to compass their favorite object of making Presbyterianism more fully the national religion, he is delivered up by them to the parliamentary commissioners, for the consideration of having the large amount of arrears due to them remitted.

31. The Indians at Concord adopt conclusions and regulations. Some of them follow : " They doe desire that they may be stirred up to seek after God. They desire they may understand the wiles of Satan, and grow out of love with his suggestions and temptations. That they doe observe the Lord's day, and whosoever shall prophane it, shall pay twenty shillings. They doe all resolve to set up prayer in their wigwams, and to seek God both before and after meats. There shall be no more pawawing amongst the Indians " on fine of twenty shillings from the performer and the like sum from the procurer.

March. The Assistantsarraign Samuel Maverick and William Clark for their active exertions in obtaining signers to the petition of the non-freemen, intended for Warwick and the other commissioners. Clark was a member of the Salem church. Both of them are bound over to the General Court. Smith and Dand, giving security for payment of their fines, relative to the first petition, are bailed to appear at the same tribunal. Child declines to give similar bonds, and is therefore committed to prison. The reason for such particularity, as Winthrop ob-

serves, was that "the cause was of so great concernment as the very life and foundation of our government."

March 29. As a means of preventing the ingress of persons unfavorable to the political and religious laws of the colony, Boston vote as follows: "It is ordered that noe inhabitant shall entertaine man or woman from any other towne or county as a sojourner or inmate with an intent to reside here, but shall give notice thereof to the selectmen of the towne for their approbation, within eight days after their coming to the towne, vpon penalty of twenty shillings."

April 6. Mr. Fenwick, in England, writes to Governor Winthrop, "I am very sorrye that y<sup>e</sup> people begin to rise amongst you, and labor to ingage a partie against your settled way. I hope they shall get noe great incuragment from hence. What freinds I have interest in, I will procure to appear for you in your just case. One thing only I doubt will seeme strange heare, that you confine all civil freedome within the lynes of your church. How or when you may take it into consideration amongst yourselves, or how dangerous it may be, or conuenient to make alteration in that particular, I leaue to your owne wisdom. The best service I conceaue for you heer wilbe to keep off what we can the committees intermeddling with your affaires there. But if y<sup>e</sup> Lord raise troubles amongst you, your condition is but as your brethrens heare haue bene, and for ought I can see are like to continue. The Lord hath not yett made an end with his churches. His people haue yett too much dross to come out of y<sup>e</sup> fier, and this is their comfort, they can lose nothing by it but what they will reioyce to haue taken away. I never knew a saint loos by his sufferings, nor a wicked man gaine by outward mercies. You haue need to be carefull of your practise there, for whateuer you doe that may haue the least shaddow of severitie, is hightened here, and cast in your brethrens teeth by those who in other things wilbe as much against you as them."

May 25. The commissioners in London, through representations of Winslow, date an epistle of the same tenor to each of the confederate colonies. The communication, having particular reference to Massachusetts, says, "Perceiving by your petition, that some persons do take advantage, from our said letter," in favor of the Gortonists, "to decline and question your jurisdictions, and to pretend a general liberty to appeal hither, upon their being called in question before you for matters proper to your cognizance, we thought it necessary (for preventing of further inconveniences in this kind) hereby to declare, that we intended not thereby to encourage any appeals from your justice, nor to restrain the bounds of your jurisdiction to a nar-

rower compass than is held forth by your letters patent, but to leave you with all that freedom and latitude that may, in any respect, be duly claimed by you ; knowing that limiting of you in that kind may be very prejudicial (if not destructive) to the government and public peace of the colony." It concludes, "We shall for the future be very ready to give our encouragement and assistance in all your endeavours for settling of your peace and government, and the advancement of the gospel of Jesus Christ."

May 26. At the general election an effort is made, by the favorers of principles advocated by Child and others, to choose a governor and magistrates who would sustain their cause. The attempt is successful no further than the election of Robert Bridges, belonging to Lynn, for an Assistant.

As the Indians, who have the gospel preached to them, are desirous to have "a course of ordinary judicature set up among them," they are accordingly privileged. One or more English magistrates are to hold Quarterly Courts with them, while their sachems will have monthly ones for smaller causes. The fines imposed on Indians are to aid in the erection of meeting houses for them, or instruction of their poor children, or other public use, as they may be advised, particularly by Eliot or any other, who may commonly give them religious instruction. "And it is the desire of this court, that those magistrates who shall attend the keeping of the said courts will carefully endeavour to make the Indians understand our most useful laws, and those principles of reason, justice, and equity, whereupon they are grounded."

It is ordered that Mr. Eliot have ten pounds for his great pains and expense in teaching the Indians the knowledge of God ; "that the twenty pounds per annum given by the Lady Armin for that purpose may be called for and imployed accordingly. And it is desired that some care may be taken of the Indians on the Lord's days."

As the "game called shovelboard" had caused great disorder in houses of entertainment, "whereby much precious time is spent unfruitfully, and much waste of wine and beer occasioned thereby," an order is passed, that every keeper of such a house, who allows this game to be played in his premises, shall forfeit twenty shillings for each trespass, and every player of it there shall be fined five shillings.

"The court taking into consideration the great wars, combustions and divisions which are this day in Europe, and that the same are observed to be chiefly raised and fomented by the secret underminings and solicitations of the Jesuitical order, men brought up and devoted to the religion and court of

Rome, which hath occasioned diverse states to expel them from their territories, etc., for the prevention of like evils among ourselves," it is ordered that no Jesuit or spiritual or ecclesiastical person, (as they are termed,) ordained by the authority of the pope of the see of Rome, shall come within this jurisdiction, on pain of banishment; if returning, shall suffer death, except in cases of shipwreck, or coming on business with a messenger, merchant, or master of a vessel. One inducement for the passage of such an act was probably the strong suspicion that Dr. Child, now in Boston prison, was on his second tour to this country as a spy for the Jesuits of Europe.

May 26. As indicative of a pressure in the colony against confining civil privileges to the freemen or church members, the court allow non-freemen, who take an oath of fidelity to the government, "to be jurymen, and to have their vote in the choice of the selectmen for town affairs, assessment of taxes, and other prudentials proper to the selectmen of the several towns, provided, still, that the major part of all companies (of selectmen) be freemen that shall make any valid act," and, where there are no selectmen, to have a vote in the concerns of business which falls to them. Such an allowance accords with advice recently given by Fenwick.

31. As a specimen of the address now used by military bodies, the conclusion of a petition from members of a company in Roxbury, desiring the General Court to confirm their choice of a captain, is here given: "Thus praying for the blessing of Heaven to be and rest upon all your counsels and endeavors for the welfare of the poor churches of Christ, under your protection, we rest your humble petitioners."

This month, a contract is made by masons with Henry Dunster, president of the college, and Edward Goffe, to erect a brick building at Cambridge, before the 1st of August, the next year. The purpose of this edifice is to accommodate Indian youth collected there to be educated.

June 8. The synod renew their session.

9. Ezekiel Rogers preaches to them and the legislature in the forenoon. He refers to the petitioners connected with Child's plan, and proposes that the chief of them receive the penalties of justice. He objects to the practice of private brethren's making addresses in the time of worship, so as to disturb and hinder the regular ordinances. He advocates the revival of the ancient custom in England, which required children to kneel and ask the benediction of their parents. He reproves the fashion of men's wearing long hair. Some are displeased with the zeal which he exhibits in several of his topics.

In the afternoon, Eliot delivers a sermon to the Indians, in



their own language, in presence of the same audience, who were deeply affected by the scene before them.

The legislature require that "twelve gallons of sack and six gallons of white wine, as a small testimony of the court's respect to that reverend assembly of elders at Cambridge," be provided. Winthrop states, "Sickness prevailed so as to divert of the members were taken with it, whereupon they were forced to break up on the sudden."

The court give instructions that, on account of the insecurity of the Boston jail, if all the prisoners of Dr. Child's company be released, except one or two, these shall be put in irons, unless they pay the charge for two watchmen.

June 14. Among the worthy females whose domestic and social influence greatly contributed to advance the welfare of the colony, was the wife of Winthrop, the daughter of Sir John Tindal, knight. Called to part with her, the governor thus notices the dispensation, so deeply afflictive to himself: "Left this world for a better, being about fifty-six years of age, a woman of singular virtue, prudence, modesty, and piety, and especially beloved and honoured of all the country."

This year, Nathaniel, son of Richard Mather, graduates at Harvard College. He had his birth in Lancaster, England, March 20, 1630. After leaving college, he sailed for the land of his nativity. Here he was presented, by Cromwell, in 1656, with a living at Barnstable, Devonshire. On the restoration, he was compelled to leave his charge, when he visited Holland, and settled in the ministry at Rotterdam. A letter from Dublin, in 1674, says that he had succeeded his brother, Samuel, in that city. He was subsequently installed over a Congregational church in London. He died July 26, 1697, aged sixty-seven, and was interred at Bunhill Fields, where a tombstone marks the resting-place of his dust, with a long inscription, in Latin, from the pen of Dr. Watts. His published works follow: the Righteousness of God, from Romans iii. 22, in two sermons at Pinners Hall, printed 1694: Twenty-three Sermons delivered there and at Lime Street, taken in notes of short hand, but the most of them had his supervision; Discussion of the Lawfulness of a Pastor's officiating in another's Church, 1701; and a Fast Sermon. His epitaph speaks of "him as a man of great mental endowments and literary accomplishments, which he consecrated to the service of God."

Nathaniel Ward seems to have embarked, the first part of this year, for the land of his nativity. Though his health was feeble while here, yet he had been of great service to state and church. Soon after his arrival there, he publishes the Simple Cöbler of Agawam, and A Religious Retreat to a Religious Army, as

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applicable to various evils which he believed should be corrected. To the latter Hugh Peters made a reply, which brought out from Mr. Ward A Word to Mr. Peters, and Two Words to the Parliament and Kingdom. The writer of this pamphlet is supposed to have been author of the Pulpit Incendiary, and *Mercurius Antimecharius*, or the Simple Cobler's Boy with his Lap full of Caveats; and of the Humble Petitions, Serious Suggestions, and Dutiful Expostulations of some Moderate and Loyal Gentlemen, Yeomen, and Freeholders of the Eastern Association, printed in 1648.

He closed his eventful career in 1653, aged eighty-three. Of his children were John, minister of Haverhill, James, who returned with his father to England, became a physician, and a daughter, married to Gyles Fyrmin.

His talents, acquirements, and piety were of high order. From his entrance upon the ministry till the close of his life, he devoted what measure of strength he had to advance the temporal and spiritual good of his fellow-men. He held a rank among the first, who are divinely blessed for strict and untiring compliance with the rules of their stewardship.

July 26. At a session of the Commissioners of the Union, commencing at this date, they consider several propositions of President Dunster, relative to the college. As to the contribution of one shilling a family, in the confederate colonies, for the college, which had exceeded fifty pounds a year, though not fully complied with, they state that such aid was intended for the help of "poore, pious, and learned youtnes," and should be appropriated to them so long as any of them were there.

August 4. As Winthrop informs us, Hobart, of Hingham, visits Boston to preach a sermon at the marriage of a man who belonged to his parish. But the magistrates, being told of it, desire him to forbear. The reasons for such procedure are, that they consider him as opposed to the ecclesiastical and civil government of the colony, and fearless in the expression of his opinions; that they are averse to introducing here the English custom for ministers to perform the service at marriages, which sermons on such occasions are likely to promote. They, however, grant permission for suitable remarks by any elders who may be present. Notwithstanding such an objection, Cotton Mather says that John Cotton delivered a sermon, "according to the old usage of New England," at the contraction of Rev. Samuel Danforth with the daughter of John Wilson, which couple were married in 1651.

This year, Henry Walver graduates at Harvard. He subsequently went to England, and was settled in the ministry, as

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Hutchinson relates, in the county where his friends resided. Walver is a rare name for New England. A Martha Walver was admitted, in 1672, to the first church of Boston.

John Barden, or Birden, takes his first degree at the same institution. He subsequently went to England, where he preached the gospel.

To comply with the demand of the public mind, in both New and Old England, concerning religious as well as civil liberty, various productions issue, this year, from the press. Among these are several from authors in Massachusetts, which are printed in London. They follow:—

The Temple Measured, wherein are discussed most of the Material Questions touching the Constitution and Government of the Visible Church, with a Solution of Objections usually framed against the Model and Platform of Ecclesiastical Polity in New England. This is by James Noyes, teacher of the church at Newbury. A writer of the preface states, that the author, with some others, did not approve of Congregational government here, and that he believed the elders have full power to admit members, and the church is under the order of the presbytery. He remarks, that in some things Noyes agreed with the elders in New England, and in others with the Westminster Assembly, and “in others distant from both.”

New England Jonas, cast up at London. This was published by Major John Child, brother of Dr. Child, who was among those prosecuted for their petition and remonstrance to our colonial authorities. It was a partial exhibition of facts, intended to turn the public mind there against our civil and religious institutions here. It quotes Mr. Baylie, as remarking, in his Dissuasive from Errors, that independency of churches came from New England, and spread over all parts of Old England.

As a reply to the preceding work, Edward Winslow, the agent of Massachusetts, though from Plymouth, publishes the New England Salamander. This appellation is applied to William Vassall. In the book the government of the United Colonies “is shewed to bee legall, and not arbitrary, being as neere the law of England” as their “condition will permit.” It states that Noyes and Parker, of Newbury, and Hobart, of Hingham, though Presbyterians, are not restrained by the Massachusetts authorities in their forms of church polity.

The Day Breaking if not the Sun Rising of the Gospell with the Indians in New England. Referring to John Eliot as its author, Nathaniel Ward prefaced it thus: “Hee that pen'd these following relations is a minister of New England, so eminently godly and faithfull, that what he here reports, as an eye or eare witnesse, is not to be questioned. Were hee willing

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his name should be mentioned, it would be an abundant if not a redundant testimonial to all that know him."

The Simple Cöbler of Agawam, a satirical and witty performance, is published. It encourages opposition to royal government, though suited to moderate the excesses of the two parties in England. The severe manner in which it handles denominations different from that of the well-known author, Nathaniel Ward, was common with every sect.

The Bloody Tenent washed and made white in the Blood of the Lambe. It is from the pen of John Cotton. In it "the great questions of this present time are handled, viz., How farre liberty of conscience ought to be given to those that truly feare God; and how farre restrained to turbulent and pestilent persons, that not onely raze the foundations of godliness, but disturb the civill peace where they live; also, how farre the magistrate may proceed in the duties of the first table; and that all magistrates ought to study the word and will of God, that they may frame the government according to it." It is a reply to the Bloody Tenent of Persecution for Cause of Conscience, by Roger Williams, and also to his Answer to Letters sent by Cotton.

The last author mentioned issues a Treatise on the Singing of Psalms, as to the duty itself, the matter, performers, and manner. The book was composed to meet objections on these several heads.

He also publishes the Grounds and Ends of the Baptism of the Children of the Faithfull, opened in a Familiar Discourse by Way of a Dialogue, or Brotherly Conference. He composed this work as an answer to another, brought to him by the son of a church member in Lincolnshire, England. He relates that the bearer of it joined a church near Boston; read books on baptism, and withheld his child from this ordinance; came to him for advice, and was answered in writing by Benjamin Woodbridge, then residing at his house. Still the inquirer desired Cotton to solve his doubts, which he accordingly endeavored to do.

October 27. A session of the General Court begins. From their transactions several passages are taken. As Dr. Robert Child owes a fine of fifty pounds, assessed on him the last November, and he has gone out of the jurisdiction, his stock in the iron works at Lynn is to be sold by the auditor general, so far as to satisfy the demand.

With regard to an important concern, "Whereas there is a synod in being, and it is the purpose, besides the clearing of some points in religion questioned, to set forth a form of church government according to the order of the gospel; and to that

and there are certain members of the synod, that have in charge to prepare the same against the synod. But this court considering that it is as fully meet to set forth a Confession of Faith we do profess touching the doctrinal part of religion also, we do desire, therefore, these reverend elders following to take some pains, each of them, to prepare a brief form of this nature, and present the same to the next session of the synod, that, agreeing to one, (out of them all,) it may be printed with the others Messrs. Norris, Cotton, Mather, Rogers, of Ipswich, Shepard, Norton, and Cobbett."

That the Bible may be more fully taught in schools, and the pupils learn to exercise greater vigilance against the influence of Papacy, and be led to a fuller practice of Protestantism, the subsequent order\* is passed: "It being one chiefe proiect of y<sup>t</sup>ould deludor, Satan, to keepe men from the knowledge of y<sup>e</sup> Scriptures, as in former times by keeping y<sup>e</sup> in an unknowne tongue, so in these latter times, by perswading from y<sup>e</sup> use of tongues, y<sup>t</sup> so at least y<sup>t</sup> true sence and meaning of y<sup>e</sup> originall might be clouded by false glosses of saint-seeming deceivers, y<sup>t</sup> learning may not be buried in y<sup>e</sup> grave of our fathers in y<sup>e</sup> church and commonwealth, y<sup>e</sup> Lord assisting our indeavors, it is therefore ordered, y<sup>t</sup> every towneship in this jurisdiction, after y<sup>e</sup> Lord hath increased y<sup>e</sup> to y<sup>e</sup> number of fifty householders, shall then forthwith appoint one within their towne to teach all such children as shall resort to him to write and reade, whose wages shall be paid either by y<sup>e</sup> parents or masters of such children, or by y<sup>e</sup> inhabitants in generall by way of supply, as y<sup>e</sup> maior part of those y<sup>t</sup> order y<sup>e</sup> prudentials of y<sup>e</sup> towne shall appoint, provided those y<sup>t</sup> send their children be not oppressed by paying much more y<sup>e</sup> they can have y<sup>e</sup> taught for in other townes. And it is further ordered, y<sup>t</sup> where any towne shall increase to y<sup>e</sup> number of one hundred families, or householders, they shall set up a grammer schoole, y<sup>e</sup> master thereof being able to instruct youth so farr as they may be fited for y<sup>e</sup> university, provided y<sup>t</sup> if any towne neglect y<sup>e</sup> performance hereof above one yeare, y<sup>e</sup> every such towne shall pay five pounds to y<sup>e</sup> next schoole till they shall performe this order."

Dand, one of the remonstrants, if tendering a suitable acknowledgment and giving sufficient security for the payment of fifty pounds, is to be set at liberty.

As some men "draw away the affections of young maidens, under pretence of purpose of marriage," before their parents, or others duly authorized, have given consent, "to the dishonor

\* It stands under November 11, as do its subsequent legislative orders of the same session.

of God and damage of the parties," every such offender shall pay five pounds for the first trespass, ten pounds for the second, and for the third be committed to prison, and remain there as the Assistants shall determine.

"There being within this jurisdiction many members of churches, who, to exempt themselves from all public service in the commonwealth, will not come in to be made freemen, it is ordered, that all such members of churches shall not be exempted from such public service as they are chosen to by the freemen of the several towns, as constables, jurors, selectmen, and surveyors of highways." The penalty of non-compliance with this order is twenty shillings or less.

It is made lawful to assess the inhabitants of each town for the purchase of a parsonage, and handing it down to their successive ministers.

"The court are not a little grieved that they cannot as they would make such returns as might comfortably supply our occasions in England, and prove a comfortable encouragement to our honoured and industrious agent to go through with what we have betrustrusted him," and therefore they desire the capital, and the towns near it, to advance their proportion of the colonial tax, so that they may remit him some funds.

"Whereas sundry gentlemen of quality and others oft times send over their children into this country, unto some friends here, hoping, at the least, thereby to prevent their extravagant and riotous courses ;" but such a purpose is prevented by persons who credit these children, so that they "are no less lavish and profuse here, to the great grief of their friends, dishonor of God, and reproach of the country ;" therefore such creditors, who trust youth of the preceding class, under twenty-one years of age, without proper orders, shall lose their debt, and such debtors, if incurring any penalty, and have not means to satisfy it, shall answer for it as other delinquents in like circumstances.

Woronoke shall be reputed as a part of Springfield, and Mr. Pynchon "is authorized to make freemen," in this town, "of those that are in covenant and live according to their profession."

November. About this date, Shepard assigns two reasons why it is time for the conversion of the Indians ; one, that their hearts begin to bow ; another, that "the Lord hath raised a mighty spirit of prayer in this behalfe in all the churches."

Eliot and others, of whom were some Indian converts, lately went to Merrimack River, where Passaconaway resided. This chief was counted a wizard and a powow. Though he left his

people on the approach of the visitors, yet the most of them heard the instructions of the missionary.

November 4. Cobbet, of Lynn, writes to Shepard, of Cambridge, on the subject of the Christian Sabbath.

9. Rogers, of Rowley, addresses Governor Winthrop, "I pray God so to guide you all y<sup>t</sup> with sweete consent against all malignant spirits and your tender care to give all due content to all godly and quiet persons, though some have vnwarily bene troubled and stirred by y<sup>e</sup> subtilty of male-contente." At the close he remarks, that there is no small conversation about a divorce granted by the General Court.

18. Thomas Mayhew, Jr., writes to Winalow in London. He relates that after he had cured the son of Sagamore Towanquattick, this chief said, "that a long time ago, they had wise men, who, in a grave manner, taught the people knowledge; but they are dead, and their wisdom is buried with them; and now men live a giddy life, in ignorance, till they are whiteheaded, and though ripe in years, yet then they go without wisdom unto their graves." This sagamore and others of his subjects requested Mayhew to give them religious instruction, and observed that "he should be to them as one that stands by a running river, filling many vessels;" so should he "fill them with everlasting knowledge." Mayhew taught them once a month, and then, at their special wish, once a fortnight. For such a welcome to the gospel, the chief had an arrow shot at him while asleep in the night. But he feared God more than man, and held to his wise purpose.

In reference to the iron works at Saugus, Johnson observes that it would be well for the proprietors abroad to consider where their factory is, namely, "in New England, where the Lord Christ hath chosen to plant his churches, to hide his people under the covert of his wings, till the tyranny of Antichrist be overpassed."

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#### PLYMOUTH.

1646, May 5. Kenelme Winslow, for calling the church members of Marshfield all liars, is committed to prison, as he did not give security for his appearance.

19. A chief promoter of the plan for greater toleration to Episcopalians, as petitioned for by Dr. Child and others to the Bay legislature, is William Vassall, of Scituate. Winthrop observes of this person, that he had used his influence with non-members of churches, to petition the courts of the Bay and

Plymouth, "that the distinctions which were maintained here, both in civil and church estate, might be taken away, and that we might be wholly governed by the laws of England," and that, if such an application did not avail, then to lay it before Parliament.

June. Nauset is called Eastham, and so incorporated. John Mayo, about the same time, becomes the pastor of its inhabitants. He had been minister at Barnstable.

July. The General Court order "that something be done to maintain the liberties of the churches without intermeddling or wronging each other, according to the statutes of England, that they may live in peace."

November 4. The Bay legislature propose that this colony "bear their just proportion in so weighty a business" as sending Winslow, as an agent for the confederation, to London.

December 4. Edward Winslow has a commission from Massachusetts, empowering him to visit England, and answer before the commissioners various charges made by Gorton and others.

1647, June 8. Among the members of the synod, who now convened at Cambridge, is Governor Bradford, as a messenger from the Plymouth church.

The latter end of this year, Eliot, Shepard, and Wilson visit Yarmouth, to give advice concerning serious difficulties there. They are favored in their endeavors. Eliot collects Indians thereabouts, and preaches to them. They understand him with some difficulty, so far as their dialect differed from that of the Naticks. The principal sachem there would let but few of his people attend. An old Indian told Eliot that he had heard aged men speak of religious truths like those he delivered. Shepard observes, "I could not tell how those old Indians should attain to such knowledge, unlesse, perhaps, by meanes of the French preacher cast upon those coasts many yeers since."

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#### MAINE.

1646, March. The troublesome question as to the extent of Lygonia is decided by the commissioners for the New England Plantations. This conclusion secured to Rigby his claim for such territory to the bounds of forty miles square. Cleaves, its deputy president, immediately summoned a court at Saco, and showed that he was inclined to exercise his trust with energy and usefulness. The commissioners desired Massachusetts to afford him aid, if he should be resisted in his administration.



Vines, who had long and faithfully stood for Episcopacy and royalty, perceives that the republican influence of Parliament is adverse to the interests of Sir Ferdinando Gorges in Maine. After settling his affairs, he left Godfrey in his place of governor, went to England, and thence to Barbadoes.

June 8. The difficulties between the two colonies of Gorges and Rigby are referred, as Winthrop says, to the Court of Assistants at Boston. Agents for both parties appear there. Some of the magistrates decide that the Massachusetts authorities should not hear the matter; others are of a different opinion. It is concluded that the evidence be laid before the Assistants, as the only supreme judges of that period, and a special jury, by way of advice, and not of coercion. For want of conclusive evidence, the subject is finally left as it was, and the parties are counselled to live in harmony till it can be determined by the proper tribunal in England.

As the successor of Father Biart\* among the Cannibis, Father Gabriel Dreuillettes is still with them. He baptized many of them. As an envoy he twice visited Boston to "form an alliance for the protection of the Cannibis and others of the Abenakis against the invasion of their enemies, the Iroquois." Through the influence of his religion on the Abenakis, they could be easily induced by the French to fight against their Protestant neighbors.

About this time, Rev. John Wheelwright, being reconciled with the Bay authorities, leaves Wells to preach at Hampton.

1647, April. D'Aulney, less in favor with the Protestants of New England than La Tour, besieges the fort of the latter governor, at St. John. After a short but severe resistance, he captured the place, with its heroic defender, the wife of La Tour. He is reported to have had the rest of his opponents put to the sword. With his prisoner and more than ten thousand pounds in spoil, he returned to Penobscot. The captive, separated from her husband and friends, bereft of her home and property, and confined in the castle of an enemy, sunk under her trials, and died in less than three weeks after she was taken.

July 19. Richard Vines, residing in Barbadoes as a doctor and planter, writes Governor Winthrop. He mentions that Mr. Parker and his family are well situated there, "opposed by none, unless by Antinomians and such like."

\* Maine Historical Collections, vol. i. p. 327.

NEW HAMPSHIRE.

1646, May 6. A committee are appointed at Boston to consider difficulties at Hampton.

June 24. James Parker, who had preached at Piscataqua, writes to Governor Winthrop from Barbadoes, whither he had recently gone to labor in his profession. He describes the condition of society there as follows: "If I should be demanded how I thinke things goe here, I would say, I am afrayde when I consider off the profaneness off the place and the divisions that are here and like to be; soe much I certainly would say. Had not a man greater arguments to carrie hither, and here, for the present, to stay him, than temporals, he would faile. How oft have I thought in my hearte, oh, howe happie are New England people!"

November 4. During their session, under this date, the General Court of Massachusetts consider petitions from Dover and Strawberry Bank. They conclude to confer with the assignees of Lord Say and others, who had conferred on them jurisdiction over the people there, so that these might have lands properly secured to them. They affirm that unless such provision is made, they shall feel themselves discharged from their engagement.

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RHODE ISLAND.

1646, May. Among the seven petitioners to the legislature of Massachusetts for less restriction in political and religious laws is John Smith, who came to the Island from Boston, where he had resided two or three years. He is at the latter place, intending to embark with his wife for England.

2. Jane Hawkins, at Portsmouth, petitions the Bay authorities to visit her sons, James, Thomas, and Job, of Boston. Her request was soon after disallowed.

15. Samuel Gorton, Randall Holden, and John Green, having gone to England to obtain redress for what they considered as wrongs from the United Colonies, obtain an order from the commissioners for New England. This injunction requires that Shawomet shall be restored to Gorton and his followers, and that he, with his friends, shall have liberty to land their goods wherever they shall arrive, and have an unmolested pass to their plantation. With regard to such permission, the grantors of it say to the confederate authorities, "Our present resolution

is not grounded upon an admittance of the truth of what is charged, we knowing well how much God hath honoured your government, and believing that your spirits and affairs are acted by principles of justice, prudence, and zeal to God, and therefore cannot easily receive any evil impressions concerning your proceedings."

September 18. Holden arrives at Boston, and presents the order of the commissioners to the governor. After a few days, the Assistants allow him a free pass through their jurisdiction, though they feel themselves thus obliged to do from wrong representations made against them in London, without sufficient opportunity to rebut them.

Johnson affirms that, if the Simplicity's Defence of Gorton had been understood when he and his friends were in England, "surely they had never returned with so large a commission as they boast of; for the Parliament have punished divers persons for their blasphemies, and very like these should not have escaped scot free."

Having taken possession of Shawomet, the Gortonists call it Warwick, from gratitude to the Earl, who was at the head of the Board for New England affairs.

14. The confederate commissioners, after narrating various counts which they held as breaches of treaty by the Narragansetts and Nyanticks, and which they put in a declaration to the sagamores of these tribes, conclude, "Lastly, as appears by good evidence, by presents of wampum, they haue beene practisinge with the Mohawks and other Indiyans, contrary to their couenants, soe that the premises to all the commissioners and colonies doe justly render them a perfidious and treacherous people, and accordingly in their owne season they should proceede against them, and whateuer the consequences proue, themlues are the authors of it."

November 4. A declaration of the General Court at the Bay, in Hutchinson's Collections, makes the ensuing statement. About eight years ago, a number of persons complained of not having religious liberty; they moved to Rhode Island, where they proclaimed that "no man should ever be molested for professing his judgment; they thought themselves the onely happy concurring people under heaven. But, alas! it was but a dreame; it was not of God, and therefore could not stand. For this liberty and equality so fomented naturall corruption as they presently fell at variance among themselves, and grew three or foure opposite parts, which continue to this day, and instead of establishing church and civil state, have overthrowne both."

11. Coddington replies to Winthrop, "For Gorton and his

company, they are to me as ever they haue beente ; their freedom of the Island is denyed, and was when I accepted of the place I nowe beare. The commissioners have joyned them in the same charters, tho we mentayne the government as before."

December 10. In their address, presented by Winthrop, to the parliamentary commissioners, the Massachusetts authorities go over the ground of their difficulty with the Gortonists. They assert that the government of the United Colonies judged that necessity required the latter persons to be taken by force and tried for alleged offences, and assigned such a work to be performed by Massachusetts. They add, that the restoration of Shawomet to Gorton and his associates had encouraged them to threaten the Indians who had come under their protection, and so to discourage the means of bringing such natives to receive the gospel.

1647, May 18. The difficulties which had prevented an organization of government under the charter for Providence and Rhode Island Plantations being removed, committees from the several towns assemble at Portsmouth for such a purpose. Among the powers conferred on the delegates from Providence was, to act for "the settling of the island in peace and union." Of the orders passed by this new assembly, was one for the grant of one hundred pounds to Roger Williams for his charges and services in obtaining the charter.

The same body adopt a code of laws. The introduction has the succeeding passage: "It is agreed that the form of government is democratical; that is to say, a government held by the free and voluntary consent of all or the greater part of the free inhabitants. And now, to the end we may give, each to other, notwithstanding our different consciences touching the truth as it is in Jesus, whereof upon the point we all make mention, as good and hopeful assurance as we are able, touching each man's peaceable and quiet enjoyment of his lawful right and liberty, we do enact these orders following."

One of them says, "Witchcraft is forbidden to be used in this colony. The penalty imposed by the authority that we are subjected to is felony of death." Another, that no marriage shall be lawful without consent of parents, "published orderly in several meetings of the townsmen, and confirmed before the head officers of the town, and entered into the town clerk's book," on penalty of five pounds from the bridegroom and bound for good behavior, and the like sum from each accessory.

A further follows: "Forasmuch as the consciences of sundry men, truly conscionable, may scruple the giving or taking of an oath, and it would be no ways suitable to the nature and constitution of our place (who profess ourselves to be men of

different consciences, and not one willing to force another) to debar such as cannot so do, either from bearing office among us, or from giving in testimony in a case depending, be it exacted by the authority of this present assembly, that a solemn profession or testimony, in a court of record, or before a judge of record, shall be accounted throughout the whole colony of as full force as an oath; and because many, in giving engagement or testimony, are usually more overawed with the penalty, which is known, than with the Most High, who is little known in the kingdoms of men, it is therefore further agreed and ordered, that he that falsifieth such solemn profession or testimony shall be accounted among us a perjured person," pay the damage of his perjury and five pounds; and be disfranchised.

The part relative to offences, thus closes: "These are the laws that concern all men, and these are the penalties for the transgression thereof, which, by common consent, are ratified and established throughout the whole colony; and otherwise than thus what is herein forbidden, all men may walk as their consciences persuade them, every one in the fear of his God. And let the saints of the Most High walk in this colony without molestation, in the name of Jehovah, their God, forever and ever."

With reference to such an organization of "colony government," Staples says in his *Annals*, it "did not put an end to the feuds and divisions that had previously disturbed the tranquility and prevented the growth of Providence." So it was as to the rest of the colony. But as expressive of hope that they should weather all storms, the General Court agree that the seal of their jurisdiction shall be an anchor.\*

May 28. Roger Williams writes to John Winthrop, Jr., "Concerning Indian affairs, reports are various; lyes are frequent. Private interests, both with Indians and English, are many. Yet these things you may and must doe: 1. Kiss truth where you evidently upon youre soul see it; 2. Advance justice, (though upon a child's eyes;) 3. Seeke and make peace, if possible, with all men; 4. Secure your owne life from a revengefull, malicious arrow or hatchet. I have bene in danger of them, and delivered yet from them."

June 4. Canonius, the chief sachem of Narragansett, dies at a very advanced age. While regarded by the authorities of the Colonial Union as hostile to their measures, he was gratefully remembered by Roger Williams and the inhabitants around him, as their well-tried benefactor. This clergyman

\* Rhode Island, March 1641-2, adopted a seal, having a sheaf of arrows bound up, and the motto, *Amor vincit omnia*. United with the main, they, March 1, 1663-4, modified the seal of 1647, so as to have the word Hope placed over the anchor.

gives an instance which shows the parental affection as well as the kind of religion which the deceased sagamore exhibited. It follows: "I saw with mine owne eyes, at my late coming forth of the countrey, the chiefe and most aged peaceable father of the countrey, Caunounicus. Having buried his sonne, he burned his own palace, and all his goods in it, (amongst them to a great value,) in a solemne remembrance of his sonne, and in a kind of humble expiation of the gods, who (as they believe) had taken his sonne from him."

While here, it may not be amiss to give an example of the impression made by the belief and practice of Williams, in reference to the Lord's day, on the Indian mind. It is from under the hand of Thomas Shepard. "One thing more I remember concerning Mr. Eliot's conference with a Narragansett sachim, a sober man, this year. After he had taught this sachim the means of salvation by Christ, he asked him why they did not learn of Mr. Williams. He soberly answered, that they did not care to learn of him, because he goes out and works upon the Sabbath day. I name it to shew what a stumbling block to all religion the loose observation of the Sabbath is."

July 22. In their letter to Massachusetts, Warwick and the other commissioners observe, that they have more particularly considered the exposition of Winslow respecting the conduct of the Gortonists. They remark, that if it appear that Shawomet "is within the limits of any of the New England patents, we shall leave the same and the inhabitants thereof to the proper jurisdiction of that government under which they fall." They also recommend that, in case this is so, the inhabitants of that town may be allowed to remain and be "encouraged in all fit ways, provided that they demean themselves peaceably, and not endanger any of the English colonies by a prejudicial correspondence with the Indians or otherwise, wherein if they shall be found faulty, we leave them to be proceeded with according to justice."

December. As the divisions which had prevailed at Providence still continue, Williams and seven others sign a contract to do all they can for their suppression. So far as their active influence extended, this was a beneficial measure. But such were the dispositions it had to contend with, and the wide latitude they had to indulge themselves in, it could not avail much.

This year, Gorton publishes a book in England, entitled the Incorruptible Key, composed of CX. Psalm, wherewith you may open the rest of the Holy Scriptures. However he may have thought himself clear and instructive in such exegesis of sacred writ, very few minds, if any, in our age, can comprehend the

general drift of his remarks. His expositions, like his social deportment, were erratic, confined to no rule but his own pleasure.

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#### CONNECTICUT.

1646, January. The ship fitted out at New Haven to help retrieve their losses sails\* for England with several distinguished promoters of the colony's temporal and spiritual interests, and with some able manuscripts, as those of Davenport and Hooker, relative to the discipline of the churches in the confederation. As well known, this was the last seen of such Christian patriots and such copies on a subject then deeply absorbing in their native land, still filled with the agitated elements of revolution.

The work of Hooker was entitled the Sum of Church Discipline. It stood for the position that each church had power to govern itself, but that there was need of consociations to discipline such churches as did not walk in the faith and order of the gospel. Its publication will be noticed. The work of Davenport was called the Power of Congregational Churches Asserted and Vindicated. This was in reply to the Defence of Church Government, exercised in Classes and Synods, by J. Paget. The first manuscript of it was written 1642. Its author rewrote it 1652, but it was not printed till 1672, and then in London. He held the position that when the children baptized in infancy grew up and neglected to unite with the church, and became irreligious, they should "be declared non-members."

March 16. "It was ordered the last General Court that men and women should be seated in the meeting house (of New Haven town); therefore it was propounded, that all the seats be finished, for fear of want of room, and to avoid offence." "The particular court, with the two deacons, taking in the advice of the ruling elder," were appointed the next January 4th, "to place the people in the seats."

April 9. At a session of the Connecticut legislature, Mr. Ludlow is desired to draw up a body of laws for the colony, and lay them before the next General Court. The towns are requested to make collections for the college, and send them thither in due season.

May. About this time, as Trumbull relates, a church is organized at Saybrook. James Fitch, a student of Mr. Hooker;

\* Trumbull puts this under 1647, but Winthrop 1646.

is ordained for its pastor. The tradition is, that though Hooker was present, the service was performed by two or three principal brethren, who, being designated by the church for it, imposed hands.

The people of New Haven have serious thoughts of seeking for another residence. They are so inclined because their property was much reduced by the loss of their ship and other casualties, and that they supposed their lands unfit for farms. They had invitations to settle at "Jamaica, West Indies," and in Ireland. But they concluded to remain, and still toil on for the advancement of the cause which induced them to occupy their position. Their faith in God was more than realized.

June 30. A man, for slandering Mrs. Mary Fenwick, as the Connecticut legislature order, "is to stand on the pillory, Wednesday, during the lecture, then be whipped, and fyned five pound, and halfe yeares imprysonment."

July 7. New Haven court sentence Pawquash, an Indian, for speaking blasphemously, four years ago, of Christian worship, to be severely whipped. On the 16th August, they resolve to maintain their trading house, though protested against by the Dutch, and "leave the issue of things to God, whatever they may be."

August. In a letter from Hooker to Shepard, he remarks, "We are now preparing for your synod. My yeares and infirmities grow so fast vpon me, y<sup>t</sup> wholly disenable me to so long a journey; and because I cannot come myself, I provoke as many elders as I can to lend their help and presence. The Lord Christ be in the midst amongst you by his guidance and blessing."

September 1. Messengers from Connecticut and New Haven meet at Cambridge, Massachusetts.

Hooker writes to Shepard, "I renew thanks for the letter and copy of the passages at synod. I wish ther be not a misunderstanding of some things by some, or that the bynding power of synods be not pressed too much; for I speake it only to yourself, he that adventures far in that busines will fynd hott and hard work, or else my perspective may fayle, which I confesse it may be. I could easily give way to arguments, that vrge the help of a synod to counsell. I fynd Mr. Rutherford and Apollonius to give somewhat sparingly to the place of the magistrate, to putt forth power in the calling of synods, wherein I perceive they goe crosse to some of our most serious and iudicious writers."

9. The commissioners of the Union, after assembling at this date, consider the evidences of an Indian plot to have several prominent inhabitants of Hartford murdered, and other demon-



strations of conspiracy on the part of natives. They take appropriate steps to prevent such evils.

September 17: Extracts from a letter by Hooker to Shepard follow: "I see that the Scotch party do seriously set themselves to fortifye their Presbyterian side with the improvement of all meanes to weaken the proceedings and the persons of the contrary side." As to Rutherford and Baylie, "I cannot be perswaded but these men had a secret hand to provoke Mr. Weld to set forth his short story touching occasions here in Mr. Vane his reign, as also to publish to the world the answer to the thirty-two questions, and also to the nine, beyond all your expectations." "By Mr. Burroughs and Mr. Bridges ther letters and answers to you, I smell that which the wise hearted coming from thence both observe and report, that they see those ministers marvellously easy to receive such as will suite with them, into ther assemblyes, though they expresse no power of sincerity or godlines, whether it be to make ther part strong, or to provide for ther mayntenance; wise men think both; though I know nothing *pro certo*, yet I cannot but feare there is a pad in that strawe. I like those Anabaptists and ther opinion every day worse than other. The suppressing what books they please, and the correspondences they hold here, and the cariages of some subtle and close spirited persons amongst you, y<sup>t</sup> seem to me to keep pace and proportion with them *per omnia*, is an ill presage, that vnlesse you be very watchfull, you will have an army in the field before you know how to prepare or oppose. The acting of the choice at Charlestowne and the peremptory refusall by some to vndertake it, even so far as to crave a dismission from the church — this, to me, together with agitations by the neighbor church, shoves ther is some bottome deepe and ther ayme recht further then will readily be conceaved." "My notes of Pædobaptisme are out of my hand, else you might have had them." He subjoins an argument for the observance of the first day of the week, instead of the seventh, as the Christian Sabbath.

Hooker to Shepard observes, as to Mr. Ball's defence, "I had rather defend the cause vpon this supposeall, that all sett formes are vnlawfull ether in publike or private, then to retyre to that defence of Mr. Cotton's, that its lawfull to vse a forme in private, or occasionally in publike."

22. Among the various trials with which the people here have their faith tested are the continued difficulties with the Dutch, especially those at Hartford. Kieft, the governor of New Netherland, at the close of his letter to the commissioners who had addressed him for a compromise, uses the ensuing language: "To conclude, we protest against all you commissioners

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mett at the Red Mounte, (New Haven,) as against breakers of the common league, and alsoe infringers of the speciall right of the lords, the states, and superiours, in that ye have dared without expresse commission to hould your generall meetinge within the limits of New Netherlande."

November 4. General Court of Massachusetts order letters for Connecticut and New Haven, desiring them to bear their just proportion of expense in Mr. Winslow's agency for the United Colonies, while he is in England.

December 15. About this date, Rev. Thomas Peters sails from Boston to resettle with his people in Wales. He intended to go in the ship Supply, which sailed the 5th ult., and had his goods on board; but hearing the lecture of Cotton, who considered some of her passengers like Jonas, he took back his things, and waited for another opportunity. Cotton Mather speaks of him as a respectable author of several publications.

This year, Samuel Eaton, formerly of New Haven, now teacher of the church at Duckenfield, Chester, England, and Timothy Taylor, as his pastor colleague, defend Congregationalism against an epistle published by Richard Hollingworth. They write, "We see no absurdity in Master Cottons and the New England brethrens exposition, who make the four beasts to be the officers of the churches, and the twenty-four elders to be the members." Eaton, in speaking of his residence in this country, says, "where if the High Commission at York could have let him alone, he might probably have ended his days." But as they fined him in several sums about fifteen hundred pounds, while absent, and attached his estate at Wirrall, Chester, he was under the necessity of going to extricate his property from its involvement.

1647, January 4. "The contribution for the college was renewed," and collectors chosen in New Haven colony.

April 6. Fenwick, in England, writes to Governor Winthrop that proprietors of the patent, which he conveyed to Connecticut, were willing he should so do, as a means of repayment for his charges, on which he should lose a considerable amount.

May 17. By the General Court of New Haven, "Robert Bassett was desired to beat both the first and second drums on Lord's days and lecture days upon the meeting house, that so those who live far off may hear them the more distinctly."

"The governor propounded that the college corn might be forthwith paid, and that considering the work is a service to Christ to bring up young plants for his service, and besides it will be a reproach that it shall be said New Haven is fallen off from this service."

20. "It is ordered that there shalbe a gard of twenty men,

every Sabbath and lecture day, compleate in their arms, in each seuerall towne vpon the river, and atte Seabrooke and Farmington, eight apeece, ech towne of the sea coast ten, and as the number of men increase in the townes, the gaurd is to encrease."

July 7. Among the severest trials of New Haven colony and of the confederation, is the decease of Thomas Hooker, in the sixty-second year of his age. His will mentions his wife, Susannah, and children, John, Samuel, Sarah, Joannah Shepard, and Mary Newton. It has the passage, "However I do not forbid my sonne John from seeking and taking a wife in England, yet I doe forbid him from marrying and tarrying there." His complaint was an epidemical fever. When dying, he remarked, "I am going to receive mercy," then closed his eyes, and expired with a placid smile.

19. Samuel Stone, his colleague, writes to Shepard. Speaking of Hooker's death, he says, "Our light is eclipsed, our joy darkened." He proceeds, "We shall doe what we can to prepare Mr. Hooker's answer to Rutherford, y<sup>t</sup> it may be sent before winter. I purpose to proceed in the answer to Dr. Crispe; but whether I shall finish it and get it written out fair before winter, I know not. If you will send me Saltmarsh, I shall take him also, if I haue the whole winter." It appears from the communication containing this passage, that Stone had returned from the synod in Massachusetts, on account of the epidemic, before Hooker died, and that, while there, the elders had made arrangements for answering several writers in England.

September 9. As the settlement afterwards Stonington had been commenced by John Winthrop, Jr., under order from Massachusetts, but was this year assigned to Connecticut by the commissioners of the Union, the latter colony grant him authority there "to execute justice according to our lawes and rule of righteousness."

October 28. In the Survey of the Summe of Church Discipline, the chief work of Hooker, an address to his church is prefixed by Edward Hopkins and William Goodwin, two of his parishioners. They state that after the first manuscript of this work was lost, nearly two years before, he had concluded to keep it unpublished. They add, "But at last he was overborn, and condescended to what now is again endeavoured, though before the full transcribing, he was translated from us to be ever with the Lord." Then follow poetical notices of Hooker, by his colleague, Stone, and John Cotton, and an epitaph by Ezekiel Rogers. Morton's Memorial has a lamentation in verse, on the deceased, by Peter Bulkley. The sheets, having been forwarded to London, were published in 1648. The Rev.

Thomas Goodwin, in his preface to them, dated April 17, has the subsequent remarks: "I intend not to preface any thing by commendation of either unto the reader which were, indeed, to lay paint upon burnished marble, or add light unto the sun. I beleeeve, upon some conjectures, that the copy which perished, and was throughout revised, and perhaps added to, by the author, was more perfect than this."

Hooker composed his treatise principally in answer to objections which he had to passages of Rutherford and Hudson, as previously stated, and also in Robert Baylie's *Disswasive from the Errors of the Time*, and in the *Vinditiæ Clavium*. Hubbard says that it brought "the Presbyteriall career" in England "to a stand."

"This year, Samuel Hubbard and his wife, of Fairfield, hold to the baptism of only visible believers." She was twice arraigned for her faith in this particular. They soon remove to Newport, Rhode Island, and November 3, 1648, join Mr. Clarke's church.

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Having come thus far in the course of this work, its number of pages indicates that we should close its historical part, and proceed to other appendages requisite for the present volume. So spared "another leaf of finished time" to turn, may its record, that we improve the truth, presented here and from every other source to our minds, so harmonize with Christian obligation, as to secure the entry of our names on the book of eternal life.



# INDEX OF NAMES,

## COMPRISING PERSONS, PEOPLE, VESSELS, AND PLACES.

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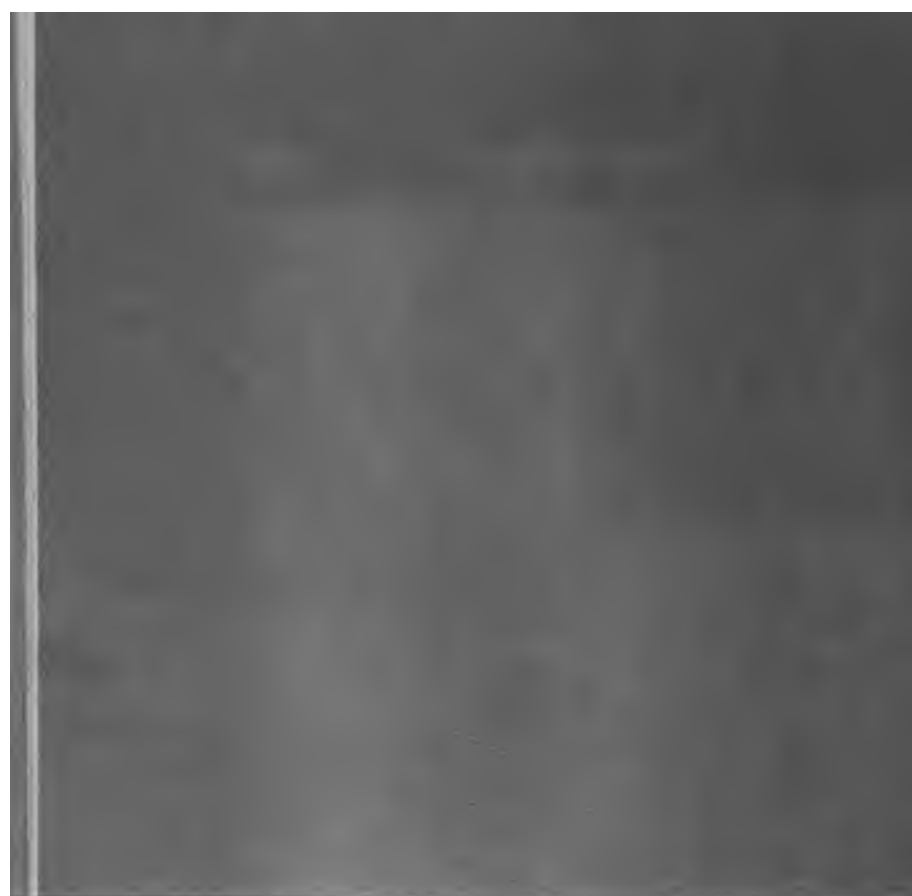
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1. The first part of the document is a list of names and addresses of the members of the committee.

2.





1934 27 1976



